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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

BY

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XXXI.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL IN 1832 TO THE CLOSE OF THE SESSION OF 1833.

1. So great was the change which had been introduced into the constitution of Great Britain by the Reform Bill, that the liberties of the country, and with them the existence of the empire, stood in the most imminent peril when the victory had been gained by the popular party. The contest had continued so long, the exasperation on both sides had been so great, the animosity excited so violent, the expectations awakened so extravagant, that there was no saying what length the people would go, now that they had got the power into their own hands. It was well known that the Radicals aimed at changes so great and sweeping—annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, paid representatives, and an equal division of electoral districts—as would entirely destroy the influence of property in the Legislature, and leave the nation and its institutions entirely at the mercy of the extreme revolutionary party. The danger was very great that the new constituencies would, for the most part, return members of this way of thinking, or at least pledged to this course of action, and that their influence on the old ones would prove such as to give a majority of them too to the innovating party. Scotland, it was well known, had been completely revolutionised by the

change: Ireland was in great part led by Mr O'Connell, whose alliance with the extreme Radicals was open and declared. To all appearance, a decisive majority of at least four to one would be returned for Ministers in the first elections under the new constituency; and if so, the whole institutions and liberties of the country lay at the disposal of a party who had recently forced through a decisive organic change in the constitution, by the threat of creating peers and the open coercion of the sovereign.

2. This public danger was forcibly illustrated by an event which occurred a few days after the Reform Bill passed. The Duke of Wellington had occasion to pay a visit to the Mint on the 18th June, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, and as he was returning on horseback, attended by a single groom, he was recognised by a mob of several hundred persons who collected on Tower Hill to await his return. He was loudly hissed and hooted on his making his appearance, and the crowd continued to follow him, yelling and hooting, without the Duke paying any attention to what was going on, until in the middle of Fenchurch Street, when a man rushed up to him, and, seizing the horse by the bridle, endeavoured to pull him out of the saddle, in

which he would have succeeded but for the intrepidity of the groom, who hastened to his assistance, and the aid of a small body of police who were passing at the time. The Duke still rode on, regardless of his danger, until he came to Holborn, when the mob began to throw stones and filth at him. He thereupon rode to Sir Charles Wetherall's chambers in Lincoln's Inn, escorted by a body of benchers, who gallantly rushed out to his rescue. He remained there till a party of police arrived from Bow Street, who attended him home. The public alarm was increased by an assault on the King next day, when attending Ascot races, who was severely struck by a stone on the forehead, on which occasion he exhibited the hereditary courage of his race. Without doubt a political party is not legally responsible for the acts of the ruffians who may have espoused their side; but those who take savages into their alliance must bear the moral opprobrium, as the English did in the American War, of their misdeeds. The Liberal party had good reason now, all over the world, to blush for the acts of their followers, and the earnest they afforded of the mastery which brute strength was to obtain over intellect, in reformed society, if they gained and kept the ascendant. In France they held Chateaubriand in chains, in Scotland they had lissed the dying Sir Walter Scott, and in England they had tried to murder the Duke of Wellington on the anniversary of the day on which he had saved his country.

3. No one can have lived through that anxious period without being conscious that these dangers were anything but imaginary. They had been treated as such by the Liberals during the heat of the contest; and every one was stigmatised as an "alarmist," while it was going on, who expressed any apprehension of danger to the country from the passing of the Reform Bill. But when the victory was gained, and the strife was over, the consequences of what had been done, and could not be undone, revealed themselves to the eyes, first of the most thoughtful and far-seeing, and next of the most

powerful leaders of the Whig party. Obligated to laud the Bill on the hustings, and on all public occasions constrained to express before the world the most unbounded confidence in the wisdom and integrity with which their newly-acquired powers would be wielded by the people, they were in reality ere long not less impressed than their opponents with the most agonising presentiments. In the confidence of trustful friendship these apprehensions were revealed without reserve even to the most sturdy of political adversaries, forming a strange contrast to the *Io Pæans* which they chanted in public for their transcendent victory. As the private correspondence of the Whig leaders at this period is gradually brought to light, the more clear does it appear how widely these apprehensions were entertained in their secret thoughts by those who had been foremost in the battle. It is fortunate it was so, for such was the fervour of the public mind at the close of the contest that the great majority of the people would have supported the Government in any ulterior projects they chose to advance, how violent soever, provided only they had a tendency to depress still farther the Conservative oligarchy who had so long ruled the nation. There is too much reason to fear that a Liberal Government so disposed might have abolished the House of Peers, established universal suffrage, destroyed the Established Church, possibly dethroned the King, if they had been wicked or insane enough to have entertained such projects. Possibly the escape of the nation from the perils with which it was then on all sides beset is to be ascribed only to the good providence of God, which had destined the British empire to a more glorious end than to perish from its own infatuation. But, humanly speaking, there were several causes which concurred at this time in averting the danger, and of these the principal were the following:—

4. (1.) The first of these, and without doubt the most important, was the difference between the constitution of the British mind and that of the French,

Spaniards, and Neapolitans, in whom the sudden acquisition of political power had produced such fatal results. In these imaginative and excitable people the seizure of absolute authority, and confirming it by durable institutions in a particular party, was the great object of ambition, to the securing of which all their efforts from first to last were directed. In Great Britain, however, a different set of objects engrossed the public thoughts. The Anglo-Saxon race, eminently practical and domestic in its disposition, was mainly bent on securing substantial and what may be called *home* benefits from its triumphs. The vague idea of liberty and equality, so powerful on the other side of the Channel, had little influence beside the English fireside. The English people were not less set than their impassioned neighbours on securing some real advantages from the victory they had gained, but the advantages were different, and of a less perilous kind. They consisted, not in establishing principles, but diminishing burdens; not in subverting governments, but in lowering prices. They had been told for years that the cost of everything would be lowered a half, wages doubled, and taxes halved, the moment the Bill was passed; and what they were now set on was to exact pledges from their representatives which might immediately secure this desirable consummation. There might be something very ridiculous in expecting such results to follow from a mere change in the representation, but it was incomparably less dangerous for the nation to follow such illusions than to be set on forcing on successive and still more perilous organic changes in the constitution.

5. (2.) It was a matter of the very highest importance, and now proved of the most essential service, that, unlike the French, the English Revolution was headed and directed by several of the greatest and most influential families in the country and a large part of the nobility. They began it, indeed, in entire ignorance of the consequences of their own measure, and contended for it at last rather from the

dogged resolution not to be beaten, than any clear perception of the benefit it was likely to confer either upon their country or themselves. But still the passing of the Bill left them in possession of the reins of power, and holding a very great sway in the nation, from gratitude for benefits received, and the expectation of still greater ones to come. This was a matter of the highest importance, especially in the first moments of hallucination and triumph consequent on the passing of the Bill. It was impossible to suppose that the Russells and Cavendishes, the Greys and the Elliots, could be knowingly set on measures which went to destroy their own influence in the State, and possibly endanger the hereditary estates from the possession of which they mainly derived their grandeur. They had cordially supported the Reform Bill in the belief that it was an important party move, which would permanently destroy their political opponents, and give themselves a long, perhaps a perpetual, lease of power. To attain this object, they had entered into a temporary union with the Chartists and Radicals, and largely availed themselves of the aid which their violence or intimidation could afford. But in their secret hearts they disliked and dreaded their dangerous allies even more than the Tories; and while constantly lauding them in public, they were in reality in secret devising means to thwart their designs, and had no intention whatever of vacating in their favour the seats of power.

6. (3.) Among the causes which tended to deaden the revolutionary enthusiasm, and avert, in the first instance, the dangers of the Reform Bill, a prominent place must be assigned to the patriotic and intrepid conduct of the Conservatives in everywhere remaining at their posts, and in many cases doing their utmost to obtain places in the Legislature. Unlike the French noblesse, who emigrated *en masse*, joined their arms to those of the foreigner, and doubled the strength of the revolutionary party by allying with it the patriotic, the English aristocracy all remained in the country, and did their

utmost to moderate a fervour which the greater part of them had had no share in creating, but from the effects of which all, whether supporters or opponents, were equally, to all appearance, destined to suffer. The effect of this courageous and truly patriotic conduct was immense. There is something in danger bravely dared, in obloquy voluntarily incurred, which inevitably commands respect; and however much such qualities may be disregarded or calumniated during the heat of the contest, they sink into the mind when its excitement is over. Reviled, insulted, assaulted, abused, the Conservatives were generally seen upon the hustings or the platform, opposing to the brutality of mob violence the calm resolution of intellectual strength. This conduct was the more dignified and impressive that it was obviously disinterested: the majority for the Liberal party under the new constitution was so overwhelming, that it was evident that for a very long period, perhaps for ever, their opponents would be excluded from power. The Liberal press contained the most violent abuse of the Conservatives, and the Radicals exclaimed that the Bill had obviously not gone far enough, "for some *Tories* had got into Parliament." But in the mean time the thoughts of many were changed—

"Respect was mingled with surprise,
And the stern joy which warriors feel
In foemen worthy of their steel."

7. (4.) A place not less important in working out moderation of conduct, after the Reform Bill passed, must be assigned to the conduct of the Government in striving to allay the general fervour to which they had owed their victory. This was a very delicate and hazardous thing to attempt; for the experience of every age has proved that the only way to keep the lead of a movement is to advance before it, and that the first halt in agitation is a step towards the ruin of the agitators. The Reform Ministry ere long experienced this. From the moment of their triumph their popularity began to fail, and before three years had elapsed the leaders of the movement were driven

from power amidst the general obloquy of those upon whom they had conferred the greatest political benefits. It must always be recorded, to the honour of Earl Grey's Administration, that they voluntarily incurred this odium, and accelerated this fall, to avert the dangers which their previous ambitious conduct had brought upon the country. By continuing the movement, they would in the end, indeed, have destroyed their country, but in the first instance they would have saved themselves: by checking it, they in the end saved their country, but in the outset destroyed themselves.

8. (5.) The subjection of the Irish Catholic members of Parliament to the influence of a foreign power, in the Court of Rome, fraught with so many evils, on other occasions, to the best interests of the empire, on this undoubtedly worked for good. Intoxicated with the double victory it had gained in the passing, first of Catholic Emancipation, then of the Reform Bill, the Conclave of the Vatican deemed the time come when they were entitled to reap the fruits of victory in the elevation of their own, and the depression of the Protestant Establishment. Thence a division among the Reformers and a schism in their ranks, from which they have never since entirely recovered. Union had constituted their strength, and that was unbroken as long as victory was doubtful; division revealed their weakness, and that appeared as soon as it was secured. Of the Reformers of Great Britain the great majority were Protestants, and not a few as sturdy opponents of the See of Rome as their ancestors in the days of the Puritans, or the Solemn League and Covenant. When the Vatican, therefore, threw off the mask, and measures were commenced evidently intended to destroy the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, and open the door to the replacing the Catholic faith in these realms, not a few of the most zealous paused or became lukewarm in the cause. It was impossible to feel any sympathy with a cause, independent of religious dif-

ferences, which was supported by fire-raising and murder, and forcibly retained the rural population of Ireland in a state of misery and barbarity unparalleled in a Christian state. Divisions in this as in all other coalitions were consequent upon success; and it was fortunate for the British empire that they appeared so soon, and with such serious effects. Earl Grey was overturned in two years after their united triumph by O'Connell, to whom he had opened the doors of Parliament. Had they remained united, he is a bold man who should have predicted what would have been the present state of the British empire.

9. (6.) On one occasion, during the fervour of the first great convulsion, Pétion, looking at the watery sky, said, "You need not be afraid; there will be no revolution to-night." In effect, the rain soon after began to fall in torrents, and the assemblage destined to overturn the Girondists was dispersed. Every person must have observed how often a cloud, charged with the most dangerous electric fluid, is deprived of its alarming qualities by descending in rain. A physical visitation of Providence this year sensibly abated the Reform mania: it supplanted the passion for power in the multitude by a still stronger and more general feeling—the terror of death. The CHOLERA, the appearance of which in the east of Europe and France has already been recounted, was first detected in Great Britain in the autumn of 1831, and in the spring of the following year it broke out in the metropolis, and excited universal consternation. It made its first appearance in Sunderland, from whence it spread to Newcastle and Scotland; and as long as its ravages were confined to the north it excited very little attention in the south, and nothing was done to arrest it in Parliament. But no sooner did one case appear at Rotherhithe, near Woolwich, than this apathy was cast off; in extreme alarm, Parliament *passed three Acts in one day*. The disease continued its ravages over nearly the whole country

through the summer and autumn of 1832, exhibiting everywhere the same strange and contradictory features which have elsewhere marked its progress. In general, it was most fatal in the neighbourhood of stagnant waters, and in some places half the inhabitants in such localities perished. In other places, again, its ravages were most severely felt in airy, elevated, and cleanly situations, and among the richest and most orderly persons. Generally speaking, however, the mortality was greatest among the intemperate, the dissipated, and the profligate. It was peculiarly virulent in North Shields and Newcastle in England, and in Musselburgh and Haddington in Scotland. A central board of health was established in London, which corresponded in the most energetic manner with local boards in all parts of the country. They did little towards stopping the progress of the epidemic, which ran its course for fifteen months, and then disappeared in as mysterious a manner as it had come in; but they brought about good consequences, in awakening the public attention to sanitary measures, hitherto unaccountably neglected in the empire. The deaths in London were 5275; but they were much greater, in proportion, in some provincial towns, particularly Glasgow, Dublin, and Liverpool. In a statistical point of view, the mortality was not important, and less than in many previous visitations of typhus fever which had excited little attention. But, politically considered, its effect at this crisis was very material, for it established a *counter-irritation*, often not less salutary in mental than bodily, in national than individual diseases.

10. Parliament was prorogued on the 16th August; but before it separated, several important measures were forced upon its attention by the exigencies of public affairs. Of these the most pressing was the state of the finances, which was so alarming as to awaken the most serious solicitude. The revenue had shared to the very full in the depression of industry and

diminution of expenditure which had taken place from the combined effect of the contraction of the currency and expansion of the agitation, and this imposed a most anxious duty on Government: for, on the one hand, the distresses of the country called for a reduction of taxation, and, on the other, the lessened revenue rendered it impossible to grant it. The change in the state of the revenue since the Duke of Wellington left the helm, in November 1830, had been immense. He left his successor a clear annual surplus of £2,913,000 in the year ending 5th April 1831; but it had turned, in the year ending 5th April 1832, into a deficiency of £1,240,413; while the distressed state of the country rendered any addition to taxation impossible. This was in a great degree owing to the large reductions of taxation made in 1830, some before and some after the present Ministers came into power. In these circumstances, the only resource left to Government was an unflinching reduction of expenditure, and it was done with so unsparing a hand as in a great degree compensated the deficiency. The reductions amounted to no less than £2,500,000, making, when balanced against a small increase in other departments, an entire saving of £2,162,000; of which £1,000,000 was on the navy and £500,000 on the army, besides £1,000,000 on the miscellaneous services. These reductions, especially in the army and navy, gave the greatest satisfaction to the reforming classes, and they enabled Government, without imposing new burdens, to tide

over the difficulties of the ensuing year. But they did so only by cutting off the right arm of the national strength, inducing the most terrible disasters, and rendering necessary the most profuse expenditure in future years. Then was first fully put in force that ruinous system of economical reduction, which diminished the national armaments in proportion to the increase of the national necessities,—which displaced Great Britain from its station among the nations, disabled the empire from taking advantage of the victory of the Alma, and exposed our troops without food or shelter to the horrors of the Crimean winter.*

11. A question which, in the distressed financial state of the country, excited a very great degree of attention, was that arising out of the Russo-Belgian loan. By the treaty of 1814, which first erected the united kingdom of the Netherlands, it had been provided that a sum of £200,000 advanced to Holland, and a further sum, not exceeding £3,000,000, should be borne “conjointly, and always in equal shares,” by Great Britain and Holland, for augmenting the defences of the Low Countries. The money was advanced by Russia, and Great Britain became collaterally bound for payment of the interest, on the condition that “these payments should cease should the dominion of the Belgic provinces pass from the King of Holland.” On the severance of Belgium from Holland, the King of the Netherlands refused to make any further payments; but the English Government continued to

* The comparative expenditure of 1832 and 1833 was thus stated by Lord Althorpe in his place in Parliament:—

	Expenditure for year ending—	
	5th April 1832.	5th April 1833.
Dividends,	£24,361,512	£24,340,000
Annuities,	3,319,314	3,340,000
Interest on Exchequer bills,	662,984	685,000
Other charges on Consolidated Fund,	1,741,384	1,971,000
Army,	7,551,024	7,087,682
Navy,	5,842,835	4,878,635
Ordnance,	1,478,944	1,424,688
Miscellaneous,	2,900,430	1,969,371
	£47,858,427	£45,696,376
Deduct,	45,696,376	
Saving,	£2,162,051	

do so, under this guarantee, on behalf of Belgium. This was objected to by the Opposition; and the Conservatives, deeming this a favourable opportunity for coalescing with the Radicals, brought forward a special motion on the subject, which was powerfully supported by Mr Herries, on the ground, that as the payment was only to continue as long as Holland and Belgium remained united, the fact of their being now separated terminated the obligation of payment. On the other hand, it was contended by Lord Althorpe on the part of the Government, that the separation contemplated in the treaty as the condition which was to terminate the obligation of payment was a separation *vi et armis*, by foreign interference, and not such as had actually occurred, by the voluntary separation of the component parts of which the united state was composed. There was much to be said on both sides, and the legal authorities themselves were divided on the subject. But as the more honourable course undoubtedly was to hold the obligation still in force, it must be considered as a creditable circumstance to the national faith that the House of Commons supported Ministers, though only by a majority of 20, the numbers being 239 to 219.

12. But all subjects of anxiety in the year 1832 sank into insignificance in the British empire, after the Reform Bill had passed, compared to that furnished by the distracted state of Ireland. That unhappy country, the victim, in one age, of British injustice, in another of British indulgence, had only become more distracted with every concession made to its demands. "Confusion and threatened rebellion," says the annalist, "had no sooner accomplished emancipation, than it commenced the same work to destroy the Protestant Church. The same organised tumult and menaced dissolution of the bonds of society, which had been employed to open the doors of Parliament, and of the Government offices in 1829, was directed to batter down the Church in 1831 and 1832. One demand conceded immediately became the parent of a new one;

and agitation, like love, had an appetite which grew by what it fed on." The system now adopted was an organised resistance to tithes, which, being everywhere enjoined by the spiritual guides, was universally and implicitly obeyed. So general had the evil become that it excited the anxious attention of Government, who, in the speech from the throne in February 1832, made his Majesty say—"In parts of Ireland a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, attended in some instances with afflicting results, and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvements in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and at the same time remove the present causes of complaint."

13. In consequence of this recommendation, committees were appointed in both Houses of Parliament, who collected an immense mass of evidence, and revealed a state of things which would have been absolutely incredible if not supported by incontrovertible proof. It appeared that what was everywhere demanded was the entire and unqualified *abolition* of tithes, upon the ground that it was paid by Catholic cultivators to Protestant clergymen. It never occurred to these recusants that, though paid in the first instance by the peasantry, the burden in reality fell upon the Protestant landlords, because it formed a deduction from their rents, just as the property-tax which was paid in England during the war did. Earl Grey, however, set his face decidedly against any such change, and declared it to be the firm intention of Government, before introducing any alteration, to make the law respected. The committee of the Commons, of which Mr Stanley was chairman, reported, "that with a view to secure the interests both of the Church and of the country, such a change, to be safe and satisfactory, must involve a *complete extinction of tithes*, including those belonging to lay impropiators, by commuting them for a charge upon land, or an exchange for an investment

in land, so as effectually to secure the revenues of the Church, and at the same time remove all pecuniary collisions between the parochial clergy and the occupiers of land."

14. There can be no doubt that this report was founded on the true principles on the subject, and that in no other way than by commuting tithes into a rent-charge on land payable directly by the landlord, or estates belonging solely to the Church, is it possible to settle the question on a satisfactory footing, in cases where the clergy and any considerable part of their parishioners belong to different religious persuasions. Experience has entirely settled this question, for the system thus proposed to be introduced is nothing but a copy of that established two hundred years before in Scotland by the decrees arbitral of Charles I., and which, in a country at that period torn by the most violent religious feuds, has, so far as the temporalities of the Church go, ever since induced entire peace and concord in the country. By the simple expedient, too, of making the rent-charge vary every seven or ten years, according to the average price of grain in the preceding period, the provision for the clergy can be effectually guarded against the risk of being lessened by a change in the value of money, as has been experienced with some degree of hardship from the want of such a clause in the settlement of the tithe question in Scotland. But the expression in the report, and which was reiterated by Mr Stanley (now Lord Derby) in his speech in introducing the remedial measures of Government in the House of Commons, that "*the extinction of tithes*" was intended, had a very pernicious effect, as inducing among the inconsiderate persons likely to be affected by the measure the belief that the burden was to be entirely removed, not transferred, as Government intended, in a direct form to the landlord.

15. The debate on this subject is chiefly valuable from the important evidence which it brought out of the dreadful state of the country, and the

war to the knife which had been set on foot by the Catholic clergy to stop the payment of tithes to their Protestant brethren. The arrears of tithes due and irrecoverable in the three dioceses of Ossory, Cashel, and the united one of Leighlin and Ferns, were computed at £84,954; and the following was the description given by Mr Stanley of the state of the clergy thus deprived of their sole means of subsistence: "As to the reviled clergy, the men who are described as living in 'luxury, idleness, and ease,' they were living, some in fear of a prison for debt, as they had received no money for many months, many more in fear of their neighbours, and not a few in fear of seeing their children starve before their eyes. Sometimes there would come in *by night* a pig or a bag of meal from some pitying friend, and by day the clergyman might be seen digging for bare life in his garden with his shoeless children about him, while his wife was trying within the house whether the tattered clothes would bear another and another patch.

16. "The mode of resistance adopted was such as rendered it extremely difficult to deal with the recusants. Every plan was fallen upon by which the action of the law could by possibility be traversed. Tithe-proctors and process-servers were violently assailed, impediments interposed to prevent the seizure and sale of cattle—in short, everything done which could be displayed by a whole population acting as one man against the payment of a claim legally due. They had posts and signals to give warning of the approach of the police, on the appearance of whom the cattle were locked up; and when seized, pointed, and sold, they were bought up for the owners. Such was the general intimidation and the risk run in enforcing the law, that attorneys could not be got to act, nor sheriff-officers to make seizures in the disturbed districts, and the clergy were deprived of the last resource for the support of their families; for such was the peril to which they were exposed, that no offices would insure their lives. Many of the witnesses stated that they

knew Established clergymen in want of the common necessities of life. Sir John Harvey said, 'A gentleman with whom I am well acquainted told me that he had just been sending a sheep, and a few potatoes, and a small note, to a gentleman who was formerly in comparative affluence, and who had neither a shilling nor a pound of meat or bread in his house.' The Archbishop of Dublin said, in his evidence before the Lords' committee, 'As for the continuance of the tithe system, it must be at the point of the bayonet—it must be through a sort of chronic civil war.'"

17. The remedy which Government proposed for this wretched state of things was to authorise the issue from the consolidated fund of such sums as might be necessary to relieve the immediate necessities of the clergy of Ireland, to be at the disposal of the Lord-Lieutenant, and in return to be empowered to levy the arrears of tithes and of composition for the year 1831. Precedents for this existed in the years 1786, 1799, and 1800. Another proposal was to establish generally a system of commutation of tithes by compulsory authority over the whole island. These proposals were violently resisted by the Catholic members for Ireland, especially the last, as it threatened to establish, in some form or another, the burden of tithes for the benefit of the Protestant clergy. The bill was carried in the Commons, however, by a majority of 124 to 32, so strongly had the necessity of the case impressed itself on the minds of the House. Mr O'Connell loudly protested against the bill. "The people of Ireland," said he, "are determined to get rid of tithes, and get rid of them they will. They have triumphed over the Duke of Wellington, and they are not afraid of being conquered by the Irish Secretary. No power in England can put down the combination against tithes. They may perhaps change its shape, or make it disappear for a day; but unless some measure of essential relief and amelioration is granted, it will appear in another form, and reappear with redoubled force. Then will be

felt the ill effects of delaying justice to Ireland."

18. Pending the discussion of this bill in Parliament, the most violent agitation was kept up in the country, in order to produce that intimidation which had succeeded so well with Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill. O'Connell's first measure was to propose to the Irish members, by circulars from the Irish Association, that they should assemble at Dublin in a national council to concert measures in common. The authority of the great agitator, however, was not as yet so thoroughly established as to make all Ireland submit to his dictation, and this project failed. Recourse was immediately had to rural agitation; and to give it force and unity the Association intrusted to Mr O'Connell a petition to Parliament, which called on them to take measures for the "instant and total abolition of tithes and church-rates in Ireland, as the only way of stopping the effusion of blood." To prove the reality of the danger if their demands were not instantly complied with, the agitators, not content with individual intimidation, proceeded to public denunciations affixed to the chapel doors. To a chapel in the county of Meath was affixed, in April, the following notice: "Keep up your courage, and persevere. There are forty thousand men well prepared, and firmly resolved to join you in the counties of Wexford and Carlow. Send notice to New Ross and Graigue, and they will be with you in a few hours. Any man that pays tithes, or does not join you to defeat the supporters of that damnable imposition, is a traitor and an enemy to the country, and you ought to pour the vials of your wrath immediately upon him. N.B.—Any person that takes down this bill will incur the displeasure of the supreme decree." Similar notices were generally posted over the country, and resolutions were openly voted at public meetings, that if the police should interfere to aid in the collection of tithes, they should share the fate of the police at Knocktopher, where, in the preceding year, twelve of them had been slain.

19. The scene of predial violence and bloodshed which followed those savage denunciations had never been paralleled in Europe, save in the *Jacquerie* of France, and the worst excesses of the insurrection of the boors in Germany. The unhappy expression in the report of the Lords' committee, that nothing short of a "complete *extinction* of tithes" would pacify Ireland, was considered as a sufficient warrant not only for resisting payment of them, but for committing every crime in the course of the resistance. "An archdeacon in the neighbourhood of Cashel," says the Liberal historian, "had hoped to establish a commutation with his parishioners, but now they refused his terms—came up to him in a field in sight of his own house, where several persons were ploughing, and beat his head to pieces. If any resident, pressed by conscience, by fear of the law, or by regard for his pastor, paid the smallest amount of tithe, in the most secret manner, his cattle were houghed in the night, or his house burned over his head, or his flock of sheep hunted over a precipice, and lay a crushed heap in the morning. There was a sound of a horn at that time which made men's flesh creep, whether it was heard by day or by night; for those who took upon them to extinguish tithes now boldly assembled their numbers by the sound of the horn, and all those who heard it knew that murder, or arson, or mutilation was going on. Capture, special commissions, and trials were useless; witnesses dared not to give evidence, jurors dared not attend. On the very chapels, notices were now posted by the insurgents, and no one dared to take them down."

20. In the beginning of February, the Irish Government, in terms of the Peace Preservation Act, proclaimed various baronies in Tipperary—that is, declared the stringent provisions of that Act for the preservation of the peace in force; and at the same time the most vigorous measures were adopted to increase the police and the military in the disturbed districts. But they were of such extent, and so

large a proportion of the peasantry were engaged in the conspiracy, that their efforts had very little effect. To enforce the law, the assistance of one part of the people is indispensable to compel the obedience of the other part; but where they are *all* interested in violating it, there is nothing so difficult as to cause authority to be respected. La Vendée and Spain proved that even the greatest military force, without such support, can scarcely effect that object. The proclamations of Government had no other result than to cause the insurrection to assume a more threatening form, and run into still more dangerous excesses. In Westmeath, a body of two hundred armed men assembled, and in open day assaulted a police station. In Donegal, huge bodies of armed peasants marched in military array, compelling landlords to sign obligations not to exact tithe, and to lower rents. In Kilkenny, the people rose *en masse*, and, dividing themselves into small detachments, committed the most frightful atrocities on the unhappy inmates. Here they cruelly abused a farmer and his wife because they would not give up their daughter, whom they at last discovered and carried off. There a farmer having refused to surrender a pair of pistols to these bloodthirsty wretches, they dragged him to the fire, and put his naked soles upon the live turf till their object was accomplished. A tenant ejected for non-payment of rent was sure of his revenge: if a new tenant entered, he had only to expect that his property would be committed to the flames, and he himself shot. The terror which was thus universally propagated was sure to secure impunity to offenders, for those who saw the atrocities gave no information; and if the police heard of them, witnesses would not give evidence on trial, nor juries convict even upon the clearest evidence, if given.

21. While the Protestant clergy were reduced to the last stages of starvation and despair by these atrocious proceedings, the agitators held them forth to the people as revelling in luxury and plenty. At a county meeting of

Catholics, held at Cork, it was unanimously resolved, "That it is a glaring wrong to compel an impoverished Catholic people to support in pampered luxury *the richest clergy in the world*; a clergy from whom the Catholics do not experience even the return of common gratitude; a clergy who in times past opposed to the last the political freedom of the Irish people, and at the present day are opposed to reform and a liberal education of their countrymen." At every meeting for the sale of distrained effects, two or three thousand persons assembled, whose numbers and menacing aspect deterred any one from becoming purchasers, so that the recovery of the tithe was rendered impossible. At a public meeting of Catholics held at Carlow, it was resolved, "That the great body of the people of Ireland are reduced to a state of misery unparalleled in the history of the world — misery attributable chiefly to the odious tithe system, and to the rapacity of the majority of the clergy, who have neither affection for their country, nor feeling for their fellow-creatures. That it is inconsistent with common reason and with human understanding to compel a Roman Catholic population to support in gorgeous splendour, in luxury, laziness, and ease, a horde of bishops and parsons, whose only employment is to spoliate the property of the people, and to traduce and malign their priests and religion."

22. It is a very curious circumstance, strikingly illustrative of the foreign and sacerdotal influence at work in getting up this disastrous agitation and resistance to the law, that, owing to the extreme subdivision of land in Ireland, the tithe, even though paid by the peasantry, was in most cases a burden hardly perceptible. In the parish of Carlow, the sum owing by 222 defaulters was *a farthing each*. In some cases the charges upon land amounted only to 7-12ths of a farthing. Mr Littleton, the Irish Secretary, stated in Parliament "that the smaller sums were often paid by three or four persons, and the *highest aggregate charge was against those who owed*

individually about twopence." The impost, therefore, was perfectly trifling, and formed no real burden on the people: they were miserable enough, but not owing to the tithes, but an entirely different set of causes, which the agitation tended only to aggravate. The transference of the collection of the tithes from the clergy to the exchequer had produced no real benefit. The royal officers were resisted as obstinately and universally as the titheproctors of the clergy had been: out of £104,285, the arrears of 1831, only £12,000 was collected, and that, as the report bears, "with great difficulty and some loss of life." Meanwhile, the resistance to tithe, and the warfare against the clergy, who were reduced to the last stage of starvation, continued with unabated vigour in every part of the country: one minister was shot dead on his lawn, and a drover, conducting cattle belonging to a clergyman to a neighbouring fair, murdered on the highroad. With truth did O'Connell say, in a letter at this period addressed to the Reformers of Great Britain, though not in the sense that he intended—"There is blood on the face of the earth, human blood profusely shed. Will it sink into the earth unnoticed and unregarded, or will it cry to Heaven for retribution and vengeance?"

"Blow, blow, ye winds, with heavier gust!
And freeze, thou bitter biting frost!
Descend, ye chilly smothering snows!
Not all your rage, as now united, shows
More hard unkindness, unrelenting,
Vengeful malice unrepenting,
Than heaven-illumined man on brother man
bestows!
See stern Oppression's iron gripe,
Or mad Ambition's gory hand,
Sending, like bloodhounds from the slip,
Woe, want, and murder o'er a land!"*

23. In the midst of these horrors, the Parliament was prorogued by the King in person on the 16th August. In the closing speech his Majesty said, "I have still to lament the continuance of disturbances in Ireland, notwithstanding the vigilance and energy displayed by my Government in the measures taken to repress them. The laws which have been passed in conformity

with my recommendation at the beginning of the session, with respect to the collection of tithes, are well calculated to lay the foundation of a new system, to which the attention of Parliament, when it again assembles, will be of course directed. I recommend to you during the recess the most careful attention to the preservation of the public peace, and to the maintenance of the authority of the law in your respective counties. I trust that the advantages enjoyed by all my subjects under our free constitution will be duly appreciated and cherished; that relief from any real causes of complaint will only be sought through legitimate channels; that all irregular and illegal proceedings will be discountenanced and resisted; and that the establishment of internal tranquillity and order will prove that the measures which I have sanctioned have not been fruitless in promoting the security of the state, and the content and welfare of my people."

24. The registration of electors under the Reform Act began in August 1832, and proved a very great improvement upon the old methods of conducting elections. It was soon found that the fixing of the electors in their respective rights before the contest began, both facilitated extremely the taking of the votes, and diminished proportionally the duration and costs of the contest. The expense of the struggle in the registration courts proved indeed in many cases very considerable, and was loudly complained of; but it has much diminished in the progress of time, after repeated contests had tested the strength of the opposite parties in almost every locality, and opposition was confined to those places where there was some prospect of success. Even from the first it was a very great advantage to have the roll arranged before the polling commenced, and the double strain avoided of enrolling the voters and taking the votes at the same time. Scarcely less was the improvement effected by confining the polling to two days in counties, and one in boroughs, — a period which, by a subsequent Act,

was reduced to one in both, and which experience has proved is amply sufficient, when proper arrangements have been made, to take the sense even of the largest constituency. When the rapidity with which the poll is now taken, even in the greater counties, is considered, it appears almost inconceivable how men submitted so long to the innumerable evils of having it kept open, as it sometimes was under the old method, for fifteen successive days. Much was expected by the ardent Reformers from the new system in diminishing the frequency of corruption among the electors, but these hopes not only proved fallacious, but have ended in the most bitter disappointment. Bribery has gone on steadily increasing with every successive election which has taken place since the passing of the Reform Bill, until at length, in the Parliament that displaced Lord Derby and reseatd the Whigs in power in 1852, it had come to such a point that *fifty-two* returns were challenged on that ground alone. It is easy to see it can never be otherwise under the present system, and that the evil will only be increased by lowering the suffrage. To expect to diminish bribery by enlarging the circle of electors, is to look for the diminution of sin by increasing the number of sinners.

25. Another feature, hitherto little known in the British empire, now made its appearance, and suddenly rose to portentous magnitude—that of requiring *pledges* from candidates as to how they are to vote upon all the leading questions of the day. This system of reducing representatives to delegates, so sorely experienced in democratic states, and which, by its continued operation, had destroyed the independence and ruined the liberties of Poland, was not altogether unknown in England under the old constitution, but it was confined to a few great towns and noisy constituencies, and could not be considered as a public grievance. It was too agreeable, however, to the pride of man, and too likely to gratify individual ambition, not to be largely embraced, now that

these great towns and noisy constituencies had, through their own members, or those whom they influenced, obtained the majority in the legislature. Accordingly, from the very first it was adopted as a fixed principle of action by the Liberal committees who directed the new constituencies. The Livery of London set the example in resolutions, which deserve to be recorded for the open avowal of the principle of delegation which they contain.* This example was immediately followed in all the other great towns and new constituencies; and to the influence of this circumstance, great part if not the whole of the subsequent changes in the policy of the British empire are to be ascribed. The pledges taken were chiefly to bind the representative to vote for the repeal of particular taxes—such as the house-tax, window-tax, duty on corn, spirits, tea, or sugar, which immediately affected themselves—without inquiring for a moment how the deficiency was to be supplied, or the national armaments maintained without these taxes. The exaction of these pledges, which was almost universal in the new constituencies, had a most important effect on the composition of Parliament, and greatly augmented the Reform majority. The Conservatives nearly all refused to take the pledges, and were in consequence in great part thrown overboard in the very outset; and the ma-

* “Resolved, 1. That for one man to represent another, means that he is to act for that other, and in a manner agreeably to his wishes and instructions.

“2. That members chosen to be representatives in Parliament ought to do such things as their constituents wish and direct them to do.

“3. That, therefore, those to whom the law now commits the sacred trust of the power of choosing members who are to represent their non-voting neighbours as well as themselves, ought to be scrupulously faithful to choose no man on whom firm reliance cannot be placed that he will obey the wishes and directions of his constituents.

“4. That a signed engagement should be exacted from the member that he would ‘at all times and in all things act conformably to the wishes of a majority of his constituents deliberately expressed, or would at their request resign the trust with which they had honoured him.’”—*London Resolutions*, Oct. 17, 1832; *Ann. Reg.* 1832, p. 300.

majority were tied to a course of conduct by persons ignorant of, or indifferent to, the effect it might have upon the fortunes, or even existence, of the country. The Liberals gained a great accession of strength in Parliament in the first instance by this circumstance, but they experienced nothing but embarrassment from it in the end, for it brought them under the rule of an ungovernable majority in the House of Commons, whose votes, being determined by the dictates of rash and ignorant constituencies given beforehand, could neither be directed by reason nor swayed by influence. The least consideration must show every candid mind that a popular legislature, where the majority is thus directed by pledges, so far from being a benefit, must always prove one of the greatest curses which can afflict society. What should we think of a court of law, where the judges and jury, before they heard the evidence in every case, or knew anything about its merits, were bound *ab ante* to give certain decisions in every one of them according to the dictates of a crowd of noisy occupants of shops and houses rented below £20, in general as ignorant of the merits of each case as themselves?

26. The registrations were all completed in October, and the elections took place in the end of December and beginning of January. Parliament was dissolved on the 3d December, and the new writs were returnable on the 29th January. The elections, upon the whole, went off more quietly and with less violence than had been anticipated, and it is not surprising that it was so. The Liberals had in general acquired so decided a majority that they were secure of victory; violence and intimidation were no longer required, and therefore they were not resorted to. The greater part of the seats were secured with ease for the Reformers by decided majorities. Ignorant of the decisive change which had been worked by the Reform Bill in boroughs, the Conservatives started candidates in most of the great towns, but they were generally defeated. The whole twenty members for London and its suburban

districts were returned in the Liberal interest, and Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds did the same. Twenty-one out of twenty-three burghs in Scotland returned Liberal members,* and the great majority of the Irish seats were carried by the same interest. In a few instances, much to the disappointment of the Reformers, who expected to have carried the *whole* boroughs in the empire, Conservatives got in. Sir R. Vyvyan, who had been distinguished by his resistance to reform, was at the head of the poll in Bristol, and Lord Sandon, a moderate Tory, preserved his seat for Liverpool; but that was known to be owing to the number of the old freemen in these cities, and afforded no test of the opinions of the new constituencies. Upon the whole, it was calculated, when the returns were all made, that the Liberals had a majority of at least five to one in the House of Commons; there being scarce 100 Tories in a House of 658 members. The victory was complete; to all appearance the Conservative interest was irrevocably and for ever destroyed in the Lower House. So far the Reform Bill had completely answered the expectations of its supporters; but from the decisive nature of their triumph a new source of anxiety was opened up to them. They had overcome one set of opponents only to rear up another still more formidable. It was already doubtful how far the Whig Ministry could withstand a combination of the English Radicals and Irish Catholics; and whether the latter, by threatening such a coalition, might not be in a condition to dictate their own terms to Government, and acquire the entire command of the country.

27. Parliament met on January 29, 1833, and after some discussion, Mr Mannors Sutton was elected Speaker by a large majority in opposition to Mr Lyttleton, who was supported by the Radicals. The session was opened by the King in person, who, with truth,

* The only exceptions were Glasgow—which returned Mr Ewing, then Lord Provost, a Liberal Tory—and the Inverness burghs.

said that “never at any time did subjects of greater interest and magnitude call for their attention.” The renewal of the Bank Charter, of that of the East India Company, the question of West Indian slavery, and the everlasting disorders of Ireland, all called for immediate attention. Important as these topics were, however, it was not upon them that the anxious attention of the country was fixed. It was the *House itself* which occupied every eye, engrossed every thought. This was the first reformed Parliament, and the object of universal interest was how it would conduct itself, and whether it would realise the extravagant expectations of good formed by the one party, or the gloomy denunciations of evil which had been uttered by the other. Intense was the anxiety with which the first debates at this, the most momentous crisis in British history, the turning-point in the whole policy, foreign and domestic, of the empire, were regarded. Never, it may safely be affirmed, were anticipations on both sides more signally disappointed. The terrors of the Conservatives were allayed by the division on Mr Hume’s amendment to the Address, seconded by Mr O’Connell, which was only supported by 40 members, of whom 34 were Irish, out of a House of 428. This division tested the strength of the ultra-Irish and Catholic party, when opposed by the united Whigs, Tories, and Radicals of the empire; as one which immediately followed of 300 to 23, on a motion of Mr Cobbett for the entire rejection of the Address, did of the extreme English Radicals. Sir R. Peel and the whole Conservatives, on both these occasions, gave their entire strength to the support of the Government.

28. Important as these divisions were, as testing the strength of the two extreme parties in the House of Commons from whom most danger was to be apprehended, they yet yielded in consequence to the impression which the debate on the Address produced upon the country. It lasted *nine* nights—from January 30 to February 9—and never were fervent hopes

and highly-wrought expectations more thoroughly disappointed than by its result. Wordiness was its grand characteristic; and if there is anything more than another which wears out the patience and cools the fervour of political ambition, it is a copious effusion of words. When the French National Assembly, in a transport of enthusiasm, in August 1789, voted away the whole feudal rights, it was done in a single night. Immense was the good done by the Radical Reformers, though not in the way they intended, by the interminable speeches in which they indulged; they at once disappointed the hopes of the revolutionists, and proved their own incapacity for real business, or the lead in any rational assembly. Even the constituencies for whose special edification these effusions were intended, were worn out by their length; they began to fear that they would see realised on this side of the Atlantic, the occurrence often described in the records of the American Congress, in these words, "Mr M. got possession of the floor on Tuesday night, and it is expected he will keep it during the remainder of the week." The vigour and condensation of the old debaters from the unreformed House stood forth in bright contrast to the long-winded harangues of the new members; and men wakened, as from a dream, to the painful conviction that statesmanship is a profession which, like every other, requires a long apprenticeship, and that in the contests of the forum, as of the field, victory will usually attend the banners of the old soldiers.

29. The determination of the new members, however, especially from the great towns, to be heard was so great, and their obvious inability to condense their arguments so evident, that it led to a great and lasting change in the mode of conducting the public business of the House of Commons. "It was not without reason," says the analyst, "that Sir Robert Peel had anticipated an overwhelming quantity of attempted legislation, in consequence of the new constitution of the House. Ministers themselves saw it would be

impossible to confine the session within any reasonable bounds, unless the working hours of the House were increased, and, if possible, the love of speech-making was laid under some restraint." To accomplish these objects, Lord Althorpe, on the first day of the session, gave notice of certain resolutions, which were adopted, for increasing the business hours of the House of Commons. The Speaker was to take the chair at twelve o'clock, and proceed with private business until three, when the House was to adjourn till five, when the public business was to be proceeded with. Every petition was to be read, and one speech made on the motion that it be received, and one on that it should be printed, instead of four, which were competent at present. The committees were to sit from nine to twelve, and from three to five, so that a member of the House in much request might have to sit *seventeen hours* successively each day. So urgent was the case, that the proposals were agreed to without a division, and the House met for the first time under the new rules at twelve o'clock on 27th February. This circumstance had an important effect upon the future proceedings of the reformed Parliament, for the weight of business ere long falling upon it was so prodigious that none but those practically trained to such endurance could withstand its pressure, and in the attempt to do so, the superiority of the trained debaters, as of old soldiers, or workmen in their respective vocations, was soon apparent.

30. The first and most pressing business of the session was the state of Ireland, which had deteriorated so rapidly that something vigorous evidently required to be done if society was to be prevented from falling into a state of utter dissolution and anarchy. So far from Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill having had the effect which was anticipated from them, of appeasing the discontent and remedying the grievances of that unhappy country, the effect of these measures had proved just the reverse. With every step in advance made, the agi-

tation, violence, and outcry had increased in a most frightful degree, and they had now reached a height unparalleled in any civilised state. Since the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, serious crime over all Ireland had increased SIXTEEN-FOLD in the short space of four years.* If Government was not to abdicate its functions altogether, and leave the country to the unrestrained violence of lawless ruffians, it was evident that something very vigorous, and altogether different from the old system of conciliation and concession to outrage, required to be done; and Ministers, to their credit be it said, applied a remedy, as the result proved, of a most efficient kind. On 15th February, Earl Grey brought forward the celebrated COERCION BILL, which deserves to be noted as the first step in the right direction in the government of Ireland, and not less certainly in his own fall. The debate which ensued was of the highest importance, and throws more light than any which had preceded it on the real state of that country, and the causes of its disastrous condition.

31. On the part of Ministers, it was argued by Earl Grey, Lord Althorpe, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr Stanley: "The bill now proposed is brought forward without the preliminary step of taking evidence by a committee, because the circumstances under which it is called for required no investigation, but are known to all the world. It is not with a secret conspiracy, directing its concealed attacks against the Government, that we have to do. The powers demanded by Ministers are intended to repress a system of association which proceeds openly under an organisation, and is avowedly di-

rected to the accomplishment of objects which at once destroy the peace and safety of the community, and threaten the unity and integrity of the empire; an organisation which, by means of armed bodies, violates the rights of property, inflicts death for the purposes of terror and vengeance, and renders nugatory the law, by deterring prosecutors and witnesses, and intimidating jurors. Neither past experience nor the present posture of affairs justify the expectation that a mere redress of grievances will restore peace to Ireland. It was confidently expected by ourselves that emancipation would produce tranquillity, and that Parliament would be allowed to pursue its course of further amelioration, without being disturbed by popular violence. But we have been grievously disappointed. To allow such a pause did not meet the views of the promoters of agitation; the sweets of power had been tasted by the popular leaders; the slow work of redress did not suit their wishes or purposes: from that moment agitation was renewed, and the state of Ireland had become, and now is, more alarming and worse than at any former period.

32. "The new body of Irish volunteers, which has been recently set on foot, threatens consequences still more alarming. There is a central association in Dublin; and for every parish in Ireland there are appointed three pacificators, one of whose duties is to *enlist and enrol* the neighbouring population, farmers and labourers, in associations which should be under the direction of the central association. The declared object of this society was peace, and the protection of the country without the aid of police. Though

* Lord Althorpe, in the House of Commons, gave the following appalling statement of the progress of serious crime during the last three months of each year and first of 1833, in the province of Leinster, from 1829 to 1833:—

Years.	Murders.	Robberies	Burglaries.	Burnings.	Houghing cattle.	Serious assaults.	Illegal notices.	Injuries to property.
1829	10	60	39	31	13	45	49	44
1830	15	154	94	34	20	54	79	59
1831	47	152	251	29	17	89	117	67
1832	44	173	532	77	31	285	197	134
1833	163	487	1827	194	70	744	913	407

at present unarmed, it was acknowledged they were to be ultimately armed; and there would be established, by the influence of moral and physical agency, as a proof of revolutionary success, a National Guard, as in a neighbouring kingdom. This is the association, and its action depends on the breath of a single man. A Mr Steele, an active agent of these pacificators, has declared, 'If O'Connell should command us to have recourse to arms, blood, and convulsion, instead of our usual constitutional warfare, I would not order the Clare men to go into Cralloe Wood to cut down trees for pike-handles, but I would first send them to cut down the trees on my own domain, and would not myself be idle, nor a mere looker-on in the conflict.' Such an association, if suffered to exist, must lead to an abandonment of the whole powers and functions of Government: the throne thereafter must depend on the sufferance of the agitators.

33. "A still more material object of the proposed bill is to restore the authority of the law; and this can be done only by extraordinary, and what at first sight may appear exceptionable means. The ordinary tribunals have become almost powerless, by reason of the intimidation constantly exercised against prosecutors, witnesses, and jurors, who proceed in any way, however slight, against the crimes of the agitators. On the trial of the murderers at the last Kilkenny assizes, the jury, not agreeing, was dismissed. In half an hour, notwithstanding an agreement in the jury-room that the votes should be kept secret, the names of those for acquittal and those for conviction were printed, the former in black, the latter, who were designated jurors for blood, in red ink. At the Clonmell assizes in October last, out of 265 jurors cited, only seventy-six attended, so great was the intimidation exercised against them. A gentleman had been murdered in sight of his own gate, in consequence of some dispute about tithes. His son-in-law was cited by the coroner to give evidence

against the supposed murderers. His answer was, 'I will submit to any penalty the Crown or law may impose upon me, but I will not appear at the trial, because I know, if I stand forward as a witness, my life will inevitably be forfeited.' The Irish Government received a formal notice from Kilkenny, that 'many gentlemen who have always been most conscientious in the discharge of their duties will not attend the next assizes, because they know that death will follow if they dare to act. They care not what penalty is imposed upon them. It is the boast of the prisoners that they cannot under any circumstances be convicted.' No wonder that outrage had become triumphant. The catalogue of Irish crime during last year contains 196 murders, 465 robberies, 1827 burglaries and attacks on houses, 455 houghings of cattle, 2095 illegal notices, 425 illegal meetings, 796 malicious acts of destroying property, 753 attacks on houses, 280 arsons, 3156 serious assaults. This catalogue, in lost lives alone, contains a greater loss than was sacrificed in the battle of Busaco, which delivered a kingdom; or that of Algiers, which terminated Christian slavery; or that of St Vincent, which saved England. The aggregate of predial crimes over all Ireland last year was 9000; and great as this number is, it is rapidly and alarmingly on the increase. During the months of July, August, and September, the crimes in Leinster alone were 1279: in the three following months they had risen to 1646. There is a system of demoralisation in Ireland now, such as never before existed in a country calling itself civilised.*

* Sir Robert Peel, who acted a truly patriotic part on this occasion, and lent the aid of his great talents to support the ministerial measure, gave the following striking account of an incident in the course of Irish outrage which had fallen under his own knowledge: "A man, a resident in the county of Clare, came to Dublin for the purpose of giving me information respecting the perpetrators of a certain outrage. Though fully aware that he was marked out for vengeance by the friends of the person he had been the means of bringing to justice, the strong desire of revisiting

34. "To meet these enormous evils, Government have adopted in the present bill the provisions of the 8th Geo. IV., c. 1, which empowers the Lord-Lieutenant to suppress the meeting of any assembly which should be deemed by him dangerous to the public peace, and to prevent the future meeting of such assembly, under any denomination whatever, under the penalties of a misdemeanour. Power is also to be given to the Lord-Lieutenant to declare, by proclamation, any district in a disturbed state, the effect of which

his native spot, and embracing his wife and children, overcame every consideration of personal security. I knew the man's danger, and earnestly advised him not to go. My advice, however, was not taken; and some weeks after he had returned, an attack was made upon his house by eleven men, who, after much deliberation, had come with the deadly determination of immolating their innocent victim. They attacked the house while he was asleep, broke open the door, called out the man, and murdered him with pitchforks, in the hearing of his wife and child—a child only nine years of age. While he was still in the agony of death, the mother took the child, and, placing it in a recess beside the fireplace, she said—such was her heroic fortitude and almost incredible self-possession, even with the cries of her dying husband ringing in her ears—she said to the infant—'You hear the cries of your dying father; I shall certainly be the next victim. When they have murdered him, they will certainly murder me too; but I will struggle with them as long as I am able, that I may give you time to do what I put you here for. My last act shall be to put this lighted peat upon the hearth. Do you, by its glare, mark the faces of the murderers. Mind you watch them narrowly, that you may know and be able to tell who they are, and to avenge the cruel death of your parents.' As the unhappy woman said, so it fell out. The butchers, after completing their bloody work upon the man, murdered the woman also. After a short but unsuccessful struggle with the ruthless miscreants, she was dragged from the cottage, and slain upon the bleeding body of her husband. But the child had carefully obeyed the last injunctions of its mother, had closely scanned the faces of the murderers, was able to identify them, and by the evidence of that child, corroborated by other evidence, five of the wretches who perpetrated that horrid deed were convicted and hanged within a month after its perpetration. That child was for some years under my protection."—*Ann. Reg.* 1833, pp. 61, 62; and *Parl. Deb.*, new series, vol. i. p. 672. What a picture of a country, and of deeds impelled by religious ambition! The imagination of Dante never conceived anything more terrible.

was that all persons were to abstain from attending meetings, and prohibited from being absent from home from an hour after sunset till sunrise, without sufficient cause, under the like penalties. No meetings for petitioning Parliament to be held without previous notice ten days before to the Lord-Lieutenant, and his sanction obtained. Proclaimed districts are, to a certain extent, to be subjected to *martial law*, and the courts-martial composed of officers, not less than five; and all holding commissions not less than two years, and above twenty-one years of age, are to be empowered to try all offences, except felonies. Any complaint or prosecution against the members of these courts-martial are to be competent only before another court-martial, called for that special purpose. Power is to be given to officers of justice and military on duty to enter houses in search of arms, and persons refusing to produce them are to be subjected to the penalties of a misdemeanour; and the writ of Habeas Corpus is to be suspended for three months after arrest in any proclaimed district.

35. "In vain have Government waited in the anxious hope that the returning good sense of the nation would put a period to these atrocities; they have waited to no purpose. This is admitted by the Catholics themselves. The Rev. Nicholas O'Connor, parish priest of Maryborough, said, in a letter to Lord de Vesci, 'In vain have we waited in hope of the returning good sense of the deluded, and have found, on the contrary, the well-disposed compelled by intimidation to join the disaffected, or murdered, or terrified out of the country.' Can the House conceive three lines more pregnant with horror? To the same purpose Dr Doyle, the Roman Catholic bishop of Kildare, says, in a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, 'For several months past we have witnessed, with the deepest affliction of spirit, the progress of illegal combinations under the name of Blackfeet and Whitefeet within certain portions of these dioceses. Murders, blasphemies, rash swearing, per-

juries, robberies, assaults on persons and property, the usurpation of the powers of the State and of the rights of the peaceable and well-disposed, are multiplied, and *every day perpetrated*, at the instigation of the devil, by the wicked and deluded men engaged in these confederacies.' Such is the state of the country, such the powerless condition of the law, that peaceable and well-disposed individuals are obliged to join illegal societies, or forfeit their lives, or abandon their country. Can this state of things be called the British constitution? Strong measures are indispensable before that constitution has a chance even of being established; and stringent as the measure proposed is, it is not more so than the overwhelming magnitude of the evils to be combated demands."

36. On the other hand, it was argued by Mr O'Connell, Mr Sheil, and Mr Hume: "No necessity whatever has been shown for any bill of the kind now proposed, much less for one which goes at one fell swoop to destroy the constitution over the whole of Ireland. The 'predial agitation,' as it is called, in which all the disorders complained of originate, has no connection with political agitation, and does not require any measure like this to put it down. The true cause of all these disturbances is the refusal of Ministers to abolish tithes, and its real object is to prevent all expression of public sentiment in Ireland against their faithlessness and misgovernment. The bill is unnecessary, for all respectable evidence was against either its efficacy or necessity. No reliance can be placed on the *ex parte* information communicated to the Irish Government by its subordinates; but what says Sir H. Vivian, the commander of the forces in Ireland, when examined before the committee last year? 'The combination is directed against tithes at present, and if you could satisfactorily arrange the tithe question, you would, I should think, have Ireland pretty quiet. Get rid of the first cause of excitement, and you will tranquillise Ireland in spite of agitation.' It was stated in the evidence of Mr Barrington,

the crown-solicitor, that the ordinary law is adequate to every purpose; and the chief-justice's address crowns the whole, in which he expresses his conviction that the actual law is sufficient. The attorney-general, too, threw in his attestation, by declaring that a conviction had taken place in thirty-eight cases out of thirty-nine. The Government had admitted, too, in this very debate, that not a single juror had been injured, and that every jury but one had done its duty. Was this a reason for abolishing all juries? The committee on the state of Ireland reported in August last, but this report contained not one word on the unfairness of juries. There were trials for combinations against tithes in Dublin, Clonmel, Kerry, and Cork, and in every one case convictions were obtained. Summon the gentry of the country to attend the assizes, fine them if they do not, and you will soon have the tribunals thronged. Provide your witnesses with due protection; let them emigrate if needful, and you will have nothing to dread.

37. "The supporters of the bill have given the evidence only on one side. They have harrowed the feelings of the House by the recital of the most frightful murders, and they have carefully kept out of sight the provocations which led to these atrocities. The evidence before the committee contains the details of the gross acts of tyranny which had been perpetrated on the peasantry during the last three years, and which have at last goaded them on to the perpetration of these lamentable atrocities. Was it to be wondered at that these poor uneducated men—uneducated owing to your bad laws—should follow the example of injustice and oppression which you had set them? They had heard of the torture to which your aristocracy had subjected their ancestors,—is it surprising that they in their turn should practise your inhumanity? You recount the outrages committed by a few lawless ruffians, and with these you mix up the great mass of the people of Ireland, who are wholly innocent. Why put the whole people of Ireland

under the provisions of this monstrous bill, when, even on the showing of Government, only a few districts required its application? Galway, Clare, Limerick, for example, are admitted to be tranquil,—why should they suffer for the misdeeds of Kilkenny, Queen's County, or Carlow? The Government, not satisfied with establishing courts-martial amidst the scenes of outrage and horror, have erected them in the capital, where they have juries at their command, and not very stubborn judges, and where a conviction is as easy as an accusation.

38. "Have outrages been confined to Ireland? Have not Nottingham and Bristol been the scene of the most lawless devastations? Have the Government on that account resorted to the same coercive measures in England? No; and why? Because the system of devastation was local and partial. Why not apply the same principle to Ireland? If insurrection exists, by all means strengthen the hands of Government to put it down, but let not them put the whole country out of the pale of the law for the outrages of a comparatively few. To secure the unjust and ruinous policy of Government respecting tithes, is at the bottom of the whole. In vain is it asserted that the special powers conferred by this act are not to be exerted in support of the collection of tithes. The obstructing a clergyman in the collection of tithe is made a crime by it, and all crimes except felonies are to be tried by courts-martial. The army is already employed in the collection of tithes; it is now to adjudicate upon them. The act will thus have the effect of extorting an abominable impost by means of martial law, and the officer of the army who has been employed one day in levying tithes is to try the wretched peasantry the next, for an offence in which his own feelings are so deeply engaged.

39. "It is said this bill is for the protection of the orderly people of Ireland. Supposing it is so, is it not reasonable to inquire whether those orderly people do not consider the remedy worse than the disease—whe-

ther they do not regard this rather a high price to pay for protection? May they not think that the authorised breaking open houses by the police is as bad as the unauthorised breaking of houses by midnight assassins? Let the Whitefeet be put down, but let not the constitution be put down with them. This bill will only multiply the causes of discontent. If passed into a law, allegiance will thenceforth become, in the eyes of the Irish people, not a sentiment of duty, but a mere consideration of expediency. The people of Ireland have the strongest aversion to courts-martial; no modification of such tribunals can lessen this detestation; they remind them of 1798. What a fearful power do the nightly domiciliary visits put in the power of the police or their confederated supporters, and what odious outrages may be committed under colour of it! The persons taken on occasion of these visits are not to be put merely in the public jails, but they may be confined anywhere! They may be thrust into dungeons or confined in cellars, where they may rot away unknown and unpitied! What a triumph does this act give to the Tories over the Whigs! When did the Tories ever bring in such an act? One of the worst things in this act is, that if an anti-Liberal or Tory Government should hereafter wish to have recourse to strong measures, they would only have to stop a little short of this precedent, and could then claim credit for not going the utmost length of Whig atrocity.

40. "Personal liberty being abolished, the right of petition, as a matter of course, is to share the same fate. The Lord-Lieutenant is to be empowered to prevent, whenever he thinks fit, a meeting for the purpose of petitioning! When will he ever 'think it fit' to sanction such an assemblage? A couple of individuals are to be allowed to meet in a coffee-house, agree on a petition, and hawk it about from door to door for signature; but is that the way in which the constitutional right of petitioning is to be exercised? The act tolerates nothing but hole-and-corner petitions, because its authors

well know in what light such petitions are received when presented to this House. It does not absolutely prohibit petitioning—it does worse; it renders it the object of ridicule. The press, too, is to be equally enslaved; for any man discussing the question of tithes, for instance, in a newspaper, and expressing sentiments obnoxious to the existing authorities, is liable, according to the Whiteboy Act, to be transported for ‘inciting to the commission of crime by words, gesture, *or writing.*’ Nay, so anxious are the framers of this bill to surpass all former precedents of despotism, that they have overturned the old and equitable presumption in favour of innocence, and enacted that a man is to be presumed to be guilty unless he proves himself to be innocent. If arms are found in a man’s house, he is to be held guilty of a misdemeanour, unless he proves they are there ‘without his knowledge, privity, or consent.’ How is he to prove such a negative? Government in this bill requires a man, if he would avoid transportation, *to prove his own ignorance*,—a burden never yet laid upon an accused party by the jurisprudence of any country, ancient or modern.

41. “Trial by jury is, in the close of all, to be abolished, and the law administered by courts-martial! Has, then, the experience of this species of tribunal been so very favourable in Ireland, that they are to be selected *par excellence* to solve a difficulty inextricable by other means? Are there no reminiscences connected with these tribunals in Ireland, which harrow up our very souls when we think of them? Is the education, are the habits, age, or occupations of young men in the army such as peculiarly fit them for dealing in disturbed times with the delicate matter of political offences? Officers are accustomed only to obey orders—to have no opinion of their own—to be the armed hand by which Government acts. If Government directs, or, what is the same thing, is known to desire a conviction, what chance, with such judges, has a poor peasant of avoiding it? Jurors may

be challenged without risk; but let a prisoner say a word against one of the four ensigns forming his court, and there is an end of all chance of an acquittal. A bare majority is to convict; the casting-vote of a youth of twenty-one, who has been two years in the army, and is dying for his lieutenantancy, may decide the fate of a prisoner—the ruin of a family. The disturbances do not extend beyond a few counties, with a population of half a million, and for their misdeeds eight millions of the King’s subjects are to be put out of the pale of the law!”

42. The bill experienced very little opposition in the House of Peers, so strongly had the necessity of the case impressed itself on the minds of the lords acquainted with the state of that ill-starred land. But it was otherwise in the House of Commons. There the bill, in all its stages, met with the most strenuous resistance, from an Opposition inconsiderable in point of numbers, but formidable from its vigour, its perseverance, and the unscrupulous manner in which it took advantage of every formality to delay the progress of the measure. The largest division it mustered was on the clause establishing courts-martial, in which several of the staunchest supporters of Ministers, particularly Mr Cutlar Fergusson and Mr Abercromby, voted against them; the clause was only carried by a majority of 140, the numbers being 270 to 130. On the other clauses, the minority was reduced to the Irish Catholics and a few extreme English Radicals, and seldom exceeded 40 or 50. So strenuous was the opposition, however, which this small phalanx made, that the bill was above six weeks in getting through the Commons, and was only passed on 29th March, when the majority in its favour was 345 to 86. It was passed by the House of Lords by a majority of 40—the numbers being 85 to 45; not without some severe animadversions by the Conservative peers on some amendments in the Commons, which had, in their opinion, impaired the efficiency of the measure.

43. In reviewing this memorable de-

bate, remarkable not merely from the light it throws on the condition of Ireland at that time, but from its being the first occasion in which the split between the Whigs and Radicals, consequent on their common victory, became apparent, it is evident that the weight of argument was decidedly with the Government. There was a great deal of truth in what was so strongly urged by the opponents of the bill, but it did not meet what was urged in its support. It was true that great part of Ireland was comparatively quiet, and the outrages confined to certain districts, and that in the ordinary case it is unjust to coerce the innocent for the faults of the guilty; but that did not meet the argument that, the crimes committed in Ireland being the result not of local grievances or heartburnings, but of a general combination acting under foreign sacerdotal influence and extending over the whole country, it was necessary to make the remedy as extensive as the disease. Although the malady had only as yet broken out in particular places, it was necessary to guard against its appearing anywhere, by leaving it to the Lord-Lieutenant by proclamations to fix its application in those districts where it was immediately called for. It was true that courts-martial are in general little conversant with the rules of evidence, and little qualified to estimate its weight; but it is not the less true that they are better qualified to do both than intimidated juries listening to terrified witnesses; and if such a tribunal is an exception to the constitution, let those answer for it whose systematic and organised violence rendered such an exception necessary.

44. But whatever difference of opinion might exist *a priori* in regard to the wisdom or necessity of the Act, the result soon proved to demonstration that it was the remedy suited to the disease. Its effect in arresting the crime and stilling the passions of Ireland was little short of miraculous. It at once did what the Liberals had so fondly anticipated and so confidently predicted from Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill. Swift and frightful as

had been the increase of crime under the influence of these unhappy stimulants to passion and incitements to agitation, it was now almost equalled by the rapidity with which it *diminished*, from the application of this rude but effective measure of repression. The Lord-Lieutenant, as soon as the bill was passed, proclaimed the county of Kilkenny, including the city of the same name; and such was the effect of the measure, that within two months serious crime had diminished in it to an EIGHTH of its former amount; it had declined from 121 to 15! Over the disturbed districts of Ireland, the decrease of crime in May 1833, compared to March, was from 472 to 162!* There was no need to summon the courts-martial; not one of them was held. The moment it was known that Government was in earnest, and that tribunals were ready to be called into action which were proof against intimidation and indifferent to agitation, the atrocious system was checked, and ere long died, for a time, a natural death. If ever a political truth was demonstrated by experience, it was the lesson taught the British empire on this occasion.

45. Desirous to redeem their pledge of introducing measures for the practical amelioration of Ireland, hand in hand with those intended to check its withering agitation, Ministers next brought forward a bill for the reform and improvement, as they deemed it, of the Irish Church. Lord Althorpe opened this measure in the Lower House on the 12th February; and in so far as reduction went, it was certainly calculated to satisfy the wishes of the most

* Serious crimes committed in—

	March 1833.	May 1833.
Carlow,	19	4
Kildare,	22	17
Kilkenny,	121	15
King's County,	32	22
Longford,	9	4
Louth,	37	7
Queen's County,	87	38
Westmeath,	53	21
Wexford,	25	4
Wicklow,	11	1
Meath,	56	29
Total,	472	162

—Ann. Reg. 1833, p. 83.

ardent reformers. He began by stating the real amount of the revenues of the Irish Church, which had been the subject of unbounded exaggeration by the Radical and Catholic party, who had usually set it down at £3,000,000 a-year. In reality, including the whole bishoprics, it was only £732,000, being less than a fourth part of that amount.* Upon this property the Government proposed to levy a peculiar income-tax, commencing at £200 a-year, when 5 per cent was to be deducted, and rising to 15 per cent upon all above £1200 a-year. A similar graduated tax was laid on bishops, and with the produce of both, estimated at £69,000 a-year, it was proposed to establish a fund, which was to come in lieu of church cess, which was to be abolished. Considerable reductions were also made on the revenues of the bishops, to take effect on the death of the present incumbents; and *ten bishoprics were to be entirely abolished* out of the twenty-two in Ireland, as being deemed superfluous, adverting to the numbers of the persons of the Episcopal persuasion in Ireland.† And in regard to lands belonging to bishoprics, it was provided

* Bishops' Sees, . . .	£130,000
Deans and Chapters, . . .	2,200
Living, . . .	600,200
Total, . . .	£732,200

—LORD ALTHORPE'S *Statement, Ann. Reg.* 1833, p. 85.

† The following was stated at this time as the relative proportions of the members of the different religious persuasions in Ireland, but it was not founded on any Government enumeration; and being mainly founded on the information of ecclesiastical parties interested, it is not altogether to be relied on:—

Catholics, . . .	6,436,000
Episcopalians, . . .	853,160
Dissenters, . . .	665,540
Total, . . .	7,954,700

Church Revenues, . . .	£865,525
Benefices, . . .	1400
In which no service performed, . . .	157
Had no Protestant, . . .	41
Under 5, . . .	20
Under 25, . . .	165
Archbishops, . . .	4
Bishops, . . .	18

The sees proposed to be reduced were Dro-more, Clogher, Raphoe, Elphin, Clonfert, Killala, Kildare, Cork, Waterford, and Ossory. —*Parl. Deb.*, xv. 567, 570.

that the bishop should be bound to grant leases for ever at a corn-rent, upon six years' purchase being tendered to him. The quit-rent to the bishops was £100,000 a-year, the real value to the occupant £600,000. This would create a fund which he estimated at £3,000,000 sterling, which was to be at the disposal of Parliament for the *service of the State*.

46. This bill met with a very strong opposition in Parliament,—from the Conservative members, as involving the principle of the spoliation of church property, the beginning of all the evils of the French Revolution; from the Radicals and Roman Catholic members, as not going far enough, and promising no substantial relief to the country. On the part of the Conservatives it was urged by Sir R. Inglis, Sir R. Peel, and Mr Goulburn: “The tendency of this bill, its obvious intention, is not to obviate any existing abuses, but simply to gratify the spleen of the Government and the Roman Catholics at the Established Church. It is a mistake to say that the removal of church cess will relieve the Catholic tenantry; it will only put money in the pockets of the landlords, nineteen-twentieths of whom are Episcopalian, upon whom the burden now does and ought to fall. What will it avail the peasants that the bishops are abolished? They are supported entirely by church lands, and are a burden on no one: they are resident, and supposing some of them have little to do, still they *spend their revenues in the country*, which cannot be said of the great majority of the lay proprietors. The logic of the bill is—‘Ireland is languishing for want of a numerous body of resident proprietors who may spend their incomes on their estates: we will abate the evil by extinguishing ten who spend at present £40,000 or £50,000 a-year on their properties!’ Moreover, five of the bishoprics proposed to be abolished are taken from a part of the country where the majority of the people are Protestants, and the Episcopal duties are as heavy and important as in any part of England.

47. “The other part of the bill is

still more objectionable, and should be resisted to the very uttermost, for it goes directly to a confiscation of church property, and that too in a way based upon the most flagrant injustice. A fund of no less than £3,000,000 is to be created by forcing the bishops to sell their lands to the incumbents at a third of their real value; and not content with this violent step, the money so acquired is not to be applied to purposes of religion, charity, or education, but *to the service of the State!* It will probably be carried to the credit of the consolidated fund, or be applied in extinction of the National Debt. What is this but confiscating church property to temporal purposes? the very first step taken in the French, Spanish, and Neapolitan revolutions, and the parent of all the iniquities and miseries which followed. The taxation of the clergy according to a graduated scale, is if possible still more iniquitous. When one class is singled out for peculiar and *exclusive* taxation, it is generally the richest one which is selected; but here it is the poorest, the most destitute, the most injured class in the community which is subjected to this grinding oppression. The income-tax was thrown off by the nation because it imposed a burden insupportable in time of peace on the earnings of industry, even in the modified form of 5 per cent. It is now to be reimposed in a graduated scale varying from 5 to 15 per cent upon one peculiar class, in consideration of that class being the most destitute and suffering in the community, against which, with persevering hostility, the whole efforts of the combination against tithes have with fatal effect been directed. And whom is the burden thus cruelly and iniquitously imposed, intended to relieve? The landlords, by whom it is at present really borne, the proper parties to sustain it, and against whom, as yet at least, no hostile combination has been directed."

48. Mr O'Connell's speech on the bill was so curious and characteristic that part of it must be given in his

own words: "Lord Althorpe's estimate of the revenue of the Church of Ireland is a *base delusion*. The Government plan is one which only removes church cess, but relieves no other burden or grievance, and does not even suspend the war against the poor man's pigs and tenth potato. Why then do I so warmly approve the measure so far as it goes? Because it recognises an admirable principle from which now he cannot shrink; namely, that where there are no spiritual wants, there is to be no spiritual receiver of tithes and church rentals, and therefore I hail it with satisfaction. Indeed, Ministers have already acted on that principle. They have kept the vacant bishopric of Waterford like a dummy hand in whist, not filled by any actual person, and yet open to an occupant. On this excellent principle of no work, no pay, the noble lord has promised us ten other dummies in the Irish Church, and thus the property of these ten do-nothings will be available to the purposes of the State. To say otherwise, and maintain that the property of the Church should be applied only to ecclesiastical purposes, is a fantastical assertion which the common sense of every intelligent person in the country will reject with scorn. Having made the admission of these excellent principles, they may invest their ecclesiastical commission with as many cobweb forms as they please; that admission cannot be eluded, and will produce much more benefit (and I am anxious this should be *understood elsewhere*) than may be apparent on the face of it."

49. It may readily be believed Ministers did not implicitly adopt this dangerous argument in support of the bill; but it was urged by Earl Grey, Lord Althorpe, and Mr Stanley: "There is no ground for denying the authority of Parliament to interfere with the property of the Church, as is proposed to be done by this bill. It is from an Act of Parliament that the Church derived its power over the bishops' leases; and what an Act of Parliament had given, an Act of

Parliament may take away. Being debarred by law from granting leases beyond twenty-one years, the bishop indemnified himself by perpetually renewing the leases, and taking a fine at each renewal. As this bill gives the Church the power of granting leases in perpetuity, it is a very great benefit to the tenant, and the Church would not be injured. The Church would receive and the tenant pay the same as at present; but an estate in perpetuity, instead of one for a time limited, being carved out by the bill, a large fund is created; and is there any injustice in its being applied by the State to secular purposes?

50. "With regard again to the diminution in the number of bishops, the bill does not suppress bishoprics, it only consolidates them. It effects an extension of dioceses in those cases where one bishop appears adequate to the duties heretofore performed by two; and in all countries and in all ages, similar alterations on the ecclesiastical establishment have been repeatedly made, without exciting any attention. It has been done in Italy and Spain, countries the most subject to ecclesiastical influence. The primate and bishops of Ireland had, when consulted on the subject, given it as their opinion, that if church cess was to be abolished, the least objectionable mode of supplying the deficiency would be by diminishing the number of bishops. No man can deny that twelve bishops are sufficient for Ireland, a country containing only 1400 benefices, and not more than, at the utmost, a million of Episcopalian inhabitants. In the extensive diocese of Chester there are 1200 benefices; the highest number any bishop will have in his diocese in Ireland, will be 179. In England there are 22 bishoprics and 12,000 parishes; in Ireland, at present, there are 22 bishoprics and archbishoprics for 1400 benefices. The disproportion is glaring, and nothing in the whole constitution more obviously and loudly calls for reformation."

51. The second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 317 to 78,

which may be considered as a pretty fair test of the relative strength of the Liberals and Conservatives in the Reform Parliament. But several of the members in the majority, who usually supported Ministers, declared at the time that they would in committee vote for the application of the surplus fund to ecclesiastical, not secular, purposes; and so strong was the feeling on this subject, that Mr Stanley, in committee, proposed that the surplus fund should be applied to ecclesiastical purposes only, and that beneficed clergymen in possession should be exempted from the progressive income-tax, which should attach only to persons vested after the date of the bill. By these changes, which were stigmatised by Mr O'Connell "as the basest act which a national assembly could sanction," the bill was deprived of the most objectionable features in the eyes of the Conservatives, and all who were attached to the Established Church; and it was read a third time, and passed on the 8th July, by a majority of 274 to 94. In the Peers a more serious opposition was anticipated, as the Conservative party, notwithstanding the numerous peers created by the Whigs since their accession to office three years before, had still a majority in that House. In effect, although the second reading was carried in the Peers by 157 to 98, so strongly had the necessity of the case impressed itself on their lordships' minds, yet in committee a subordinate motion made by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that in the case of a suspended benefice the revenue should be applied to the building or repairing of the glebe-house, was carried against Ministers by a majority of two. So disconcerted were Government by this defeat—the first they had sustained since the passing of the Reform Bill—that Earl Grey declared it would be a matter of consideration for Ministers whether they should not throw up the bill and retire from office. Upon consideration, however, the change was deemed not so vital as to justify the abandonment of the measure. Ministers retained office;

and the bill, as then amended, was read a third time and passed on the 30th July by a majority of 135 to 81.

52. Such was the conclusion of this great debate; and the discussion of Irish affairs was terminated for the time by a measure of more real and practical importance connected with the collection of tithes in the country. The bill of last year, which had authorised Government to make certain advances to the Irish clergy, and invested them with the right to levy the tithes for their reimbursement, had totally failed in producing the desired effect; or rather it had made matters greatly worse, because, by bringing a more formidable power into collision with the peasantry, it had both augmented the severity and enhanced the heartburnings consequent on the collection. The sum collected, too, had been a mere trifle; only £12,000 out of £91,000 of arrears. In these circumstances, Ministers wisely determined to abandon the plan altogether, and in lieu of it they had recourse to the usual resource in cases of Irish insolvency—a contribution from Great Britain. The amount of tithes due and unpaid, for the last three years, exceeded a *million sterling*.* To meet this great arrear, it was proposed to authorise the issue of exchequer bills to the extent of £1,000,000, to be repaid in ten years by the persons liable in the same, and with which the claims of those having right to tithes were to be paid, under a deduction of 25 per cent for the tithes of 1831 and 1832, and 15 per cent for those of 1833. The justice of this deduction, as of a salvage in cases of shipwreck, could

not be disputed, and the necessity of the case was so obvious that the bill passed both Houses with very little opposition, and proved an unspeakable relief to the starving clergy of Ireland.

53. This closes the long catalogue of discussion on Irish affairs, which occupied two-thirds of the first session of the reformed Parliament. The retrospect furnishes abundant subject for mournful reflection—not so much for what was done, as for what was left undone. The two great measures, the Coercion Bill and the grant to the destitute clergy, were obviously wise, and loudly called for by stern necessity, however objectionable they certainly would have been under other and less pressing circumstances. But they were temporary palliations only; they left untouched the root of the evil. The real causes which blasted the prosperity of Ireland, and had brought its inhabitants into such a deplorable situation, were the redundant population, the low price of agricultural produce (the sole support of the people), the absence of any legal relief for the poor, the want of a resident gentry, and the non-existence of any public works or manufactories to absorb the overwhelming multitudes of the working classes. These were the real causes of the disease; the combination against tithes, the predial atrocities, the intimidation of jurors and witnesses, were merely inflammatory symptoms appearing on the surface. What did Government do to remove these deep-rooted seats of evil, without which all attempts to relieve the distresses of the country in a lasting way must prove nugatory? They resisted with their whole strength, supported by all Sir Robert Peel's followers, any inquiry into the currency with a view to its extension and the raising of prices; they did nothing to establish poor-rates in a country overwhelmed by two millions of paupers; when any movement in favour of emigration was made in the House of Commons they got the House counted out; and they contented themselves with abolishing ten resident ecclesias-

* AMOUNT OF TITHES DUE AND UNPAID FOR YEARS 1831 TO 1833.

Arrears, 1831, . . .	£112,185
„ 1832, . . .	300,000
„ 1833, . . .	600,000

Church tithes in arrear, . .	£1,012,185
Lay tithes in arrear, . .	222,578

Total, . . . £1,234,763

—LORD ALTHORPE'S *Statement*; *Ann. Reg.* 1833, pp. 140, 141.

tical landholders, spending £50,000 a-year, in a country pining under the evils of absentee landholders! All parties persisted in considering the evils of Ireland as *political*, when in fact they were *social*, and applying what they deemed remedies to the sufferings of the country, when in fact they were mere holocausts to disarm the hostility, or purchase the support, of a party in the House of Commons. And thus things went on from bad to worse, without one measure of real relief emanating from the Legislature, until Providence, in pity of human infatuation, took the matter into its own hands, raised prices 50 per cent by opening two huge banks of issue in California and Australia, and doubled the wages of labour, and thereby pacified the country, by this great measure of relief, and sending, for a course of years, 200,000 emigrants annually from the shores of the Emerald Isle.*

* "Although, from the defective nature of the returns, it is impossible to ascertain the exact annual amount of Irish emigration, we are enabled, from facts furnished to the Emigration Commissioners, to approximate to the truth, and during the last four years the numbers who left Ireland are estimated to have been as follows:—

In 1851,	254,537
1852,	224,997
1853,	192,609
1854,	150,209

"In consequence of this extraordinary movement, the population of Ireland has materially decreased. The census of 1841 shows that it then amounted to upwards of eight millions. It is at this moment, in all probability, less than six. From the figures which we have quoted, it is probable that the number of emigrants will continue to decline, but there is one circumstance that seems to render this somewhat doubtful. Although, during the last four years, the number of emigrants has materially fallen off, the amount of money transmitted by them to Ireland, so far as it can be ascertained, has largely increased. The sums so sent, during the interval in question, were as follows:—

In 1851,	£990,000
1852,	1,404,000
1853,	1,439,000
1854,	1,730,000"

—*Morning Post*, Sept. 15, 1855 (quoting the Report of the Emigration Commissioners).

The census of 1861 proves that the population of Ireland in that year had fallen to 5,764,543.

54. This astonishing series of facts, the most momentous and instructive which the story of these times has presented, suggests one conclusion of general importance, of which many other illustrations will occur in the course of this History. Thus it is—paradoxical as it may appear, it is nevertheless true—that you may in general measure the justice, necessity, and expedience of any measure brought forward in a popular legislature by the obstinate and impassioned *resistance* which it meets with from its opponents, and the *languid support* which it receives from its friends; and on the other, that there is no surer test of the irrational nature or ultimate danger of any change proposed, than the amount of general support which it at first receives, and the feeble resistance which it has to encounter. The reason, though not apparent at first sight, is sufficiently obvious when stated, and a close observation of the progress of legislation in every free state will convince every impartial person of its truth. Measures of general utility may bless a nation, but they do not advance a party, and therefore no party supports them; measures of party efficacy are generally nugatory to a nation, but then they promote the interests of a party, and therefore they meet with the most vigorous support from that party, and the most sturdy resistance from its opponents. Selfish views, in the long-run, govern both; and the general welfare is too *diluted* an interest to act powerfully upon any section of the community. Their own immediate interests, or party elevation, alone can rouse them to vigorous or efficacious action. Goethe says, that whoever will peruse a file of newspapers only a month old, will see how misplaced has been the greater part of the ability exerted upon public affairs. How much more true is that of annals a quarter of a century old! Measures of real utility are not unknown in a free community; on the contrary, they are more frequently carried in them than under any other form of government. But they rarely origin-

ate either with the Administration or the Legislature, though measures of party interest often emanate from both. They are forced upon them, sometimes by the weight of arguments, urged by a few observers at a distance from the arena of party conflicts: more frequently by general suffering, the severe but merciful monitress of nature.*

* In a leading periodical at this time, there appeared, on January 1, 1833, six weeks before the Government measures were brought forward, an article on Ireland, containing the following observations: "The first measure which is indispensable to the revival of Irish prosperity is the adoption of the most vigorous measures to restore the administration of justice, and give to life and property somewhat of that protection which is now afforded to rapine and outrage. This is a matter of first-rate importance—so much so, indeed, that without it all attempts to tranquillise or improve the country will, as they have hitherto done, prove entirely nugatory. As long as the south of Ireland is illuminated by midnight conflagrations, or disgraced by assassinations at noonday; as long as families are roasted alive in their houses, and witnesses murdered for speaking the truth; as long as legal payments are resisted by organised multitudes, and the power of Government set at nought by Catholic authority,—so long will Ireland remain in its present unhappy and distracted state, miserable itself, a source of misery to others, a dead weight about the neck of the empire.

"2. The Government is now committed in a struggle with the Catholic priesthood as to the payment of tithes; the authority of the law must be vindicated, or the semblance of order which now exists in Ireland will be annihilated. Let what measures they choose follow for the commutation of tithes, the first thing to do is to vindicate the authority of the law against an insurgent people. For this purpose, authority should be obtained from the Legislature to levy from those who can pay and won't pay, the full value of the tithe in kind with expenses, and to march the cattle distrained off to the nearest seaport, to be sold in *Bristol or Liverpool*. A few examples of the vigorous application of this law would operate like a charm in dissolving the combination against tithes. The state of things for the last year in Ireland is a direct premium on rebellion, an encouragement to the cessation of the payment of taxes, rent, or burdens of every description, and an invitation to the people to avail themselves of the machinery now put in motion against the clergy for their deliverance from rent, taxes, and burdens of every description.

"3. Having vindicated the authority of the law, measures should next be taken to prevent the clergy from coming in contact with the cultivators, by commuting the tithes, and laying them as a direct burden

55. The futility of the remedies brought forward by Government for the distresses of Ireland, appears the more conspicuous when the causes of suffering there pressing upon the whole nation are taken into consideration. Distress to a great, and among some of the working classes to an unexampled extent, prevailed not only over all Ireland, but in many parts of Great

on the landlords, who, being nearly all Protestants, are the parties who should bear it. Though this measure would probably do as little as Catholic Emancipation to pacify Ireland, yet it would remove the irritation which now exists between the clergy and their parishioners, and thus withdraw the Established Church from a *political* contest of which it is now the victim.

"4. The next great object of Irish legislation should be the establishment of a judicious and enlightened system of *poor-laws* for the relief of the sick, the aged, and those who, though willing, can find no employment. The English and Scotch will not much longer submit to have their poor-rates doubled annually by the inundation of Irish beggars, or their scanty channels of employment choked by multitudes of Irish labourers. The time is come when, in the general distress of the empire, caused by the shock given to credit and industry by the Reform Bill, each portion must be led to the maintenance of its own poor. A judicious system of poor-rates, instead of being an encouragement to undue increase, is the most effectual means for diminishing it, because it is a check to the propagation of those pauper and degrading habits which, more than any other circumstances, tend to the multiplication of the poor.

"5. The greatest possible encouragement should be given by Government to the *emigration* of the Irish poor. The number who emigrated in 1831 was 18,000. *No reason can be assigned why it should not be 180,000.** The expense of transporting settlers to the shores of Canada is about £5 a-head; to furnish the means of emigration to this large body, therefore, would cost £900,000; but what an immense relief would it afford to every part of the empire! The common argument that it is needless to give the poor the means of emigration, because those who remain at home will only increase the faster, is altogether chimerical. By improving the condition of those who remain at home the principle of increase is checked, not facilitated, because artificial wants, its true limitation, are brought into operation.

"6. The fisheries, neglected harbours, and waste lands of Ireland, furnish ample room for the commencement of *Government works* on a great scale, to spread wealth, and industry, and orderly habits, through its labouring poor. The mines of untouched wealth which there exist are incalculable; they might al-

* In 1852 it was 225,000!

Britain, the natural and unavoidable consequence of the shake given to credit and industry of every kind by the agitation produced by the Reform Bill. Three circumstances conspired at this time to paralyse commerce and spread suffering among the labouring classes. The first of these was the terror inspired by the disorders of which both islands had been the theatre; the flames of Bristol, the sack of Nottingham, the open declarations of the more violent among the Reformers, that they would take up arms and commence a civil war, unless their full demands were conceded. The second was the vast reduction of prices which had ensued from the successive contractions of the currency which had taken place since 1819, and especially the entire and final suppression of small notes, which had come into operation in spring 1829, and ever since continued. The result of this had been to lower the money price of every species of produce, manufacturing as well as agricultural, at least 50 per cent, while debts, taxes, and money obligations remained the same. The third was the continuance of four fine seasons in succession, from 1831 to 1835, which had the effect of reducing the price of agricultural produce, com-

bined with the contraction of the currency, *nearly 100 per cent.* The result of this rapid and prodigious fall of prices, in so short a time, of the whole produce of the farmer, was to drive the agricultural class to despair, reduce many of them to insolvency, and put an entire stop to all those spirited improvements which might have absorbed in some degree the redundant labour of the country.*

56. This vital subject was, with his wonted ability, brought before the notice of Parliament by Mr Attwood on 21st March; and as he had been an active member of the Political Union, and strenuous supporter of the Reform Bill, his testimony is that of an unsuspected witness as to its effects. "What is the good," said he, "of having a reformed Parliament, if they do not apply a remedy to the existing distress? and what will the people think of a reformed Parliament having sat so many weeks, without attempting any one measure in behalf of the distressed? Distress, general, extreme, unnatural, is greater than in any former period of our history. In agriculture, one half have more labour than they can bear, while the other half have nothing to do; and yet the labourer can produce four times more

most pave the Emerald Isle with gold. In other countries such undertakings may be safely left to the exertions of private industry. In Ireland the case is otherwise: unless they are begun and forced on by the capital and vigour of Government, they will never be attempted. If we would give the people in the south and west a taste for the enjoyments of wealth or acquisitions of industry, we must, in the first instance, force them on a reluctant people by Government expenditure."—*Blackwood's Magazine*, Jan. 1, 1833; ALISON'S *Essays*, i. pp. 260-264. The author cannot but reflect with satisfaction on the entire confirmation which subsequent events have afforded of these views, emitted at a time when all that Government proposed to relieve the distresses of Ireland was to extinguish ten of its richest resident landed proprietors.

* BANK OF ENGLAND NOTES IN CIRCULATION, EXPORTS, AND IMPORTS, 1830 TO 1833.

Years.	Average of Bank Notes in Circulation for year ending 28th Feb.	Exports, Real Value.	Imports, Official Value.
1830	£19,631,000	£38,271,597	£46,245,241
1831	20,575,000	37,184,372	49,713,889
1832	18,542,000	36,450,594	44,586,741
1833	17,531,910	39,667,347	45,952,551

—TOOKE on *Prices*, vol. ii. p. 383; and Parliamentary Returns of these years.

AVERAGE PRICE OF WHEAT PER IMPERIAL QUARTER, 1830 TO 1835.

Years.	s.	d.	Years.	s.	d.
1830	64	3	1833	52	11
1831	66	4	1834	46	2
1832	58	8	1835	39	4

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, p. 143.

than is required for the support of himself and his family. In manufactures, the proportion of the produce to the wants of the labourer is still greater, but matters, instead of getting better, are daily getting worse. Labour is badly paid; manufactures scarcely carried on with a profit, in some instances with a loss; commerce is declining in the same proportion; and such is the distress of the shipping interest that two-thirds of the shipping in the Thames are under mortgage, which is not foreclosed only because it is not considered worth the redemption. The poor-rates have doubled in real weight, from the price of the produce from which they are paid having been halved. There are 100,000 men walking about London in search of employment. In many parts of the country, able-bodied men are working night and day for 8s. or 7s. 6d. a-week, and often can earn no more than 4s. England may be divided into two classes—the distressed and the affluent. In the first class are included the whole landholders, in the last the bond and fund holders. The former are depressed by charges on their estates, which were to be paid in a currency 50 per cent dearer than that in which they were contracted; the latter are enriched by receiving £90 in gold for their £60. The landholders in these circumstances cannot contribute to a war, and the fundholders will not, because it will reduce their £90 back to £60. Thus we do not venture to take a decided part in foreign transactions, and surrender Antwerp to France and Constantinople to Russia, rather than endanger the ill-gotten gains of the class whom it has been our sole object to enrich. The result of the distress is an enormous increase of crime. These deplorable effects are all owing to the alteration made on the currency, which it had been said would only alter prices 4 per cent, but had in reality lowered them, and in the same proportion reduced the gains of the producing classes 100 per cent."

57. Most of the facts stated in the preceding argument were too well known to be true to admit of contro-

versy; but, without denying them, Ministers contented themselves with strenuously resisting an inquiry into the currency. "The real aim of the motion now made for inquiry into the distresses of the country is to effect a change in the currency—a subject which, if discussed at all, should be brought forward in a separate motion. Great distress certainly exists, chiefly among the labouring classes of the community; but it is not greater than it has been at various periods before. Among certain classes, particularly the handloom weavers, there certainly is great suffering, and in some districts there is much distress among the agriculturists; but that is by no means universally the case. It is absurd to say tradesmen are living on their capital; if this were the case, trade would speedily be annihilated. What good would a committee do? The causes of the suffering are beyond the reach of legislation. If the motion for its appointment is carried, it will lead to the universal belief that the currency is going to be tampered with, and this will necessarily cause a general stagnation of credit, by which the existing distress will only be increased." Notwithstanding all the weight of Government, however, and of the capitalists who had got the command of the greater part of the boroughs, the motion was only rejected by a majority of 34—the numbers being 192 to 158.

58. However resolutely Ministers might resist any inquiry into the currency, and endeavour to palliate the existing distress, there were none in the community who felt it more acutely, for it was brought under their notice in the most sensible of all forms—by the falling off in the revenue. Notwithstanding the ample reductions in the expenditure made in the preceding year, already noticed, this decline of the revenue, arising partly from the reduction of taxation so largely made in the last three years, partly from the general distress, was such that, in the year ending 5th April 1832, there had been a deficiency of £1,240,000. This deficiency, however, was more than

compensated by the unflinching reductions made in 1832-3, which amounted to no less than £2,493,000, and gave for that year an excess of income above expenditure of £1,487,000. This was effected, not by any corresponding increase of income, that for 1833 being only £235,000 more than for 1832, but by *wholesale reductions in the army and navy*, which amounted in one year to no less than £1,800,000. These reductions were secured by selling off old stores and buying no new ones in the navy, and by great reductions, chiefly in pensions and retired allowances, in the army. But having by these means gained a respectable surplus, though at the expense of the armaments essential for the national defence, Government gave the most convincing proof of the pressure of the new interest which, by the operation of the Reform Bill, had got the command of the country, and of the disregard of the future which was hereafter to characterise British legislation. Having thus got a surplus estimated at £1,572,000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a *reduction of taxation* to the amount of £1,349,000, chiefly on soap and cotton, leaving only a surplus of £516,000 on the estimated income for the succeeding year, to go to the paying off of national debt! Even this great sacrifice of the future to the present did not satisfy the Radicals; and Mr Hume loudly complained that the *whole estimated surplus* was not applied to the reduction of taxation. He did not press his motion, however, to a division, and the budget, as proposed by Ministers, passed without further opposition.

59. This result, which was unexpected in the first budget with the reformed Parliament, arose from the determination of the different parties, by separate motions, to secure for themselves the desired reduction of taxation, without the slightest regard to the effect they would have, if carried, on the general state of the revenue, or the maintenance of the armaments indispensable for the national independence. This soon appeared. The taxes

which Lord Althorpe proposed to take off amounted to £1,349,000,* and they were at once agreed to. But in addition to this Sir W. Ingilby, one of the members for Lincolnshire, moved in committee, that the malt-tax should be reduced from 20s. 8d. to 10s. per quarter, being more than a half. He calculated that the loss to the revenue would be £1,500,000 at the utmost; the present produce of the tax being £4,825,000, and a greatly increased consumption being with certainty to be relied on. This reduction was justified by the mover, on the ground that the agricultural interest was the one in the whole community which was suffering most from the vast reduction of prices; it was the only one to which no sensible relief had been given, by a reduction of taxation, during the last five years. It was strongly opposed by Lord Althorpe, who alleged, and probably with truth, that the loss to the revenue, from the remission of this tax, would be at least £2,500,000, and would entirely defeat the object of Government in proposing more moderate reductions for the benefit of all parties. So strong, however, was the sense of the extreme depression of the agricultural interest owing to the fall of prices, that the reduction proposed was carried against Ministers by a majority of 10—the numbers being 162 to 152.

60. This unexpected result threw Ministers into great embarrassment, the more so that their defeat had come from the landed interest, in which the strength of the Conservatives lay, and was against the towns, in which their own principal supporters were to be found. After deliberation, however, they resolved not to resign, but to endeavour to get the vote rescinded; and they did this in a very skilful way, by playing off the urban against the rural

* Viz. :—	£37,000
Tiles,	100,000
Marine insurance,	75,000
Advertisements,	244,000
Assessed taxes,	300,000
Cotton,	593,000
Soap,	

£1,349,000

interests. The boroughs were all extremely anxious to get quit of the house and window duties, which pressed hard upon their inhabitants, and most of their representatives were pledged without delay to effect their abolition. Sir John Key, one of the London members, had given notice of a motion for their repeal, which stood for April 30. Lord Althorpe on the 29th moved as an amendment to that motion, "That a great deficiency of revenue would be occasioned by the reduction of the malt duty to ten shillings per quarter, and by the repeal of the duties on houses and windows, which could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax upon property; and that, as the effect of that would be to change the whole financial system of the country, it was inexpedient to adopt it." This skilful device plainly and truly brought the effects of the proposed reductions insisted for by the country and city parties respectively before the House, and it had the desired effect. The House accepted the lesser evil to eschew the greater, and, with the terrors of a property-tax before their eyes, rescinded their former vote, and, by a majority of 285 to 131, supported Lord Althorpe's motion. A motion of Sir John Key for the repeal of the house and window tax was next day negatived by a majority of 273 to 124.*

61. Ministers and their immediate adherents in the country congratulated themselves on this narrow escape, and the large majorities by which both of the obnoxious taxes were ultimately supported in the House of Commons. More experienced observers, however, argued ill for the stability of a Government which had thus early come into direct collision, on a question deeply interesting to them, with their urban supporters, who held the majority of

the House of Commons in their hands. And the few thoughtful men in the country who looked beyond passing events, and were anxious to see how the new constitution was practically to work on the conduct of affairs, pre-saged much future embarrassment and evil from a state of things where large parties in the Legislature were tied, by the imperious commands of their constituents, to vote for the repeal of any taxes immediately affecting themselves, without the least regard to the effect it would have on the general finances or safety of the country; and Government had no other resource to elude this fierce demand but by playing off the one party against the other, and terrifying both with the threat of laying on another tax in the highest degree obnoxious to both.

62. It soon appeared how much Ministers had lost in the eyes of the numerous and noisy of their supporters, by their resistance to the loudly-expressed demand of the urban constituencies for a reduction of the burdens affecting themselves. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, the Secretary for Ireland, having pledged himself to vote for the repeal of the assessed taxes to his constituents in Westminster, resigned office and his seat for Westminster, as he could not vote for their repeal against the Government; and he was thrown out on a new election, and Col. Evans, a more Radical member, returned. Sir Francis Burdett, Mr W. H. Brougham, and Dr Lushington, who had also voted against the repeal, were called on to resign their seats for Westminster and the Tower Hamlets. In almost every parish in London public meetings were held, at which it was recommended in resolutions to adopt the Irish mode of agitation, by refusing to pay assessed taxes, and associations were formed for the purpose of mutual co-operation. A large public meeting was held in the open air near Coldbath-fields Prison, at which it was resolved "to adopt preparatory measures for holding a national convention, as the only means of obtaining and securing the rights of the people;" and this was done in defiance of a proclamation from

* It appeared from a return quoted by Lord Althorpe in this debate, that the total inhabited houses at this time was 2,846,079, of which only 430,607 paid the tax. It affected, therefore, only a fraction of the community; but as that fraction was the one in which the return of a majority of the House of Commons was vested, its displeasure was most formidable to Ministers.

the Home Office prohibiting the meeting as illegal, and dangerous to the public peace. One of the police was killed with a dagger, and another severely wounded in attempting to disperse the assemblage: the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide; and the verdict having been quashed by the Court of King's Bench as contrary to evidence, the murderer was brought to trial on an indictment and acquitted. The same agitation prevailed in all the great towns in the provinces. The Birmingham Political Union, so lately the multitudinous supporter of Ministers, and to whose office-bearers Lord John Russell had written, pending the Reform Bill, that "the whisper of a faction cannot prevail against the voice of the people of England," now met and passed a resolution, "That his Majesty's Ministers, by violating the constitution of Ireland, refusing all inquiry into public distress, by continuing the taxes on houses and windows, and especially by absolutely forcing on the country the whole of the malt-tax, after the House of Commons has deliberately resolved only three days before to abolish it partially, have betrayed the confidence of the people; and, therefore, that his Majesty should be implored to *dismiss from his councils* men who had proved themselves so utterly unable or unwilling to extricate the country from the difficulties and dangers with which it is surrounded."

63. It was now evident that the Reform Ministry had undergone the usual fate of all who attempt to coerce a movement which they themselves have put in motion. Like the Girondists of France, when they began to do so they immediately became more unpopular even than their Conservative opponents. The Government hung only by a thread; a coalition of the Conservatives with the Radicals on any question on which they could vote in common might any day throw them into a minority. In these circumstances the conduct of Ministers was as magnanimous as that of the Conservative leaders was wise and patriotic. The former pursued a steadfast

course, ameliorating our institutions in many respects, and removing many real abuses; while the latter supported them in all such projects, and lent them their aid in repressing the violent inroads of a dangerous or revolutionary character which were attempted to be forced upon them by the pressure from without. England then reaped the fruits of her free institutions, and the long training of her statesmen to public life and duties. But for this wise and patriotic course of the leaders on both sides in the House of Commons, it may safely be affirmed that the constitution and liberties of England would inevitably have perished as those of France did in 1789, during the first transports consequent on the passing of the Reform Bill.

64. The first great measure which was brought forward was that of the BANK CHARTER, which expired and required to be renewed this year; and this led to a change attended with the most important political effects in the currency of the country. Lord Althorpe brought forward the Government plan on the subject on the 31st May, and in so doing he stated correctly "that the principle on which the Bank has hitherto acted in the management of its affairs, and which seems to have been fully approved of, is this, to keep one-third of bullion in proportion to its liabilities; to allow the public to act on the currency, and not to force it by artificial means; to allow their circulation *gradually to diminish when the exchanges were against this country*, and the drain of bullion became great; and when the exchanges turned in our favour, and the bullion came back, to let the circulation *gradually expand in proportion*. There was reason and experience in favour of this principle, and the regular publication of the Bank accounts would always show whether it had been adhered to. The Bank, therefore, was to be required to make a weekly return to the Treasury of the amount of bills and notes in circulation, and also of deposits, and that the average of such issues and

deposits should be published quarterly. The monopoly of the Bank was to extend to sixty-five miles round London—that is to say, no bank of issue consisting of more than six partners was to be permitted within that distance. The Charter was to be renewed for twenty-one years, with power to the Government at the end of ten years to break it off. *Bank of England notes were to be made a legal tender everywhere, except at the Bank itself and branch banks.* The usury laws were to be repealed, to the effect of withdrawing all bills at less than three months from their operation. One-fourth of the debt due by the country to the Bank, which amounted to £14,000,000, was to be paid off, and £120,000 a-year cut off from the allowance made to that establishment for carrying on the public business, and royal charters were to be granted for the establishment of joint-stock banks in the country beyond the limits of the Bank's monopoly."

65. So little was the vital importance of this subject understood in the country, that these proposals passed into law without any very serious opposition from any quarter. The leaders of the cheapening party, however, were alive to the tendency of the clause declaring bank-notes a legal tender, as a virtual departure from the principle of the bill of 1819. It was argued by Sir Robert Peel: "This is an incipient departure from a metallic currency, and a large stride towards a paper one. It will augment the circulation of the Bank of England notes, as they are declared a legal tender to all practical purposes; and diminish that of the country bankers, as they cannot on demand be converted at the offices from whence they have been issued as heretofore. It may be true that, in the case of an internal commercial panic arising from the temporary discredit of country bankers, there would be a great benefit in their being able to meet a run with Bank of England paper: but that is not a sufficient argument for so great a change, so entire a departure from the established principle of a legal tender. Is

there any man who can contemplate without alarm the conversion of the right of the holder of a bank-note to get it converted into gold, into a right merely to get Bank of England notes? Any law which compelled a man to take the notes of a bank which he distrusted in lieu of gold is an act of tyranny. Can an Act of Parliament give people confidence in a banking establishment? Can it make people regard a bank-note equivalent to gold? Why is it now that cheques to a large amount are more frequently paid by London bankers by cheques on the Bank of England than by gold? Simply because they are not declared by Act of Parliament a legal tender. Declare them such, and they become assignats, and may be depreciated as such. Burke expressed this well when he said, 'Your notes are current on the Royal Exchange *because* they are not so in Westminster Hall.' The doctrine always maintained hitherto has been, 'You may issue what paper you please, provided you will undertake to pay it on demand in the precious metals.' To take one particular species of paper and give it a value above every other sort, is the most extraordinary mode of increasing public confidence in a paper currency that ever was devised."

66. On the other hand, it was maintained by Lord Althorpe and Mr Baring: "The objection to the declaring bank-notes a legal tender, arises from a misconception of the purpose for which it is intended. The object is not so much to meet the demands on country bankers for their notes, as those for their deposits. The amount of notes issued by country bankers in general bears but a very small proportion to their engagements, on account of deposits for meeting which they are obliged, in times of pressure, to apply to the Bank of England for bullion. It is to guard against that pressure on the Bank that it has been deemed advisable to make the bank-note a legal tender; for in a case of commercial panic, as was the case in 1825, the country bankers sent up to London, not only

for sovereigns to pay their notes, but likewise for gold to meet their other engagements. The Bank might then be called upon to drain its coffers, not merely for the purpose of supplying the real demands upon the country bankers for their notes, but also for meeting the entire demand for the amount of their deposits. Many country bankers, who maintained only a £15,000 or £20,000 note circulation, required as high a sum as £100,000 for the latter purpose. The Bank of England was placed, therefore, in this situation, that they must have gold enough to deal out for these two purposes, and it is that which renders it advisable that Bank of England notes should be declared a legal tender. Country bankers are now obliged to deposit securities—say Government stock—with their correspondents in London, to meet their issues; so that the only difference will be, that they will bring back gold in the one case, and Bank of England notes in the other. Any measure tending to support the credit of the Bank of England was a general benefit to the country, for if the Bank were shaken, all other credit would at once be destroyed." Upon this debate the Government proposals were carried by a majority of 214 to 156, with the slight change that £5 notes were to be paid in gold, if demanded by the country bankers, but not notes above that sum.

67. This debate is very remarkable, both as ushering in an important change in the monetary system of the country, which was ere long attended with the most important effects, but as affording a most extraordinary instance of the shortsighted views entertained at that period, even by the ablest and most experienced men, on this subject. The bill was evidently a step, and a most important one, towards the restoration of a paper currency, and as such it was no wonder that it excited the alarm of Sir R. Peel and the cheapening party. It obviously tended, by enlarging the circulation, to stimulate industry of every kind, and in consequence elevate prices. But the extraordinary thing is this: the promoters of the bill saw

clearly the pressure to which the Bank of England was frequently exposed, in consequence of the demands made upon it to meet those of every kind upon the country bankers, and they thought they sufficiently guarded against this danger by making its bank-notes above £5 a legal tender, and only payable in gold at the Bank itself or its branch establishments. But they did not see, what the event ere long too fatally proved, that this postponed the danger only to increase it, and that the augmented transactions and engagements to which the change would of course give rise, could issue in nothing, *when a drain from external causes set in upon the gold of the country*, but augmented embarrassment to the Bank and danger to the whole trading classes. The protection afforded by bank-notes above £5 being declared a legal tender, great as long as there was no enhanced demand for gold, became *worse than nugatory* when such a demand grew serious, and the increased paper of the country was all poured, *as through a funnel, upon the Bank of England for conversion into gold*. This is exactly what took place in after-times, as the sequel of this History will abundantly demonstrate. And thus this change in the monetary system, while the *ultimate principle of convertibility into gold was adhered to*, is to be regarded as one of the main causes of the transient prosperity of 1835 and 1836, the long-continued crisis of 1839, the railway mania of 1845 and 1846, the terrible monetary crises of 1847 and 1857, and the final adoption of Free Trade, with all its incalculable consequences, as the basis of the commercial policy of the country.

68. The approaching termination of the Charter of the East India Company, which expired at the same time as that of the Bank of England, rendered it necessary at this time for Government to meet the great question involved in our Eastern dominions. On this subject a very strong feeling existed in the country, founded, as most of such feelings are, on anticipated advantages to the majority. The great body of the merchants and traders of

Great Britain beheld with envious eyes the vast trade to India and China now monopolised by the East India Company, and indulged in warm and exaggerated expectations of the boundless streams of wealth which would flow into the coffers of the country generally, and their own in particular, if that trade were thrown open to the vigour and activity of private enterprise. These ideas, natural, or rather unavoidable, in the circumstances, and in some degree well founded, had long been fermenting in the minds of the mercantile portion of the community, and many able pamphlets had appeared, advocating in the strongest terms this side of the question. Two of the chief arguments relied on in these publications, were the great reduction which would take place in the price of tea from the effects of free competition in the trade to China, and the vast market which would be afforded to British manufactures from the opening of the boundless realms of the Celestial Empire and India to the productions of British industry. Experience soon proved that these views, though by no means entirely fallacious, were very much exaggerated. But in the mean time they were general and irresistible. Right or wrong, they were so strongly entertained by the borough communities possessing a majority in the House of Commons, that they could not be disregarded; and Government acted wisely in bringing in such a balanced and temperate measure as satisfied the just demands of the advocates for an extension of the trade, without endangering the general frame of our Indian possessions.

69. The Government plan, which, with a few inconsiderable alterations, was adopted by Parliament, consisted of three parts. By the first, it was proposed to continue for nineteen years the political government of their possessions in India in the East India Company. By the second, the trade to China was to be entirely thrown open, and the monopoly of the Company in regard to it was to cease. By the third, the privileges of the Company, as a trading body, were to ter-

minate in India itself, upon condition of their obtaining from Government an annuity of £630,000 a-year for forty years, to be charged on the revenue of the territory of India. This annuity was the amount of the dividends the Company at the time paid to the holders of their stock out of the profits of their capital engaged in trade. These proposals were in the main so reasonable, and so completely in unison with the general voice of the country on the subject, that they excited very little opposition; but some facts were stated by Ministers in bringing forward the measure, which well illustrated its bearing and importance.

70. On the part of Ministers, it was stated by Lord Althorpe and Mr Charles Grant: "It may be admitted that there are some evils in the system of administration in India, but upon the whole there can be no doubt that the condition of the people of that country under their former governments was greatly worse than it now is. They now enjoy a greater security of life and property than they have ever done, save under the wise and beneficent sway of one of the Mogul monarchs, whose rule, as an exception to the general case, is the subject of praise amongst them to the present day. During forty years the government of the Company has been the greatest possible blessing to India, for it has stopped private wars, and terminated the incessant feuds of rajah against rajah, attended with such ruin and devastation to the country. Within the last twenty years the native population have acquired a political existence, and being secured in their rights and property, they are beginning to feel the value of the laws, and of a regular administration of justice. It seems desirable not to break in upon a system which, with some undoubted imperfections, is, upon the whole, working well; and therefore it is not at present proposed to interfere with the political government of India by the East India Company.

71. "With regard, again, to the trade at present enjoyed under the exclusive Charter, the law seems to stand

in a different situation. Public opinion in Great Britain has long declared against the Company's monopoly of the China trade, and the urgency with which its abolition is now pressed for arises from the marked change in favour of free trade which is taking place in the whole commercial policy of the country. Latterly, too, that trade, so much the object of envy to the mercantile community, has become much less profitable. That with India is abandoned by the Company without resistance, for the best of all reasons, that it has been found, in their hands, instead of a profit, to be attended with a loss. Taking an average of five years for fifteen years back, during the first period the profits of that trade were £1,500,000, during the next £830,000, and during the last only £730,000. The great diminution of the China trade is not to be ascribed to any falling off in the demand for tea, but entirely to the great increase of the private traders, who within a few years have sprung up from small beginnings to a very great magnitude. In 1814 they owned only 1000 tons; in 1829 this had swelled to 60,000. The trade of the Company to and from China, exports and imports, was £13,500,000; in 1830 it had sunk to £11,600,000. The increase in the private trade, during the same period, had been as remarkable as the diminution of the privileged. In 1814 the private exports and imports amounted to £9,000,000; in 1830 they had swelled to £31,000,000. In the face of these facts it is impossible to contend that the monopoly of the Company will not ere long sink before the efforts of the private traders, even if Parliament do not interpose to legalise the traffic.

72. "With regard to the trade to Hindostan, as the Company agree to its being thrown open, and themselves abandoning it, nothing need be said upon that point, excepting in so far as the arrangement for paying a sum equal to the dividends on their stock, out of the revenues of India, is concerned. No part of the £630,000 a-year, stipulated as an indemnity for giving it up, is to come from the ex-

chequer of Great Britain; it is to be exclusively levied on the territorial revenues of India. The payment of this annuity is to continue for forty years, at the end of which time it is to be succeeded by the payment to the Company of a debt of £12,000,000, the interest of which was to be defrayed from the revenue of India. The revenue of that country in 1828-29 was £22,000,000, and its debt £40,000,000—little less than two years' income. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the solvency of the Indian Government, and the expense of it will be farther reduced by the proposed change of having four presidencies instead of three. It is proposed to put Europeans and natives under the same laws, and subject them to the same punishments; and also to establish a regulation that no native of India shall be prevented from holding offices or employment under Government on the grounds either of his colour, birth, or religion."

73. So completely did these views coincide with those of both Houses of Parliament, as well as the entire mercantile community of the country, that the bill passed both Houses without a division. Lord Ellenborough in the House of Peers, and Mr Buckingham in the Commons, merely stigmatised it, without a vote, as a crude and ill-digested piece of legislation, which could be attended with no beneficial results. Experience, however, has now shed a clear and certain light on this subject, and demonstrated that the bill, in its main provisions, was wisely conceived, and that the apprehensions expressed as to its operation were unfounded. During the fifteen years preceding, the Company's exports of manufactured cottons to India had dwindled almost to nothing, while those of the private merchants had come to exceed £1,500,000 sterling. The increase of the export of British manufactures to India and China has been so great since the trade was thrown open, that it has in twenty years *more than tripled*,—a change inferring not only a great benefit to the manufacturers of this country, but also a vast increase in

the comforts and capability of consumption of the inhabitants of Hindostan. Bishop Heber had observed, and strongly commented on, in his valuable Travels, the growing taste for English comforts and manufactures among the natives of that country, and the result has proved that his anticipations, from the effects of throwing open the trade, have been fully realised.*

74. In one particular, however, a different judgment must be formed; and it is the more important, because it points to the principal danger with which representative institutions are attended. In so far as the people of India were concerned, the injustice committed by this change was obvious and flagrant. Everything was done to promote the commercial and manufacturing interests of England, but nothing for those of Hindostan. English cotton goods were admitted for a nominal duty into India, and with such effect that it was the boast of our merchants that, with cotton grown on the

banks of the Ganges, they could undersell the manufacturers of Hindostan in the supply of their own markets; but there was no corresponding advantage thought of to the industry of India in supplying the markets of this country. The steam-engine was brought, and with terrible effect, into competition with the loom; but no steps were taken to prevent the latter being crushed by the former, or any counteracting advantage being secured for other branches of Indian industry. The great increase of British exports to India was an advantage, in one respect, to the natives of Hindostan, as it proved that they were purchasing articles of comfort cheaper than they could raise them at home; but it was a very great evil in another, for these articles were furnished by foreign, not native, industry. The increase of British exports, in this view, is the measure, not of the benefit, but of the evil they have experienced from British conquest; for every bale of cotton goods brought in from Manchester has extinguished one heretofore raised on the banks of the Ganges. Not a whisper, however, was heard on this subject either in Parliament or the country; and the English people, charmed with having opened what seemed a boundless market for their manufactures in the realms of Asia, never bestowed a thought on the check which the extension of their trade must inevitably give to the native industry of these countries;—a mark-worthy instance of the chief danger which besets representative institutions, and of the inherent weakness which affects those states where the powers of legislation are vested in one section of the community which is fully represented, and they are there used for its own separate advantage, without any regard to the interests of the unrepresented.

75. Important as these questions, which occupied the attention of the first reformed Parliament in the very commencement of its career, undoubtedly were, they yet yielded in magnitude and difficulty to another which,

* PROGRESS OF EAST INDIA AND CHINA EXPORT TRADE (DECLARED VALUE) FROM 1827 TO 1849.

Years.	India.	China.
1827	£3,662,012	£610,637
1828	4,256,582	and China.
1829	3,659,238	
1830	3,895,530	
1831	3,377,432	
1832	3,514,779	Trade opened.
1833	3,495,301	
1834	2,578,569	
1835	3,192,692	
1836	4,285,829	
1837	3,612,975	
1838	3,876,196	
1839	4,748,607	
1840	6,023,192	
1841	5,595,000	
1842	5,169,888	
1843	6,404,509	
1844	7,695,666	
1845	6,703,778	
1846	6,434,456	
1847	5,470,105	
1848	5,077,247	
1849	6,803,274	

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 362, 370, edition 1851.

In the year 1861 the real value of our exports to India had risen to £17,053,355, and to China to £4,940,446.—*Statistical Abstract*, No. x. pp. 12, 13.

at the same time, forced itself upon its attention. The WEST INDIA QUESTION had now assumed a form, and acquired an importance, which could no longer be overlooked; and it was the more difficult to deal with, that it was not only likely to be attended with the most momentous effects, social and political, both at home and in the colonies, but was of a kind which in the highest degree roused the passions in both parts of the empire. It was hard to say whether the sable Africans, who panted for what to them seemed the inestimable gift of freedom, identified in their minds with immediate cessation from toil, or the sincere British, who longed for the effacing the stain of slavery from our institutions, were most excited on the subject, or longed most passionately for its immediate and unqualified concession. Yet was the subject on all sides beset with difficulties; and so numerous and appalling had they become, that it was scarcely possible to determine whether most peril would be incurred by granting or withholding it, or whether the African race would be most blessed or cursed by gaining or losing the promised boon.

76. It is historically known and matter of common notoriety, how the negro race had come to be settled in such great numbers in the West India Islands, and the adjoining southern states of the American Union. Negro slaves had, for a period of above two hundred years, been imported from the coasts of Africa, and conveyed across the Atlantic to the British colonies in the New World; and so efficacious had their labour proved in clearing the American jungles, and bringing into civilisation the rich soil which had accumulated during several thousand years from the vegetable and animal remains of the primeval forests, that the importation of negroes had come to be attended with a very great profit, and the *slave trade* had become an important branch of British commerce. It had been authorised and regulated by several royal proclamations and Acts of Parliament, which not only permitted and encouraged the cultivation of the

newly-opened plantations by means of slaves, but the two most important commercial cities of western Britain, Liverpool and Glasgow, had mainly risen to wealth and greatness from the profits of this traffic. So great had it become, that nearly 800,000 Africans were, at the close of the war, settled in the British West India Islands, and above 2,500,000 in the adjoining island of Cuba and the American continent.

77. How revolting soever it may appear to our feelings that so considerable a portion of the human race should have been in this manner torn up from their native seats, and subjected to forced labour in a distant hemisphere, nothing is more certain than that it was a step unavoidable in the progress of improvement, and one which, if rightly regulated, afforded the best prospect of effecting the ultimate civilisation of the negro race. A very simple reason induced the transportation of the Africans in such numbers to the shores of Southern America and the West Indies; it was *absolute necessity*. The native Americans were too feeble in constitution, and too inconsiderable in numbers, to effect the clearing of the primeval forests of Virginia and Jamaica; and such as could be seized were fast wearing away under the frightful labour and atrocious severities of the Spanish mines. Experience had even then shown, what time has since abundantly proved, that the European race is incapable of undergoing labour in the field under the rays of a tropical sun, and that, in whatever number they might be sent out, they would perish as fast under the "death-bestrodden gales" of the West India Islands. The negro race in Africa alone presented numbers adequate to the magnitude of the undertaking, and constitutions equal to the severity of its toil. Unlike the European, the negro thrives and prospers under the burning rays of a tropical sun, and can without danger undergo continuous labour in the field under its influence. And strange to say, the inhabitants of the globe, known to profane history, who have lived to the

greatest age, have been found among the slaves of the West Indies.*

78. Like all other great movements of the human race, brought about by the irresistible laws of nature acting by physical necessities or moral influence, this vast transportation of mankind, however violent in its origin, or painful in its completion, was calculated to produce, and will ultimately confer, great benefits upon the species. It promised to effect what all the changes of time, and all the efforts of philanthropy from the beginning of the world, had failed in accomplishing—the ultimate civilisation of the African race. The same cause of resistless force which has rendered impossible the cultivation of tropical regions by European hands, has been equally fatal to all attempts at civilising the tropics by European intellect. The climate of the interior of Africa forbids the entrance of either. Not less destructive than the burning deserts of the Sahara to invading armies, the heat of Central Africa, the poisonous jungles of the Niger and the Congo, were utterly ruinous to European constitutions. The simple Africans, in their primeval forests, like their neighbours the elephant and the rhinoceros, were shielded alike from the invasions and the commerce, the curses and blessings of civilisation, by the impenetrable veil which nature had drawn around their habitations. A vast expanse, covering nearly a third of the habitable globe, peopled probably by many millions of mankind, has remained from the earliest times secluded from the rest of the world, unknown, save by a few adventurous travellers, to all ages, and foreign alike to the arts and the arms, the progress and the improvements, the blessings and the curses of civilisation, in the rest of the species.

79. But this extraordinary and anomalous position of so large a portion of mankind was not destined to be of eternal endurance. A remedy for it was found at length in the vice and

selfishness alike of the savage and civilised regions of the world. Nature had implanted a barrier between the interior of Africa and the rest of the species, impenetrable to civilised, but not to savage man; it could not be traversed by the European, but it was easy of passage to the negro. The swamps of the Niger were fatal to every attempt to ascend the stream with the arts or the arms of the sons of Japhet; but multitudes of the family of Ham descended its waters in thatched canoes, attracted by their gold. The slave trade did that which neither the power of conquest, nor the intercourse of commerce, nor the spread of knowledge could effect; they could not bring civilisation to the negro, but it brought the negro to civilisation. From fifty to one hundred thousand Africans were, during half a century, annually torn from their native seats by rude violence, sold by savage cupidity, and transported by Christian avarice through the horrors of the mid-passage to the shores of the New World. But amidst the unutterable miseries of that scene of woe, a great, and in the end beneficial, operation of nature was effected. For the first time in the history of mankind, the Africans were brought into contact with the habits and arts of civilised life; they were made to see its superiority, to desire its enjoyments, sometimes to submit to its labour. They have been now established in such numbers in America and the West Indies as to defy either eradication or removal; they have become permanently located in situations where they are open to all the influences which elsewhere have led to progress and the improvement of the species; and if the negro race is ever to be reclaimed or brought within the pale of civilisation in its native seats, it will be from the reflection of a light which was first struck amidst the slavery of the West Indies.

80. Towards the attainment, however, of these beneficial ends, and the working out of the designs of Providence in this vast forced emigration, one thing was absolutely necessary, and that was, that the negroes should become *stationary* and fixed labourers

* One well-known instance is that of an old negro slave in Jamaica, who died at the age of one hundred and eighty years.

on the soil. The transition from a movable to a durable residence is the most important in the gradual relaxation of the bonds of slavery. The condition of the serf is half-way to, and often superior in comfort to, that of the free labourer. This transition was early made in the West Indies, and immense were the benefits with which it had been attended. The pangs of separation from kindred and home were over; the horrors of the middle passage were passed; they had become permanently located on fixed estates; they had acquired homes and all the endearments and enjoyments of domestic existence. Experience had proved that the African race was capable not only of maintaining its own numbers, but of rapidly augmenting on the other side of the Atlantic. Eight hundred thousand negroes in the British West India Islands had already formed the nucleus of a vast sable population in the Gulf of Mexico; and on the adjoining American shores the negro race for long augmented faster than the Anglo-Saxons in the southern states of the Union.* The designs of Providence were rapidly approaching their completion; the savage was on a great scale brought in contact with the European, in regions where civilisation was accessible, and improvement could be attained.

81. Towards this blessed consummation, the stoppage of the slave trade in 1807 by the British Government eminently contributed. In all schemes of human improvement, it is of the last importance that the *interests* of the agents employed in conducting it should be brought to bear upon the social changes from which amelioration is expected; indeed, unless this is the case, little durable or

really beneficial is in general to be expected. But the stoppage of the slave trade at that period did this in the most eminent degree, for it rendered *their preservation and increase essential to their masters' interest*. His estates could not be cultivated by any other means. The wellbeing of the negro was secured by the same motive as the care of his cattle, or mules, or buildings; they were essential to the production of his income. Under the influence of these causes, the African race not only maintained their own numbers in the West India Islands, but they were rapidly advancing in the career of industry, comfort, and usefulness. The West Indies at that period, with a population of 800,000 souls, consumed annually £3,800,000 worth of British manufactures, *being nearly £5 a-head*; a fact which speaks volumes as to their general wellbeing, for it exceeded the average consumption of the British Islands, and was one hundred times that of Russia. Many cases of cruelty and oppression, without doubt, occurred where so many unscrupulous masters were invested with despotic power; but, generally speaking, the condition of the negroes was eminently prosperous, and incomparably more so than it had been in their native seats in Africa. Dwelling in cottages which, by a prescriptive usage, had become their own, surrounded by their gardens, their fruits, their children, they exhibited, generally speaking, a spectacle rarely witnessed in this world of care, and to which the eye of the philanthropist might turn with pleasure, even from the brightest scenes of European civilisation. Doubtless the character of the master affected in a great degree the prosperity of his subjects, and the cruel or unfeeling had ample means of wreaking their vengeance on a helpless race. But those were the exceptions, not the rule. In the great majority of cases, the negroes on the estates were in such easy and affluent circumstances as would hardly be credible if not supported on undoubted and concurring testimony.

82. They had generally two days

* The scale has now turned the other way; the whites in America are increasing somewhat faster than the blacks, as the following table proves:—

From 1790 to 1830, increase of whites,	80	per cent.
	of blacks, 112	
From 1830 " to 1840, " whites increased	30	
	blacks increased	25

—*"American Population Returns, 1840; CAREY On Colonisation, p. 37; TOCQUEVILLE'S America, ii. 239.*

a-week, besides Sunday, during which they might work in their gardens or at day's wages on their own account; and so prolific was nature in that benignant climate, and such the reward of industry and good conduct, that industrious labourers, after having provided themselves and their families better than any peasantry in Europe, could lay by from their earnings *thirty pounds a-year*. Their cottages were generally comfortable, often elegant; artificial wants, civilised vanities, were rapidly making progress among them; and the cheering spectacle of 40,000 negroes in Jamaica having worked out or obtained by good conduct their own freedom, and prosecuting with respectability and success the paths of honest industry, warranted the hope that the sable race in the end might become capable of bearing emancipation; and that, by permitting Time to work out the great social change from bondage to freedom with its usual slow pace and unerring wisdom, it might be effected, as it had been in many countries of modern Europe, in so gradual a manner as to render it impossible to say when the one ceased and the other began.

83. In these circumstances, the course which a wise Government should have pursued, in justice alike to the negroes, the planters, and the empire, was clearly this:—I. They should have lowered to a very moderate amount the existing heavy duty of 24s. a hundredweight on imported sugar, considering the sugar of Jamaica as much a part of domestic produce as the wheat of Essex. II. They should have cautiously introduced such changes as might, in the course of generations, have trained the negroes to the habits requisite for freedom, and enabled them to bear its excitements without danger to themselves and the community. The general establishment or encouragement of marriage, prohibition to separate by sale parent and child, husband and wife, or to sell the slaves away from the estate, are the most important of these means. III. The practice, which by usage had become general,

should have been declared by law universal, of allowing them two days in the week to work on their own account, and prohibiting all work for their masters on Sundays. IV. A right should have been declared in the negro to purchase his freedom from his master as soon as he could accumulate the market value of his labour, which varied in general from £40 to £60. By these means, which are precisely those which the Spaniards had practised with such success on the mainland of South America, and which are gradually changing serfage into freedom in Russia, those only would have been liberated from the restraints of slavery who had afforded a convincing proof that they had acquired those of civilisation; full justice would have been done to the planters, by their receiving in every instance the market value of the slave; the negro population would have been gradually mingled with a free black race, capable of influencing them by their example, and teaching them by their habits. Thus the vast transition from savage to civilised life would have been accomplished, as it had been in Europe and some parts of Southern America, so gradually as to be at once imperceptible and unattended with danger.

84. A cause at once simple and irresistible has, in every part of the world, in a certain stage of society, led to the establishment of slavery. It is necessity. Such is the invincible aversion of savage man to continuous and severe toil, that this repugnance has never been overcome in any part of the world but by the introduction and long continuance of the forced labour which forms the essence of slavery. When the easy, but casual and precarious, supply of animal wants by the chase is exhausted, the human race would everywhere perish or become stationary, if, before the moral chains of artificial wants were thrown round civilised, the physical restrictions of servitude, were removed from savage man. As the forced labour of slaves is thus essential, for thousands of years, to the existence and progress of the species,

so, in the circumstances in which it is required, it is the greatest possible blessing even to those whom in ignorance we pity for being subjected to its severities. Bad as is often the condition of the slave, it is, in early stages of society, better than the destitution of freedom. To the captive in war it is the price of life, to the humble in peace it is the condition of existence. Food from a master is of value in all stages of society; in the early, before it can be obtained in any other way, it is inappreciable. Slavery is a blessing when it first aims to soften the rigours of war out of the necessities of pristine existence; it becomes a curse when it is continued under circumstances when, from the altered condition of society, it is no longer required. It has been truly said that the main cause of the wretchedness of Ireland has been, that, from their connection with England, they became free without having gone through the apprenticeship of serfdom.

85. In justice to the English nation, which forced through, against the wishes of a large portion of the Legislature, the measure of unqualified emancipation at this time, it must be stated that the colonists in the West Indies had, with unpardonable obstinacy, rejected the proposals of gradual amelioration of the negro population which had been made to them by the British Government. In particular, Mr Canning, in 1823, had urged upon the local legislature of the West India Islands the adoption of certain measures calculated to effect the *gradual* abolition of slavery, and in the mean time sensibly ameliorate the condition of the slaves. Resolutions in terms of these propositions were unanimously adopted by Parliament. But they met with a very unfavourable reception in the West Indies. Great alarm was felt there, not so much at what was actually proposed, as at the idea of *interference by the Imperial Legislature at all*; a state of things fraught, in their opinion, with great and immediate danger, and likely to excite the negro population to the worst atrocities. Mr Can-

ning's resolutions, indeed, were at first looked upon as declaratory merely—as words not likely to lead to any practical result. It soon appeared, however, that this was not to be the case. The resolutions of the House of Commons were laid before the King in council, and sanctioned by him; and soon after a circular was issued from the Colonial Office, which absolutely prohibited the flogging of women, or the use of the whip in the field.*

86. These limitations of the power of the masters do not at first sight appear very serious, and certainly they are not of such a kind as to be repugnant to any humane mind. They were dangerous, however, not from what they enjoined, but from the expectations which they would awaken; and the utmost apprehensions were felt in the colonies that they might lead to a general belief among the negroes that slavery had been really abolished by the British Parliament, and that it was the local legislatures which were withholding the inestimable boon. This danger, as appeared in the sequel, was far from being imaginary; and it was much increased by the efforts of the missionaries and Baptists, whose prudence and judgment were not equal to their zeal or humanity, and who led the slaves to expect that the day of their final deliverance was at hand. Angry resolutions, in consequence, were passed by the legislature in several of the islands, in which resistance was openly threatened, and severance from the mother country spoken of as probable. The well-known weakness of the colonists, however, placed between the might of the mother coun-

* The resolutions proposed by Mr Canning, and adopted by the House of Commons, consisted in abolishing the use of the lash in the field, or its application, under any circumstances, to females; regulating the punishment of refractory slaves; preventing the separation, by sale, of husband, wife, and children; protecting the property of slaves, admitting their evidence in courts of justice, facilitating their manumission, and providing for their religious instruction by a regular ecclesiastical establishment, with two bishops at its head, one presiding over Jamaica, the other over the Leeward Islands.—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. xi. pp. 963, 976.

try on the one hand, and a vast negro population on the verge of insurrection on the other, forbade any such attempt; and the irritation evaporated in angry recriminations and strong resolutions. Riots of a very alarming character, however, took place in several districts, some arising from the indignation of the planters at the missionaries, others from the highly-excited feelings of the negroes in consequence of their preachings. Shrewsbury, a missionary in Barbadoes, was a victim to violence of the first kind, and only saved his life by flying from the colony; and the imprudent zeal of another, named Smith, in Demerara, produced an insurrection among the blacks of so threatening a character that martial law was proclaimed in the colony, and continued in force for five months. Under it Smith was brought to trial on a charge of having incited the negroes to revolt, concealed their intention to rise, when known to him, and refused to serve in the militia on the ground of his clerical office. At the most, he was only guilty of the two last charges; of the first no adequate evidence was adduced. He was found guilty generally, however, by the court-martial, and sentenced to death; but the sentence was commuted, most justly, by the home Government into banishment from the colony. Before the communication, however, could reach the colony, Smith was in his grave, having died in prison in consequence of a confinement of five months in an unhealthy situation, and in a pestilential climate.

87. These unhappy proceedings, in which imprudent though benevolent zeal on the one side were met by selfish resistance and judicial iniquity on the other, had the effect of retarding in a most distressing manner, as such collisions always do, the progress of real and safe improvement in the condition of the negro population. Matters continued for the next eight years in a state of constrained and sullen tranquillity; the masters brooding, on the one hand, over the many real and still more numerous supposed wrongs they had received from the British

Government, and the slaves waiting impatiently for the concession of freedom which they still believed had been granted to them by the Imperial Legislature, and was only withheld by those of their own island. Affairs, however, were brought to a crisis by the violent collision which took place between the rival parties in the course of the discussion of the Reform Bill. Mr Brougham, Mr Buxton, and many other of the Liberal chiefs, aware what a popular theme the instant abolition of slavery was with a sincere and respectable portion of the people, brought it forward as a prominent topic on the hustings; and the former of these carried Yorkshire in consequence of his protestations on the subject. The accession of the Whig Government to power confirmed the hopes which these declamations had awakened, and an imprudent act of Government brought matters to a crisis. In November 1831, during the height of the Reform fever, by which every part of the empire was sufficiently agitated, Orders in Council were issued by Government, which fixed the hours of labour, appointed slave-protectors, and contained various other regulations calculated to prepare the slaves gradually for emancipation. They were to be enforced in the Crown colonies by the authority of Government; in those which had their own legislature, by fiscal privileges granted to such as conformed to them. These regulations were considered by the slaves as amounting to unconditional freedom, and they became impatient that it was not formally proclaimed. The consequence of this not being done was, that a vast conspiracy was secretly organised among the negroes in Jamaica in the end of 1831, which ere long broke out in an open insurrection, so formidable as to justify entirely the fears expressed by the planters on the subject. And as if the severities of nature were to be added to the calamities induced by man, a dreadful hurricane about the same time devastated the islands of Barbadoes, St Vincent, and St Lucie, and destroyed property to the amount of £1,700,000.

88. The first symptoms of insubordination appeared on December 20, when the negroes on several estates refused to go to their work, alleging that they were free, and not obliged to do so. From this they proceeded to break into houses and take arms, or bring out weapons of their own which they had secreted, and, assembling in large bodies, marched in every direction over the island, inciting the slaves to join them, and burning or destroying every plantation or building which came within their reach. The houses and settlements of free people of colour, however humble, shared in the devastation equally with the larger plantations of the European. The unchained African marked, as he had done in St Domingo in 1789, his first steps towards freedom by violence, conflagration, and every crime at which humanity recoils. The whole island was illuminated at night by the light of burning edifices; the sky darkened by day with the vast clouds of smoke which issued from the conflagrations. There were few casualties, however, in this scene of war; and in many instances the negroes saved the lives of their masters at the hazard of their own. Martial law was proclaimed on the 30th, the militia called out, and Sir Willoughby Cotton, with three hundred regular troops, marched to Montego Bay, the centre of the insurrection. Several engagements took place with the rebels, in which they were routed; but when the insurrection was put down in one quarter, it broke out in another, and it was not finally suppressed till the middle of January, before which property to the amount of above £1,000,000 had been destroyed. A proclamation was wisely issued by the governor, offering a free pardon to such as laid down their arms, excepting the ringleaders, which had a very beneficial effect. It appeared from the confessions of some of the latter who were shot, that the insurrection had been occasioned by the assurances given to the negroes by the Baptist missionaries, that the Orders in Council in November preceding had in reality given them their freedom, and that it was only

withheld by the selfish opposition of the local government.

89. This calamitous outbreak excited, as well it might, the utmost alarm among the West India proprietors. The parliament of Jamaica solemnly protested against the Orders in Council, as an unjustifiable, uncalled-for, and perilous interference with private property, and threw upon Government the whole responsibility of carrying them into execution. This example was immediately followed by such of the islands as had local legislatures; and on behalf of such as had none, a great meeting of West India proprietors was held in London in April 1832, at which a petition was agreed to, praying for an inquiry into the condition of the West India negroes, and what could further be done to ameliorate their condition consistently with their own interests. So obvious was the danger, so strong the case made out at this meeting, that the prayer of the petition, which was presented by Lord Harewood to the House of Lords on the 17th April, was acceded to by Government, and meanwhile the Order in Council was suspended. At the same time a loan of £100,000, which had been granted to the sufferers in St Vincent and the other islands by the hurricane, was extended to £1,000,000, and made to embrace in addition the sufferers under the Jamaica insurrection, where, it was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the loss by the burning of buildings alone exceeded £800,000.

90. But matters had now arrived at such a point under the combined influence of the Reform passion, and the anxiety for instant negro emancipation in the mother country, that rational or prudent measures were no longer practicable. The excitement on this subject throughout the whole of Great Britain went on at an accelerated rate during the autumn and winter subsequent to the passing of the Reform Bill; and the pledges exacted from candidates for seats in the first reformed Parliament were so numerous, that it had become a matter of certainty, before the discussion came on

in the House of Commons, that Government had no alternative but to concede. The recent insurrection and frightful calamities in Jamaica, so far from operating as a warning of the danger of concession, were considered as only an indication of the reverse, because they were regarded as signs of the danger, not of granting emancipation, but of withholding it. A great part of the nation, including a vast majority of the urban constituencies, were seized with a passion on the subject not less strong than that which had carried reform, and more estimable, as being less impelled by selfish ambition, and more springing from humane feelings. In a word, the nation had arrived at one of those phases, so well known and of frequent occurrence in the later history of England, when it runs wild on a particular subject, when reason, experience, and consequences are alike disregarded, and, right or wrong, ruinous or beneficial, the thing demanded must be conceded.

91. Mr Stanley, who had been transferred from the secretaryship of Ireland to the office of Colonial Secretary in order to conduct this arduous and delicate question, thus explained the ministerial project on the subject: "The present question involves interests greater, consequences more momentous, results more portentous, than any which ever was submitted to a British or any other legislature. A commerce giving employment now to 250,000 tons of shipping, a revenue of £5,000,000, and an export of equal amount, are here to be dealt with. But what are these pecuniary interests, great as they are, to the moral and social consequences at stake? The freedom of 800,000 of our own, and many millions of foreign slaves: the emancipation and happiness of generations yet unborn; the ultimate destiny of almost a moiety of the human race, are wound up with this question. Vast, almost awful, as are the interests involved in it, and the difficulties with which it is beset, its settlement can no longer be delayed. We have arrived at a point when delay is more perilous than decision. We have only

the choice left of doing some good at the least risk of effecting evil. We are called upon to legislate between conflicting parties, one materially involved by pecuniary interests and by difficulties now present, and every hour increasing; the other, still more deeply interested by their feelings and their opinions, and representing a growing determination on the part of the people of this country, at once to put an end to slavery—a determination the more absolute and the less resistible that it is founded in sincere religious feelings, and in a solemn conviction that things wrong in principle cannot be expedient in practice. The time is gone by when the question can for a moment be entertained, whether or not the system of slavery can be made perpetual: the only point left for discussion is, the safest, happiest way of effecting its entire abolition.

92. "Parliament, and the King in Council, have at various times recommended to the colonial legislatures what in their opinion ought to be done, and enforced it on such as were under their direct authority; but, with very few exceptions, these recommendations have proved nugatory. If ever there was a case which justified the exercise of the paramount authority of Parliament, it is this, when every means of remonstrance and warning has been used in vain. Government therefore have resolved to propose a plan which shall insure the ultimate extinction of slavery, and manumit not only the future, but even the present generation; while, at the same time, it will prevent the dangers of a too sudden transition. It has not been deemed advisable to fix the expiry of slavery after the lapse of a given number of years, because it is certain that the intermediate period would be one of great excitement and irritation, possibly of insurrection and bloodshed. It was thought safer to place the slave for a limited time in an intermediate state of apprenticeship. He will be bound to enter into a contract with his master, in virtue of which, his master, during a limited period, would

be bound to furnish him with food and clothing, and such allowances as are now authorised by law, or to give him in lieu thereof a pecuniary compensation. For this consideration he will be required to work for his master three-fourths of his time; leaving it to be settled between them, whether that should be for three-fourths of the week, or three-fourths of each day. The remaining fourth of his time is to be at his own disposal, when he may work for wages to whom he pleases. The power of inflicting corporal punishment is to remain; but it is to be awarded only by the sentence and under the direction of a magistrate. The duration of the apprenticeship is to be for seven years.

93. "One of the greatest difficulties connected with this subject, is the fixing the rate of wages when the negro works on his own account. Under ordinary circumstances this was settled by, and might be safely left to, competition; but could this be applied to slaves just emerging from a state of servitude? Absolute freedom in that respect would extinguish voluntary labour, extinguish its consequent civilisation, and fling back the negro population, with an insurmountable desire to revert to the indolence of savage life. A scale must be fixed; and the difficulty is, to determine how that scale is to be adjusted. The most expedient plan appears to be, to compel the planter to fix a price on the labourer at the time of enacting his apprenticeship: and enacting that the wages to be paid by the master should bear such a proportion to the price fixed by him, if given by the master, that the negro should receive annually one-twelfth of his price. In this way the master and slave will act in reference to each other; and the interest of each will serve as a check upon undue exaction of either.

94. "This measure, whatever its benefits may be in other respects, must necessarily occasion a certain amount of loss to the West India proprietors, and it is not fitting that upon them should be laid exclusively the losses arising from the destruction of a species of property, into the legality of

which it is needless to enter, but which has repeatedly been recognised by Act of Parliament. From the returns of West India property made to the Board of Trade, it appears that the net profit arising from the cultivation of sugar is at present £1,200,000 a-year; and making a reasonable addition for the profit arising from the cultivation of rum and coffee, £1,500,000 a-year might be taken as the annual amount of West India property. It is proposed to give ten years' purchase of this sum, or £15,000,000, as a loan, to be repaid to the country when the immediate difficulties of emancipation have been in some degree surmounted. In addition to this, it is proposed to establish stipendiary magistrates, appointed by the Crown, for the administration of justice, and to make provision for the moral and religious instruction of the inhabitants. All children born after the passing of the Act, or who shall be under six years of age when it becomes law, to be declared free.

95. "One very important fact seems to be completely established by the returns which have been laid before Parliament, and that is, that in all the islands, with the exception of Barbadoes and Trinidad, while the production of sugar has increased of late years, the population has declined. In Jamaica, on an average of three years, from 1823 to 1826, the annual production of sugar was 1,354,000 cwt.; on an average from 1829 to 1832, 1,389,000. In the first period, the mean population was 334,000; in the last, 327,000. In Demerara, the sugar produced in the first period was 659,000 cwt.; in the last, 806,000; the slaves in the first period were 72,722; in the last, 67,000. Here, then, is a broad fact, which proves that under the existing system the severity of their labour, or the other disadvantages of their situation, are pressing even upon the principle of increase, the strongest impulse which can actuate savage as well as civilised man. The amount of punishment inflicted also in some colonies is so excessive as loudly calls for a change of system. Thus in Deme-

rara, in 1829, when the slaves were 61,627, the number of punishments returned to the protectors was 17,359; and in 1831, the population being then 58,000, the punishments were 21,656, and the lashes inflicted, 199,500! It is much to be feared that in this immense number and severity of punishments, and the excessive labour to which the slaves have been subjected, is to be found the real cause both of the general increase of production and the diminution in the negro population.

96. "The objections usually urged and most relied on against immediate emancipation are, that the negroes are averse to continuous labour, and that it is unsafe to manumit them till they are willing voluntarily to submit to it. If this argument proves anything, it proves too much; for when do men ever show a disposition to labour till population presses upon food? and that will never take place as long as the depopulating influence of slavery continues. We are told that the negroes own no domestic ties, nor will they so long as you retain them in that state of slavery which debases their principles, deprives them of foresight, and takes away from them the motives to industry. The slaves have no education, and you deny them any, for as slaves they can have none. But, in truth, the reproach so often made to negroes that they are averse to labour, is unfounded in fact. An experiment decisive of this point was lately made in Antigua, where 371 captured negroes were landed and set free. Their industry was remarkable, as well as their avidity to acquire property, and imitate the dress, manners, and speech of the Creoles. Many of the most laborious works in St John's have been performed by them, and several of them have already amassed so much money as to be able to purchase their houses. In Bahama, the slaves are already more than half manumitted; and in the island of Cuba, which is very highly cultivated, a large quantity of sugar is raised by free labour. The example of St Domingo, and the cessation of the ex-

port of sugar from that island, proves nothing. Such were the horrors it underwent, and the destruction of property which ensued, that it could not be otherwise. Yet sugar is raised, and assiduously cultivated in St Domingo; not, indeed, for exportation, but for their own consumption, by the hands of freemen. In Venezuela, a measure of progressive emancipation has been adopted since the government of Spain was overthrown; and so far from the emancipated slaves being averse to labour, the only difference is, that the free labourer works with more energy than the slave."

97. So strong was the feeling in Parliament and the country on the necessity of immediately abolishing slavery, that the first resolution proposed by Mr Stanley, which declared the expedience of taking measures for the immediate emancipation of the slaves under such provisions as might combine their interests with those of the proprietors, passed without a division, as did the second, that all children under six years of age, or born after the passing of the Act, should be declared free. The third and fourth resolutions, however, which declared the establishment of the system of apprenticeship, and provided £15,000,000 *as a loan* to the West India proprietors, met with considerable opposition; not, however, as might have been expected, from the West India proprietors, but from the advocates of emancipation. It was strenuously contended by Mr Buxton, the persevering and consistent friend of the negroes, that any delay in emancipation was unnecessary; that the negroes, if declared free, would at once work with more vigour and efficiency than they had ever done in a state of slavery; and that their taste for luxuries, comforts, and delicacies, was fully as strong as that of the whites, and would prove fully as efficacious in stimulating industry. Various isolated examples, apparently establishing these assertions in different parts of the West Indies, were given; but on a division, the Government resolution was carried by 324 to 42.

98. The real arguments, however, urged against the proposed measure, were brought forward at a great meeting of persons interested in the West Indies, held on 27th May. The House of Commons was tongue-tied by their constituents, and did not venture to say what many of them knew to be true. We must look elsewhere for the actual reasons urged against the Government measure. They were well summed up in the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to : "That, independently of planters, merchants, and manufacturers obviously and immediately connected with the colonies, there is a numerous class of persons, consisting of widows, orphans, minors, annuitants, and other claimants under wills and settlements, who have no support for themselves or their families excepting a charge upon colonial property, created on the faith of existing laws, and who must therefore be reduced to beggary by any ill-advised or precipitate measure of emancipation. The scheme of emancipation brought forward by Government provides no security for the lives of our fellow-subjects in the colonies : it proposes to divest the owner of his property without any compensation ; it tends to destroy colonial agriculture by entailing heavy additional expense on a cultivation already confessedly depressed ; it renders an outlay of capital in the West Indies unprofitable, and thereby puts a stop to the progressive civilisation of the negroes in our own colonies, while at the same time it directly encourages the slave trade and slavery in foreign countries. There is no stronger title to property than that which is derived from positive law ; and no other security against spoliation than a confidence that the Government under which they live will respect those rights and interests which have grown up under the laws it has made. The proprietors of negro slaves possess them under the sanction of British laws, which enabled and especially encouraged the people of Great Britain to convey slaves from Africa, and to

sell them to their fellow-subjects in the colonies. Looking to the rights thus acquired, the West India proprietors do solemnly protest against any measure which takes away the property of their fellow-subjects without adequate compensation ; a measure which, if carried through, will shake the foundations of every species of property, and establish a precedent which may speedily lead to every other species of property being similarly dealt with."

99. It was evident from these resolutions, which embodied all that was said on the subject on the occasion, that the West India proprietors regarded the question of immediate negro emancipation as settled, and directed all their efforts to obtain adequate compensation. How much soever the country might be agitated on the subject, and how violent soever the cry that the West India planters were a body of slave-drivers, who were not entitled to any compensation for the glorious act of emancipating their negroes, Government felt the justice of the appeal, and, much to their credit, they met it in a worthy spirit. The West India proprietors had intimated that £15,000,000, especially if granted in the shape of a loan, would be wholly inadequate as a compensation ; but that if it was increased to £20,000,000, and converted *into a gift*, they would withdraw their opposition. Government agreed to this change, and Mr Stanley brought forward the proposal for the enlarged sum, as a gift, in the House of Commons. It met with very serious opposition from the emancipation party : some contending that it was a great deal too much, and that £12,000,000 would be amply sufficient ; others that it was a scandalous waste of public money to give £20,000,000 to a body of slave-drivers, when the country which paid it was ringing with the cry of distress from side to side. Government influence, however, and the obvious justice of the measure, prevailed : an amendment, moved by Mr Briscoe, to reduce the compensation to £15,000,000, was

rejected by a majority of 304 to 56; and one by Mr Buxton, that one-half of the compensation should not be paid till the period of apprenticeship was passed, and the negroes were put in full possession of their freedom, by 277 to 142. The bill finally passed by a majority of 296 to 77. The compensation then given was on an average, for the whole negroes, who were 800,000 in number, about £22, 10s. a head—not half the price of a full-grown negro on an average of the islands, nor a third in some of them, but not altogether inadequate, if the number of children, sick, and infirm is taken into consideration.

100. To understand how readily the West India body withdrew any serious opposition when the compensation was advanced from £15,000,000 to £20,000,000, and converted into a grant, it must be considered in what circumstances they were placed, and in what embarrassments they had long been involved. These difficulties arose from two causes: the first was the decline in the productive powers of nature in all the islands, when the virgin riches of the soil began to wear out, which was generally the case after twenty-five or thirty years' cultivation. This had long and universally been experienced after a certain time, and it led to two effects, each of which contributed to stimulate production to an undue degree, and increase the embarrassments of those who lived by its sale. The original proprietors, seeing the soil failing, sold their estates, and bought new ones, in which the virgin riches of the land might be relied on for twenty or thirty years, and instantly commenced extensive plantations; while the purchaser of the old ones, finding the productive powers of these declining, borrowed money on their security, and endeavoured, by increased exertions and a liberal expenditure, to restore the production to what it formerly had been. Thus, from one cause—the decline of crops after the riches of the virgin soil were exhausted—a forced and unnatural production, attended with a ruinous reduction of prices, generally took place.

101. The next was the enormous and crushing duty to which sugar and all West India produce was subjected, and which, when the decline of prices took place after the peace, was in a great part paid by the producer. This tax, when first augmented in 1793, was 30s. a cwt. on sugar, which was subsequently reduced to 27s., and in 1830 to 24s., at which it still was. A grosser and more iniquitous instance of fiscal oppression never was heard of; and it illustrates the extreme danger of oppression, in a constitutional monarchy, to its *unrepresented dependencies*. Most certainly the English would never have consented to a tax of this description, equivalent to one of 50s. the quarter on wheat, on their *own produce*. But it is a very different thing to tax ourselves, and to tax a defenceless and unrepresented colony subject to our power. This immense tax had come latterly to be chiefly, if not entirely, paid by the producers. The proof of this is decisive. In 1831, the price of sugar, excluding duty, in Great Britain was 23s. 8d. the cwt., while in America, in the same year, it was 36s. The difference was 12s. 4d. To the extent of this difference the duty of 24s. a cwt. had come to be paid entirely by the producers. They could not raise their prices in proportion to the tax, in consequence of the competition with other sugar-growing states, and the vast increase of production, from the cause just mentioned, in their own. "An absolute sovereign," says Mr Hume, "being equally elevated above all his subjects, and not more dependent on one class than another, views them all, comparatively speaking, with equal eyes; whereas a free state is ruled by one body of citizens who have obtained the mastery over another, and govern exclusively the distant settlements of the empire, and are constantly actuated by personal jealousy and *patrimonial interests*, in their endeavours to prevent them from obtaining the advantages of equal and uniform legislation."

102. It may appear strange how

this enormous and crushing system of taxation on rude produce, which amounted now to £5,000,000 yearly, on estates yielding, according to Lord Althorpe's statement, *only* £1,500,000 *profit on cultivation*, could have come to be imposed under the old Parliament, in which the West India was for a time the strongest of all local interests, and at one time numbered eighty votes among its supporters. But the reason was this, which, when once stated, is perfectly apparent, and explains the whole phenomenon. The burden of the tax was not felt by the producer during the war, when, under an adequate currency, sugar brought from 120s. to 130s. (including duty); and the tax of 30s., then wholly paid by the consumers, still left an ample price to remunerate the labours of the producers. But when, on the return of peace, and contraction of the currency to half its former amount, prices fell to 50s. or 60s. the cwt., the tax of 27s. or 24s. *absorbed half the price received*, and entirely extinguished the profits of cultivation. This, however, did not lead, as those not practically acquainted with the subject naturally supposed it would, to a diminution of production. On the contrary, it led to a great and ruinous increase. The great majority of the planters strove to compensate the diminution of price by *increase of quantity produced*, the clearing of fresh virgin land, and the rigorous exaction of a greater amount of labour from their negroes. This was the true cause of the fact observed by Mr Stanley, that in all the West India Islands, except Antigua and Barbadoes, there had been, for seven years past (ever since the suppression of small notes in Great Britain in 1826), an increase in the production of sugar, and a diminution in the number of the slaves. They were worked beyond their strength, sometimes to death, to compensate the reduction of price consequent on the contraction of the currency. This increase of production again tended still more to depress prices and annihilate the profits of cultivation; but the West India proprietors, ignorant of

the real cause of their difficulties, and clinging to hope, the last refuge of the unfortunate, still went on, as is often the case, striving to obviate depressed prices by enhanced production, and got deeper into the mire from every effort they made to extricate themselves from it.

103. To a body of landed proprietors thus situated, and nearly all labouring under mortgages, of which they were unable even to pay the interest, the sudden offer of £20,000,000 as a free gift presented irresistible temptations. Though it was not more than a half on an average of the value of the full-grown slaves who were emancipated, nor a fifth of the real amount of the entire property endangered by the changes, which was estimated at £120,000,000, it was an immense relief in the mean time, and at once raised numbers from the depths of despair to affluence and prosperity. Many proprietors, especially of West India mortgages, saw a great fortune suddenly created in their hands, where before there was nothing but embarrassment, and were able to retire from business, and realise the ample sums they received in large estates in this country. Nearly half the entire grant was shared by the merchants of Liverpool and Glasgow: it may be conceived what a godsend this was to men who, from long-continued embarrassment, had become well-nigh desperate as to their affairs. These considerations explain the ready acquiescence of the West India body in the proposal of Government, fraught as it was, as the event proved, with ultimate danger, and tending to postpone, not remove, the causes which were finally to involve them in ruin.

104. But although these considerations sufficiently explain the ultimate acquiescence of the West India proprietors in the measure of Government, yet is it not the less certain that the measure itself was unwise, premature, and has been attended with the most disastrous results. It is difficult to say whether the West India proprietors, the negro population in the islands, the sable inhabitants of Africa, or the

manufacturers of the mother country, have suffered most from the change. It appears from the parliamentary returns,* that the produce of Jamaica, within three years after emancipation took effect, and the apprentice system was introduced (January 1, 1834), had decreased a third, and within ten years that of the whole West India Islands had *fallen off a half*.† As might be expected, with so prodigious a decline in the produce of these once magnificent settlements—that is, in the means their inhabitants enjoyed of purchasing luxuries and comforts—the exports of British manufactures to them underwent at the same time a similar diminution. So great did it become, that within less than fifteen years of the period when emancipation took effect, the exports of British manufactures and produce to the West Indies had diminished *a half*, while those to the slave states of Cuba and Brazil, which had risen on the ruins of their less fortunate neighbours, had largely increased.‡ Perhaps there never was,

in the whole history of human affairs, any change against which experience has so unequivocally declared as this, which was introduced with such benevolent intentions and transports of joy in the British Islands.

105. But disastrous as the results of the change have been to British interests both at home and in the West Indies, they are as nothing to those which have ensued to the negroes themselves, both in their native seats and the Transatlantic colonies. The fatal gift of premature emancipation has proved as pernicious to a race as it always does to an individual: the boy of seventeen sent out into the world has continued a boy, and done as other boys do. The diminution of the agricultural exported produce of the islands to less than a half, proves how much their industry has declined. The reduction of their consumption of British produce and manufactures in a similar proportion tells unequivocally how much their means of comfort and enjoyment have fallen off. Generally

* AVERAGE PRODUCE OF JAMAICA BEFORE AND AFTER NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

Average Produce for Seven Years ending—	Sugar (hogsheads).	Rum (puncheons).	Coffee (lb.)
1832	93,156	31,354	29,953,765
1833	78,395	23,215	9,866,000
1834	77,801	30,475	17,725,000
1835	71,017	26,434	10,593,018
1836	61,604	19,938	13,446,638

—*Lords' Report*, 1838, No. 70.

† TABLE SHOWING THE OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE EXPORTS OF THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS FROM 1828 TO 1841.

Years.	Sugar (cwt.)	Rum (gallons).	Coffee (lb.)	Cocoa (lb.)	Pimento (lb.)	Shipping (tons).	Ships (Inwards).
1828	4,313,636	6,307,224	29,987,078	454,909	2,247,893	272,800	1013
1829	4,152,614	6,934,759	26,911,785	684,217	3,585,694	263,268	958
1830	3,912,626	6,752,799	27,460,421	711,913	3,489,318	253,872	911
1831	4,103,800	7,844,157	20,030,802	1,491,947	1,801,355	249,079	904
1832	3,773,456	4,713,809	24,678,920	618,215	1,366,183	229,117	828
1833	3,646,204	5,109,975	19,008,575	2,134,809	4,470,255	248,378	911
1834	3,843,976	5,112,399	22,081,489	1,360,235	1,389,402	246,695	918
1835	3,524,209	5,468,317	14,855,470	439,637	2,536,358	235,179	873
1836	3,601,791	4,868,168	18,903,426	1,612,304	3,320,978	237,922	900
1837	3,306,775	4,418,349	15,577,888	1,847,145	2,026,129	226,468	855
1838	3,520,676	4,641,210	17,538,655	2,145,617	862,974	235,195	878
1839	2,824,372	4,021,820	11,485,675	959,641	1,071,570	196,715	748
1840	2,214,764	3,780,979	12,797,039	2,374,301	999,068	181,736	697
1841	2,151,217	2,770,161	9,927,689	2,920,208	797,758	174,975	677

—*PORTER'S Progress of the Nation*, 803.

‡ For Table of Exports of British Produce, see next page.

speaking, the incipient civilisation of the negro has been arrested by his emancipation: with the cessation of forced labour, the habits and tastes which spring from and compensate it have disappeared, and savage habits and pleasures have resumed their ascendancy over the sable race. The attempts to instruct and civilise them have for the most part proved a failure; the *dolce far niente*, equally dear to the unlettered savage as to the effeminate European, has resumed its sway; and the emancipated Africans, dispersed in the woods, or in cabins erected amidst the ruined plantations, are fast relapsing into the state in which their ancestors were when they were torn from their native seats by the rapacity of Christian avarice.

106. But deplorable as these effects have been, they are as nothing compared to the heartrending results of the change to the unfortunate inhabitants of Africa, and the frightful increase of the slave trade in its very worst form which has ensued from it. To supply the gap in the production of sugar, which took place in consequence of the diminished supply from the West India Islands, the slave-

growing states made the most astonishing efforts, and increased their production to the greatest degree. To effect this increase, a large additional supply of slave labour was indispensable, and it was speedily obtained from the opposite coast of Africa. Stimulated by the considerable increase in prices which took place in consequence of the diminished production of the British West India Islands, cultivation increased immensely in the slave states; the slave trade came to be again carried on by British capital, and the rise in the production of slave-grown sugar was even more rapid than the fall in the British Islands. In 1823, Puerto Rico exported only cattle and coffee: in 1838 she exported 33,750 tons of sugar, being more than a sixth of the whole British consumption. The export of Cuba sugar, on an average of three years ending 1816, was 51,000 tons: in 1834 it was 120,000 tons. During the first period the export of Brazil sugar was, on an average, 26,250 tons: in the last year it was 70,970 tons. The production of coffee declined so rapidly in the British West India plantations, that notwithstanding a reduc-

EXPORT (DECLARED VALUE) OF BRITISH PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES TO THE WEST INDIES, CUBA, AND BRAZIL, FROM 1827 TO 1849.

Years.	West Indies.	Cuba, and Foreign West Indies.	Brazil.
1827	£3,583,222	£649,378	£2,312,109
1828	3,289,704	569,728	3,518,297
1829	3,612,085	672,176	2,516,040
1830	2,838,448	618,029	2,452,103
1831	2,581,949	663,531	1,238,371
1832	2,439,808	653,700	2,144,903
1833	2,597,589	577,228	2,575,680
1834	2,680,014	913,005	2,460,629
1835	3,187,540	787,043	2,630,767
1836	3,786,453	987,122	3,030,532
1837	3,456,745	891,713	1,824,082
1838	3,393,441	1,025,392	2,606,604
1839	3,986,598	891,826	2,650,713
1840	3,574,970	863,520	2,625,853
1841	2,504,004	895,441	2,556,554
1842	2,591,425	711,938	1,776,805
1843	2,882,441	873,797	2,140,133
1844	2,451,477	999,474	2,413,538
1845	2,789,211	1,249,015	2,493,306
1846	3,253,420	1,307,313	2,749,338
1847	2,102,577	1,316,221	2,563,804
1848	1,434,477	910,138	2,067,302
1849	1,821,146	1,441,212	2,444,715

tion of the duty one-half per pound in 1825, the export fell, on an average of five years preceding 1825, from 30,280,000 lb. to 19,812,160 lb. preceding 1836; while the quantity received from Ceylon alone, which in 1835 was only 2,000,000 lb., had risen in 1849 to 35,000,000 lb.*

107. The effect of this great transfer of production from the British West Indies to foreign plantations is thus described by Mr Buxton, the able and consistent advocate of negro emancipation: "Twenty years ago, the African Institution reported to the Duke of Wellington that the number of slaves who annually crossed the Atlantic was 70,000. There is evidence before the parliamentary committee to show that about one-third was for the British islands, and one-third for St Domingo, so that if the slave trade of other countries had been stationary, they ought only to have imported 25,000; *whereas the number now (1838) landed in Cuba and Brazil alone is 150,000 annually*, being more than double the whole draft of Africa, including the countries where it had ceased, when the slave trade controversy began! *Twice as many human beings are now its victims as when Wilberforce and Clarkson commenced their noble career*; and each individual of this increased number, in addition to the horrors which were endured in former times, has to suffer from being crammed up in a narrow space, and on board a vessel where accommodation is sacrificed to speed. Painful as this is, it becomes still more distressing if

* In Cuba, the average produce of sugar for four years preceding

1831, was . . .	82,000 tons
1835, " . . .	100,000 "
1839, " . . .	124,000 "
1843, " . . .	130,000 "
1847, " . . .	186,000 "
1851, " . . .	235,600 "

Jamaica produced—

In 1847, . . .	37,000 tons
„ 1851, . . .	30,000 „

Slaves imported from Africa to Cuba—

1845, . . .	43,500
1850, . . .	68,000

—EVANS'S *West Indies, Past and Present*, 219, 247.

it shall appear that our present system has not failed by mischance, or want of energy, or want of expenditure; but that the system itself is erroneous, and must necessarily end in disappointment." Thus the effect of the emancipation of the negroes has been to ruin our own planters, stop the civilisation of our own negroes, and double the slave trade in extent, and quadruple it in horror throughout the globe!

108. We are not to imagine, from this calamitous and melancholy result, that philanthropic measures necessarily terminate in disappointment, and that nothing can be reckoned on as likely to lead to the desired effects but what is based on selfish desires. Negro emancipation has not failed because it was prompted by benevolent motives, or directed to philanthropic ends, but because, in the prosecution of these ends, the lessons of experience and the observation of facts were utterly disregarded. The latter were brought before the people in the most forcible manner, but met with no sort of attention, the public mind being entirely carried away by the alluring phantom of destroyed slavery. In pursuing it, the heated enthusiasts forgot altogether the precedent condition requisite to render freedom either practicable or beneficial to mankind; viz., acquired habits of labour. They made the savage free, without his having gained the faculty of self-direction: thence the failure of the whole measure, and the unutterable miseries with which it has been attended. The apprentice system worked so ill that in four years after it was found necessary to abolish it. It came into operation on 1st August 1834, and was celebrated with universal and touching rejoicings among the negroes over the whole West Indies; but it is not thus that a great law of nature can be set aside. In 1838, after four years' experience of its working, Government was compelled to abandon it, and venture on the hazardous step of total freedom, which, with the subsequent reduction of the duties on slave-grown sugar, has completed the ruin of the West Indies. Such have been the consequences of

seeking prematurely to emancipate man—of forgetting the words of God, “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.”

109. The remaining parliamentary proceedings of this session were more material, as indicating the strong bent of the public mind towards objects of social amelioration, and the anxious desire of the people to reap the substantial fruits of Reform, than from any important change in our laws or institutions which they effected. The subject of the limitation of the hours of labour in factories, a most important one, and loudly calling for the interposition of the Legislature, was brought before Parliament by LORD ASHLEY, who had long devoted the ardour of a philanthropic mind to the subject; and Ministers were not a little embarrassed how to act on the occasion; for on the one hand the artisans were eager for a change, and on the other the master manufacturers were not less resolute to oppose it. After a great deal of discussion, Lord Ashley's bill was carried on a second reading by 164 to 141, which sufficiently indicated the sense of the House on the subject. Government, however, opposed the bill, and in committee its provisions were so far altered in favour of the masters, that Lord Ashley abandoned the conduct of it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Ultimately it was carried in these terms, that the labour of children in factories, under *thirteen* years of age, should be limited to eight hours a-day; that children under nine years of age should be prevented from working at all; that persons under eighteen years of age should never be obliged to work more than sixty-nine hours in the week. Factory inspectors also were appointed, which was a very great improvement, to enforce the due observance of the law; and provision was made for the establishment of a system of education for children in the manufacturing districts. The evidence taken before the committees on which this

bill was founded, and the necessity generally felt for the bill itself, revealed a melancholy fact, illustrative of the tendency of advanced civilisation, that in its later stages the thirst for gain or intoxicating spirits obliterates the strongest feelings of nature; for the oppressors against whom the Legislature found it necessary to defend the little children were *their own parents*, who sent them out to work before they were equal to its fatigue.

110. The session was closed on the 29th August by the King in person, who with reason congratulated the House on the important legislative changes which they had introduced, from which he anticipated the greatest advantages; and on the beneficial effects which the additional powers conferred on the executive had had in Ireland. In truth, the country had good cause to be thankful for the proceedings of the first session of the reformed Parliament, and much reason for gratitude to the Government which had made such a use of the almost unlimited power which was placed in their hands. The changes made had in some respects been great, but they were not of the dangerous kind which had been so much apprehended; and wherever extreme measures—such as vote by ballot, confiscation of the Church property, or the like—had been proposed by Radical members, numbers, even of their own party, had given them their decided opposition. The great measure for repressing disorder in Ireland had been attended with the most salutary effects; the revenue was still kept up, notwithstanding urgent attempts to have it ruined by the repeal of unpopular taxes; and all the great institutions of the country remained intact. By pursuing this wise and patriotic course, Government had damaged their popularity, and endangered their political existence; but they had steered the State through a great peril, and deserve the lasting gratitude of their country.

CHAPTER XXXII.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE SESSION OF 1833 TO THE FALL OF EARL GREY AND THE REFORM MINISTRY IN 1834.

1. THE succeeding year (1834) opened under brighter auspices, so far as the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country were concerned, although the extremely low prices of agricultural produce still continued a very great degree of distress among the proprietors and occupiers of land. The seasons for two years past had been uncommonly fine, and wheat fell so much that during the next year, on the average of the whole year, it was only 39s. 4d. the quarter—lower than it had been since the time of Oliver Cromwell. The effect of this extremely low price, of course, was to produce great embarrassment among all whose income depended on land; for their money obligations, for the most part, were contracted and fixed when prices were double; the present amount of these had undergone no diminution, though their means of defraying them had been halved. But for the very same reason a great degree of prosperity began to be felt among the manufacturing and commercial classes; for the value of their produce had undergone no corresponding diminution, and the low price of provisions had nearly doubled the portion of their income which they could devote to the purchase of comforts and conveniences. Confidence was in a great measure restored by the nation having weathered the Reform tempest, and capital, issuing from its places of concealment, where for some years it had lain hid, began again to animate industry, and spread its vivifying influence around.

2. At this period, too, the effects of that great change in the currency which had been made in the preceding year began to develop themselves, and, coupled with the fine harvests in Eng-

land, and the increase in the supplies of the precious metals from South America in consequence of the more pacified state of its provinces, induced the brief prosperity and long-continued disasters which ensued. As Bank of England notes above £5 were now declared a legal tender everywhere except at the Bank of England or its branches, they were to all practical purposes an inconvertible paper currency, except in those periods when bad harvests, foreign wars, or any other cause, induced a great drain upon the metallic resources of the country, and brought the notes back in multitudes to be exchanged for gold at the parent establishment. At this time, however, not only was there no such drain, but the very reverse was the case. So fine had the seasons been, and so great the progress of agriculture under the protective system, that the import of wheat had sunk almost to nothing: on an average of five years ending 1836, it was only 380,000 quarters; and in the two last years of the period, it was *under* 30,000 quarters.* Thus the gold was kept in abundance in the country, and the paper was still more so; for in consequence of the practical inconvertibility of Bank of England notes *during prosperity*, the paper in circulation, including that of country

* WHEAT IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1831 TO 1836.

Years.	Quarters.	Average price per quarter.
1831, . .	1,491,631	66s. 4d.
1832, . .	325,435	58 8
1833, . .	82,346	52 11
1834, . .	64,653	46 2
1835, . .	28,483	39 4
1836, . .	24,826	48 6

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edition, pp. 140, 143.

banks, had risen since 1831 nearly three millions.* No combination of circumstances could have been figured more likely to induce present prosperity, or one more certain to be durable, if the currency had been established on a proper foundation. Unhappily based as it was upon the retention of gold, which, in the nature of things, could not be permanently retained, it stood upon a sandy foundation, and upon that gold being withdrawn numberless calamities ensued.

3. Although, however, these circumstances augured favourably for the future prosperity of the country, and promised a comparatively easy task to its future Ministers, yet they did little towards removing the present difficulties of those now in power, and it was obvious from the opening of the next Parliament, that the question of their removal from office was one of time only. What was very remarkable, and certainly unexpected by themselves or their adherents, though by no means so by their opponents, these difficulties arose chiefly from the extreme parties, to conciliate whom they had made so many sacrifices, and who had been, during the progress of the Reform contest, among their most ardent supporters. The English Radicals headed by Mr Hume, and the Irish Catholics led by Mr O'Connell and Mr Sheil, from the very first coalesced against them, and assailed Ministers with such violence, that on one of the first days of the session, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr Sheil had to be committed to the Serjeant-at-Arms to prevent a hostile termination to their altercation. The English urban constituencies were so irritated by the resistance of Government to the repeal

of the direct taxes affecting themselves, and the Irish Catholics at the passing and success of the Coercion Act, that not only was their support no longer to be relied on, but it had been converted into the most envenomed hostility.

4. To the extreme exasperation of this period must be referred the commencement of the agitation for the REPEAL OF THE UNION, which for ten years afterwards distracted the mind, blighted the industry, and ruined the prospects of Ireland. The Roman Catholic leaders, seeing the success of the Coercion Act, and being entirely guided by foreign direction, resolved now to bend their whole energies to bring about the dissolution of the legislative connection between the two countries. They thought, not without reason, that if they could effect this object, now that emancipation had admitted the Catholics into Parliament, and the Reform Bill had opened the boroughs to their influence, they would acquire a majority in a local legislature, and might thus restore the supremacy of the Romish faith in the country, and possibly bring about the establishment of a Hibernian republic in close connection with France, and constant hostility with Great Britain, and of which they themselves might obtain the direction and share the profits.

5. The first step in this direction was taken by Mr O'Connell on 13th February, who moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the conduct of Mr Baron Smith, an able and upright Irish judge, upon the ground that he came late into court, and sat late in the trial of prisoners, and that he had introduced politics into his charges to the grand jury.

* BANK OF ENGLAND AND PRIVATE NOTES IN CIRCULATION.

Years.	Bank of England. 31st August.	Country Banks. 27th September.	Total.
1832	£18,320,000	£8,221,895	£26,541,895
1833	19,925,000	10,152,104	30,077,104
1834	19,195,000	10,154,112	29,349,112
1835	18,085,000	10,420,623	28,505,623
1836	18,018,000	11,733,945	29,751,945

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 386; PORTER'S *Parliamentary Tables* for these years; and M'CULLOCH'S *Commercial Dictionary*, edition 1860, p. 102.

There can be no doubt that such a proceeding is in the general case greatly to be condemned; but unfortunately, in Ireland, crime and political agitation had become so closely, and indeed inseparably, connected, that it was impossible to discourse on the progress of the former without running into the latter. Government, however, had not courage enough to resist the motion, and began then that wretched system of yielding to the demands of the Irish agitators, which, for ten years afterwards, so seriously paralysed the administration of justice and blasted prosperity in that country. So obvious was the weakness exhibited by Ministers on this occasion, that the House of Commons themselves were ashamed of it; for after having, by a majority of 167 to 74, voted for going into a committee, they rescinded the vote a few nights after by a vote of 165 to 159. But this very vacillation only increased the confidence and strength of the agitators, by showing that such was the embarrassment into which they had thrown the Government, that they had made them, within one week, contradict themselves.

6. The question as to the repeal of the Union was formally brought forward by Mr O'Connell on April 23. "There never," he maintained, "was a greater mistake than to say England had any right of dominion over Ireland. She had no right over it by conquest, and still less by inheritance. The year 1614 was the first time when the power of the King of England and Scotland had been recognised in Ireland. Before that, and so early as 1246, the Irish people had made application to have the benefits of the English constitution extended to them; but the application, though made under the sanction of the English king, excited the jealousy of the English barons, and it was unsuccessful. Similar applications were made, with no better result, in the reigns of Edward I., Richard II., and Henry VIII., they having all been defeated by the same jealousy. The anxiety of the people of the country to obtain the protection of British laws was always successfully opposed

by the barons, who desired to be permitted to pursue unmolested their schemes of spoliation and robbery of the unhappy natives.

7. "The union of the two countries, in the reign of Elizabeth and James I., was brought about by the most revolting crimes. The powerful were arrayed against the weak, the father against the son, the illegitimate against legitimate; and thus the command of the country was at length acquired, not by open conquest and fair subjugation, but by a series of the most unmitigated cruelties inflicted by one portion of the community against the other. The history of Ireland, during these disastrous reigns, teems with unparalleled cruelties and crimes. Under James I., in particular, who made it a boast what he had done for Ireland, its history was nothing but one of rapine and duplicity, equalled only by the crimes and wretchedness that disfigured the reign of his immediate successor. During all this disastrous period, however, the right of Ireland to a separate legislature had never been questioned; and any attempt at an authoritative interference on the part of the Parliament of England had been considered an act of usurpation. The resources of Ireland were thus gradually unfolded, her commerce extended, and her wealth increased. In 1782 she asserted once more the principle of legislative independence, and his Majesty, to repress the ferment, recommended such measures as might allay the prevailing discontents. These measures had a beneficial effect. The industry, wealth, and population of the country rapidly increased, and the improvement in its social condition, between 1782, when the rigour of the English commercial code in regard to Ireland was first relaxed, and 1797, was greater than in any former period of its existence. Such was the auspicious state of things, such the dawn of prosperity to Ireland, when the Rebellion ensued, followed by the Union of 1800, which entailed calamities without number on the sister island.

8. "The means by which that disastrous Union was effected have now

become matter of history. The army was increased in proportion as the necessity for it had diminished, and it was let loose upon the country in such a state of licence and insubordination, that Sir Ralph Abercromby, who in 1797 was intrusted with its command, said, in a public proclamation, it was formidable to all except its enemies. Public meetings were at one time suppressed, at another secretly encouraged in order to furnish a pretext for still further oppression, and a more entire abrogation of the liberties and independence of the country. To intimidation was added bribery and the most unjustifiable abuse of Government influence. All persons suspected of being lukewarm in the cause of the Union were straightway dismissed; the most worthless characters, so as they supported it, were caressed and promoted. To such an extent was actual corruption carried, that Mr Grattan stated that three millions of money had been squandered in that way, which statement had never been contradicted. Peerages were created without end to purchase votes, and rotten boroughs bought with the public money, for the single purpose of forcing upon an unwilling country the legislative union with another.

9. "The conditions of the Union bore internal evidence of the utter disregard of all private right or equity which had dictated it. Ireland was charged with 2-17ths of the expenditure of the two countries, instead of 1-18th, which was the proportion of its real previous contributions to the public service. The consequence was that that country was utterly broken down by the proportion of burdens thus unjustly fixed upon it. Two millions have been added to its taxation in the vain attempt to extract an additional revenue from its impoverished inhabitants, and yet the sum total of its revenue has not increased: a decisive proof of the destitute condition of the land. That injustice, great as it was, was even surpassed by what was perpetrated by the proportion in which the united legislature was divided between the two countries. Looking to the

amount of its commerce, revenue, and population, Ireland was entitled to 165 members of Parliament, whereas she got only 108. The legislative oppression which had followed this forced and unnatural Union, would exceed belief if not proved by the official records of Parliament. By one act of the British Parliament, power was given to distrain for Irish tithe and church-rate; by another, Ireland was summarily ejected from the whole blessings of the English constitution. By an unbroken succession of insurrection acts, martial law and coercion bills, there had been in Ireland for twenty years a complete prostration of all constitutional rights.

10. "As these were the remote consequences of the Treaty of Union, so the more immediate results were not less detrimental to the interests of Ireland. Absenteeism is one of the many evils of Ireland, and it cannot be denied that it has been greatly aggravated by the Treaty of Union, which has removed so many of our richest proprietors to the British metropolis, in quest either of business or amusement. Taxation being increased, wealth diminished, capital lessened, what remains to induce either rich or poor to remain in their own ill-starred land? It is a mere fallacy to suppose that the commerce of Ireland has prospered since the Union. There has been an apparent increase, but it is apparent only. The export of raw material and the import of manufactured goods, by no means prove the existence of a profitable trade. It only proves that manufactures were required because the people had none of their own, and that food was exported because they had no money to buy it at home. In a word, the British Parliament has never been competent to legislate for Ireland. The Union was effected by a series of the most unparalleled crimes; its financial conditions were unjust; Ireland has been stripped of its constitution, its people deprived of the means of existence, and final separation might ere long be the result of obstinate resistance on the part of England. It is not yet too late, however, though it

may soon become so : a federal union under one sovereign, but with separate legislatures, would at once satisfy both countries, and re-establish harmony and good understanding between them."

11. On the other hand, it was maintained by Mr Spring Rice : " Without reverting to barbarous periods, many of the acts of which, in all countries, can neither be palliated nor excused, it is sufficient to observe, that ever since the conquest of Ireland in 1262 by Henry II., the right of domination has been exercised by the English over Ireland, without dispute and without intermission. Down to 1782 the two countries were governed by separate legislatures, and the Crown was the only connecting link between them. But so ill adapted had that system proved for the purposes of civil government, that while England remained in tranquillity and peace, Ireland was on the verge of being plunged into a foreign war with Portugal, and the proceedings of her domestic legislature were overawed and controlled by a violent assembly out of doors, having no less persons than Lord Charlemont and Mr Grattan at its head.

12. " It is said the Irish Parliament had no power to bind the country by the Treaty of Union. If this were true, Ireland could not be bound by the acts of the British Parliament ; and, consequently, the seats of the Catholic members, and Mr O'Connell himself, obtained by the Emancipation Act, were illegal, and they should be ejected from the House of Commons. Before the concession of Catholic Emancipation, it was constantly represented as the strongest argument for that measure that its effect would be to consolidate the Union and render it perpetual, as being founded on the solid basis of equality and justice. Now that it has been obtained, that concession is made the ground for demanding the repeal of that very Act of Union ! We are not called upon now to defend the conduct of the English Government towards Ireland prior to the Union, any more than the gentlemen opposite are the wisdom of the Irish Parliament prior to that event.

Probably both parties will find much which they would willingly draw a veil over, if they make such an attempt. As little are we called upon to justify the means by which the Act of Union itself was brought about ; although, if the account given by the gentlemen opposite of the ready reception of those measures by the Irish gentry be well founded, it says little for their fitness to discharge the duties of separate legislation. The sole question now is, Whether the Union, having passed, should be maintained ? And that question is to be determined, not by a reference to the means by which it was brought about, but by a consideration of the effects it has produced, and a comparison of the state of the country before it was passed, and since that event.

13. " The absurdity of saying that Government fomented and encouraged rebellion in Ireland, in order to have a pretext for pursuing measures of severity against that country, is such that it requires no serious refutation. Authentic history disproves, human nature revolts at the supposition. Instead of having, as asserted on the other side, passed only insurrection or coercion acts in regard to Ireland, the Imperial Legislature has been incessantly occupied with legislative measures which might foster and encourage industry in that country, and lessen the evils which the existence of a separate and mutually jealous legislature for each of the two countries had brought about. The free trade in corn and cattle, which has been introduced in consequence of the Union, was in itself an incalculable benefit. Under the Irish Parliament, Ireland was dependent on England for the importation of corn ; now, having secured the vast market of England within a day's sail of her shores, she exports largely both corn and cattle. Her trade has been disencumbered of several vexatious regulations ; her banking system improved ; her fisheries and mines encouraged ; her public credit supported ; her Tithe Commutation Bill amended ; her courts of law amended ; her public charities liberally supported—all pub-

lic benefits forgotten or concealed on the other side. Education in Ireland, prior to the Union, *was prohibited at home, and made penal if received abroad*: that was one of the blessings which her domestic legislature had conferred upon Ireland! Since the Union, a board of education has been established, charities founded, prisons erected, crown lands improved, and large sums of money judiciously distributed in public or private charity. As a natural consequence, trade and navigation have immensely increased, and the general prosperity of the country has augmented to an incredible degree. The rental of houses in Dublin has been augmented to a great degree since the Union, and manufactures formerly unknown are springing up in various parts of the country, the natural consequence of the unrestricted commerce so happily established with the sister island.

14. "This is not a question of party ; it is one of life or death to the whole empire, and especially to Ireland herself. To repeal the Union, and at the same time hope to maintain a profitable commerce with Great Britain, is

obviously out of the question. A constitutional monarchy would, in the Emerald Isle, be quickly overthrown, and succeeded by a fierce democracy. The people of Ireland are not prepared for a native legislature: the greatest evils under which they now labour have been bequeathed to them by their own Parliament. To restore it would be to revive and perpetuate them; power would be abused, or perverted to local or sectarian interests; party spirit would increase in rancour; corruption on the one hand, and oppression on the other, would multiply to a fearful extent. Whoever considers the structure, passions, and present state of Irish society, must be convinced that to subject it to a domestic legislature would only be to give one party the means of tyrannising over or oppressing the other; and that all the rancour, party spirit, and selfishness, which was now the bane of the country, would be augmented to a fearful degree by the measure held out as a panacea for their removal." *

15. Upon this debate, which was conducted with great ability and spirit on both sides for four successive nights,

* Mr Spring Rice's speech contained a very important statement of statistical facts, tending to illustrate the attention which had been paid to Irish affairs in the House of Commons since the Union, and the results of their labours upon the progress and prosperity of the country. The following are some of the most markworthy:—

Committees on Irish affairs, 1800-1833,	60
Reports of committees in same time,	114
Children in Ireland at school in 1812,	200,000
" " in 1825,	560,549

Taxes levied in Great Britain, from which Ireland *was exempt*, from 1800 to 1833, viz.:—

Excise,	£211,936,000
Stamps,	20,000,000
Taxes,	246,239,000

£478,175,000

Excess of rate of taxation in Great Britain and Ireland on articles taxed during same period, viz.:—

Customs,	£130,065,000
Excise,	321,346,642
Stamps,	86,638,000
Taxes,	80,237,406
	<hr/>
	618,287,048

Excess of British taxation in 33 years,	£1,096,462,048
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Or about £25,000,000 a-year.

Grants to charitable and public works since Union, viz.:—

Charitable and literary,	£8,638,000
Encouragement of agriculture and manufactures,	1,340,000
Public works and employment of poor,	3,072,160

£13,050,160

the House decided by a majority of 485 in favour of Mr Spring Rice's amendment, which was to the effect that it "was essential to the peace, security, and happiness of all classes of his Majesty's subjects that the union of the two countries should be maintained." The numbers were 523 to 33, the minority being, with one exception, Irish members. The Peers soon afterwards *unanimously* adopted the same view, and voted an address to his Majesty on the subject, which was

accepted as the joint address of both Houses, and most graciously received by the King, who stated, "It is with the greatest satisfaction that I have received this solemn and united expression of the determination of both Houses of Parliament to maintain inviolate the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, which I entirely agree with you in considering as essential to the preservation of the integrity and safety of the British Empire."

Income of Ireland before Union in 1800,	£2,645,000
Expenditure,	6,853,000
Deficiency,	<u>£4,207,000</u>

Income and Expenditure of Ireland in 1819, since consolidation of Exchequers:—

Income,	£1,250,980
Expenditure,	3,545,193
Surplus	<u>£685,787</u>

TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

	Exports, official value.	Imports, do.
Fourteen years' average before Union,	£64,861,000	£59,623,000
Fourteen years after it,	80,316,000	92,971,000
Increase in 14 years,	<u>£15,455,000</u>	<u>£33,348,000</u>
Tonnage, 14 years, to 1800,	8,960,082	
Do. to 1815,	11,579,558	
Increase in 14 years,	<u>£2,619,476</u>	

Tonnage from all parts, on average of three years, ending respectively—

		Exports.	Imports.
1800,	642,477	£4,125,338	£3,535,588
1810,	764,658	4,015,976	4,299,493
1820,	961,884	5,270,471	6,535,068
1830,	1,325,079	6,291,721	6,008,273
1834,	1,523,291	8,454,918	<u>7,491,890</u>

Houses built in Dublin from 1800 to 1834,	2213
„ beyond Circular Road in do.,	1000

Increase of houses,	<u>3213</u>
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Average rental, £40 a house,	£128,520
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Increase of houses since 1801 to 1834:—

Limerick,	4841	Dundalk,	535
Belfast,	4697	Waterford,	507
Galway,	3394	Newry,	489
Kilkenny,	2211	Clonmell,	<u>266</u>
Carriekfergus,	1022		

Probate-duty on average of three years, ending—

1821,	£2,814,816	1830,	£3,623,206
1824,	2,975,440	1834,	<u>3,612,612</u>
1827,	3,119,247		

Paid into Savings Banks in Ireland, year ending—

1831,	£240,401	1833,	£272,193
1832,	288,075	1834,	<u>349,521</u>

—MR SPRING RICE'S Statement; *Parl. Deb.*, xxii. 1219, 1272.

16. To all appearance the cause of the Repeal of the Union was now hopeless in Parliament, and the demonstration which the debate had afforded of its beneficial effects upon Ireland was so decisive, that had the agitators and Romish party in that country been really actuated by a regard for its welfare, they would have applied themselves earnestly, and in good faith, to improve these advantages, and correct the numberless abuses which had grown up under the former separate legislature. But being entirely under the guidance of a foreign priesthood, with whom the primary object was not the good of the people, but the resumption of their own influence over them, they did just the reverse, and during the next ten years wellnigh neutralised the whole beneficial effects of the Union by the incessant agitation for its repeal. The Court of Rome saw that the ten-pound suffrage would very soon give the Catholics the command of the cities and counties, almost without exception, in the south and west of Ireland, and they had sanguine hopes of gaining so many seats from the Protestants in the north and east as might secure to them the majority of the whole representation. The immediate effect of that, they well knew, if Ireland was governed by a separate legislature, would be the restoration of the Catholic faith, and resumption of the Church lands; and to this object, accordingly, the whole efforts of the Catholic party, and the agitators who carried out their instructions, were for the next ten years directed. The Reform Bill bequeathed the repeal agitation to Ireland, just as certainly as emancipation had bequeathed that which carried the Reform Bill.

17. And in truth the agitation was by no means hopeless; on the contrary, it had much greater chances of success than those who lived through the period were at the time aware, or than had attended the first beginnings of either of the preceding movements. This arose from the state of parties in the British Parliament, which had already become so split into separate sections, so nearly balanced, that a

foreign power, keeping its followers together, and watching its opportunity, was very likely to acquire a decisive influence, and be enabled to dictate its own terms to the Government. The House of Commons was very far from, in reality, being as united as it showed itself on the question of the Repeal of the Union: on the contrary, it never had been so thoroughly broken up, nor was Government, recently so powerful, ever so little secure on some subjects of commanding a majority. Success in this, as in other cases, had induced division, because it had brought into play separate interests, and awakened separate ambitions. The vast coalition which, borne forward on the shoulders of the people, had forced reform on the King and the Peers, was already divided from the very magnitude of its own triumph. Each section of which it had been composed deemed the time come for realising the advantages, real or supposed, to itself, which had brought it into the ranks of the coalition. The Catholics were impatient to see their own faith re-established in Ireland, and the Church lands in that island resumed, as the first step to similar measures being adopted in Great Britain; the Chartists looked for the immediate concession of the six points of the Charter; the urban constituencies for the instant repeal of the house and window tax, and the lowering the duties on corn, tea, sugar, and spirits; the Dissenters were clamorous for the placing them on a level in all respects with the Established Church. Meanwhile the Government, pressed on all sides by their former supporters, could only command a majority to withstand their multifarious demands by appealing to the known patriotic spirit of the Conservatives, who never failed to come up to the rescue whenever matters had come to that point that a serious inroad on the constitution or the finances could not otherwise be averted. In this divided and distracted state of the House of Commons, the natural consequence of its being the representative of a divided and distracted people, there was considerable probability that the Irish Catholic party, which

could command forty votes, might at some critical moment appear with decisive effect on the theatre of action.

18. The thorns were not long of showing themselves, and they appeared first in that very matter of Ireland where so much unanimity had just been exhibited. The vexed question of the Irish Church was far from having been settled by the conciliatory measures of the last session, and the large reductions made in the number of Irish bishoprics; on the contrary, these concessions only led to fresh demands, and the clamour for still more sweeping changes. The Cabinet itself, as the event soon showed, was divided upon the question; the majority thinking that it was necessary, in order to appease the Catholics, to yield more to them; the minority, that enough had now been done for the purposes of conciliation, and that on the great question of the appropriation of Church property to *secular purposes* it was necessary to make a stand. The Government, as a whole, would willingly have avoided a question so likely to make shipwreck of its fortunes, and reveal the latent schism in its bosom, and they accordingly brought forward no motion on the subject. But it was no part of the policy of the Catholic party to let it rest; on the contrary, they entertained the most sanguine hopes—and, as the event proved, not without reason—of being able by means of it to split the Cabinet, and avenge the success of the Coercion Bill by the destruction of its authors. Mr Ward, accordingly, one of the members for St Alban's, brought forward a motion on the 27th May on the subject, the purport of which was, that vital and extensive changes in the Irish Church had become indispensable, and that "the Church of Ireland, as now established by law, ought to be reduced."

19. When Mr Ward's speech was concluded, Lord Althorpe requested an adjournment of the House, in consequence of circumstances which had recently come to his knowledge. These were, that the divisions in the Cabinet on the question had come to such a point, that a resignation of a con-

siderable portion of it might be looked for if the motion were acceded to by the Government. It was at first attempted to elude the difficulty by agreeing to the appointment of a commission to inquire into the state of the Irish Church, and report on its situation, and the necessity for Protestant spiritual instruction in the various provinces, and the cost at which it is afforded. The agreeing to such a commission, however, appeared to the minority in the Cabinet to involve the admission of the principle, that if the report were to be in a certain way the motion was to be conceded, and accordingly the dreaded separation took place. Mr Stanley, the Secretary for the Colonies; Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Richmond, Postmaster-General; and the Earl of Ripon, Lord Privy Seal, tendered their resignations to his Majesty, which were accepted. Mr Stanley was succeeded in the Colonial Secretaryship by Mr Spring Rice; Lord Auckland was made First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Carlisle, Lord Privy Seal; and the Marquess of Conyngham, Postmaster-General. Mr Poulett Thompson was promoted to be President, instead of Vice-President, of the Board of Trade; Mr Abercromby, Master of the Mint; Mr Cutlar Fergusson, Judge-Advocate; and Mr R. Grant sent to India as Governor of Bombay.

20. It is seldom that an Administration long survives so considerable a secession from its ranks as had now taken place. It may get over it at the time, but the latent weakness ere long reveals itself, and induces its fall. So it was in the present instance. Earl Grey's Administration lingered on for a few months after it had lost so considerable and influential a portion of its members, and it was fondly hoped by its adherents that, as the "Canning leaven" had now been expelled, it would be more united and efficient in its action. To strengthen the hands of Government at this crisis, Lord Ebrington, who had so often come up to their support on similar

crises, got up an address, signed by a large number of the Lower House, entreating Lord Grey to keep his place, and expressing unshaken confidence in his Cabinet. Lord Grey's answer was valuable as revealing the real weakness of the Government, and the real difficulty in carrying it on, which his own Reform Bill had done so much to augment. "In pursuing," said his lordship, "a course of salutary improvement, I feel it indispensable that we shall be allowed to proceed with deliberation and caution, and, above all, that we should not be urged, *by a constant and active pressure from without*, to the adoption of any measures the necessity of which has not been fully proved, and which are not regulated by a careful attention to the settled institutions of the country, *both in Church and State*. On no other principle can this or any other Administration be conducted with advantage or safety."

21. This division in the Cabinet augured ill as to the ultimate success of the measure which had occasioned it, and it soon appeared that a higher personage than any of the Ministers who had resigned participated in their apprehensions on the subject. On the 28th May, being the day kept as the anniversary of his Majesty's birthday, the Irish bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Armagh, presented an address to the King, signed by upwards of fourteen hundred clerical names, against hasty alterations in the Church. The petitioners professed their readiness to co-operate in the removal of any real abuses that might be found to exist, but trusted that no alteration would be made in the *discipline or service* of the Church, except with the sanction and by the recommendation of its spiritual guardians. To this address, by the reading of which he was much affected, his Majesty replied: "I am, from the deepest conviction, attached to the pure Protestant faith, which this Church, of which I am the temporal head, is the human means of diffusing and preserving in this land. I cannot forget what was the course of events

which placed my family on the throne which I now fill. These events were consummated in a Revolution, which was rendered necessary, and was effected, not, as has been sometimes most erroneously stated, for the sake of the temporal liberties of the people, but for the preservation of their religion. It was for the preservation of the religion of the country that the settlement of the crown was made which has placed me in the situation which I now fill; and that religion, and the Church of England and Ireland, the prelates of which I see before me, it is *my fixed purpose, determination, and resolution to maintain*. If any of the inferior arrangements of the Church require amendment—which, however, I greatly doubt—I have no distrust of the prelates now before me to correct such things; and to you, I trust, will be left to correct them, with your authority unimpaired and unshackled. I have completed my sixty-ninth year, and cannot expect I shall be very long in this world; and it is under this impression that I now tell you that, while the law says I can do no wrong, while there is no earthly power can call me to account, this only makes me the more deeply sensible of the responsibility under which I stand to that Almighty Being before whom we must all one day appear. When that day shall come, you will know whether I am sincere in the declaration which I now make of firm attachment to the Church, and resolution to maintain it. The threats of those who are the enemies of the Church make it the more necessary for those who feel their duty to that Church to speak out. The words you have heard from me are indeed spoken by my mouth, but they flow from my heart."

22. These words, evidently unpremeditated, and pronounced by the aged King under deep emotion and with tears in his eyes, made an immense impression on the country. They revealed the state of coercion under which he had long been to the Ministry forced upon him by the House of Commons: the old, all but disown-

ed King stood face to face with his people. The speech he had delivered was immediately printed, and widely diffused through the country. The impression it made was the greater that it demonstrated a breach on a vital point between the King and his Ministers. It was generally supposed at this time that Earl Grey would have resigned after so great a declared divergence of opinion between him and his Sovereign, for it was well known that he coincided with the majority of the Cabinet in thinking that very considerable changes in the temporalities of the Irish Church had become indispensable. In deference, however, to the declared opinions of the great majority of the House of Commons, he consented to continue in office, and a sort of middle course was submitted to the King, and agreed to by him, which adjourned the difficulty without removing it. A commission was appointed to inquire into the condition of the Irish Church, composed *entirely of laymen*, which was directed to inquire minutely into the circumstances, both spiritual and temporal, of every parish in Ireland, directing its inquiries to Catholics as well as Protestants, Dissenters as well as Churchmen, and charged to ascertain in an especial manner the number of persons of each persuasion in every parish.

23. There could be no doubt that the concession of a commission composed of persons appointed by the Cabinet favourable to yielding the vital point in dispute, as to the disposal of Church property to temporal purposes, and directed to inquire into these matters, was a great triumph to the enemies of the Church and the movement party. It was, in fact, a virtual concession of the matter at issue; but it proposed to lay the only solid foundation for useful or wise legislation on the subject, by ascertaining in a comparatively authentic manner the real facts of the case, which, from the zeal of the partisans on both sides, had been to a great extent exaggerated or perverted. It was too slow and wise a course of proceeding, however, to meet the views of the move-

ment party, who, relying on their majority in the Lower House, resolved to push forward Mr Ward's motion, in the hope that they would either concuss the Cabinet into a direct and immediate recognition of the principle for which they contended, or, in the event of refusal, force upon the Crown a Ministry more to their mind. Ministers did not venture to meet the motion by a direct negative, but merely moved an amendment; and Lord Althorpe and Lord John Russell declared in the course of the debate, that they would agree with Mr O'Connell if the ground was taken that the "other purposes" to which the Church property was to be applied were to be of a religious character. This was an immense concession to the Catholics, for by watching their opportunity they might hope ere long to extort from Ministers an admission that these "other religious purposes" might be the re-establishment of their own faith. The Dissenters also might reasonably hope for the same; and in this state of matters, when so many might hope and so few could feel assured, the amendment of Ministers was carried by a majority of 396 to 120.

24. The real views of Government on this trying question were soon after more distinctly brought out in the House of Peers. On June 6th, Lord Wicklow opened the matter in that House by moving for a copy of the Royal Commission. In the course of the debate, Earl Grey said that he "should not oppose the motion for a copy of the commission; but he denied that anything like spoliation of the Church was contemplated. Government anticipated a great alteration, but nothing more. The issuing of the commission was not intended as a step to the seizing of Church property; it had been issued with a view to its regulation, or to a different appropriation of the Church revenues. The rights of the present possessors would be held sacred; but he must maintain that the property of the Church was a subject for the exercise of the discretion of Parliament; and there were few persons who did not think that the state

of the Irish Church required the most careful consideration. Sir Robert Peel himself had stated the principles which had actuated Government in issuing the commission, when he said, as he had done on a late occasion in the other House, that 'the time might come when they ought to consider whether or no measures ought not to be devised for appropriating a portion of the Church property of Ireland, not to other objects, but to facilitate the propagation of *divine truth*, which was the great end and aim of the Establishment.' This was an acknowledgment that a different appropriation of revenue from that which now existed might be necessary and beneficial. If a considerable excess of revenue should remain beyond what was required to support the efficiency of the Church, and the other purposes connected with true religion, he avowed the principle that the State *had a right to deal with that surplus, with a view to its exigencies* and the general interests of the country."

25. These declarations were in themselves moderate, and when applied, as they were by Earl Grey, solely to the Irish Church, which was well known to be altogether disproportioned to the amount of the inhabitants within its pale, could not be said by any dispassionate person to be unreasonable. But in all political questions, especially when the minds of men are in a state of excitement from external causes, the great point to be considered with measures of change is, not what they in themselves are, but what are they likely to lead to—what expectations will they keep alive—what demands will they generate? This was painfully experienced by the Government at this crisis. The minds of men were in such a state of agitation, from expectation and hope of great ecclesiastical changes on the one side, and conscientious dread of them on the other, that this declaration satisfied neither party, and on the contrary augmented the excitement of both. The Liberals sounded the alarm in the strongest terms, warning the people in their journals and at public meetings that

the affair was only "patched up" to get through the session; that the Irish commission was a mere delusion to evade the immediate concession of the question; that the Cabinet was in the hands of the King, and the King of the Bishops; and that, without a vigorous effort on the part of Reformers, the Ministry would be changed, and the whole fruits of reform lost. On the other hand, the old Tories and the Church party declared that the commission had been merely issued to obtain a pretext for spoliation; that confiscation of Church property to temporal purposes was the object really in view, and not denied by the Prime Minister himself; and that the recent split in the Cabinet proved that these views were so seriously entertained by the majority of its members, that the more conscientious minority were under the necessity of leaving it, even at the hazard of breaking up the Liberal Government.

26. In this excited and divided state of the public mind on everything connected with Church temporalities or ecclesiastical questions, it was scarcely to be expected that any measure of rational or practical improvement could be carried through the Legislature on such subjects. This, accordingly, was the fate which attended the Tithe Bill, which they had introduced at an early period of the session, and which in itself was founded on such rational principles, that it deserved, and at any other time would probably have received, general support. On the 20th February, Mr Lyttleton, the Irish Secretary, brought forward the new Government measure on the subject, which was based on the principle which had been so happily introduced into Scotland two hundred years before by the decrees-arbitral of Charles I. In support of the measure, he stated, that of the grant of £1,000,000 made by the Parliament of last year, £751,000 had been expended in meeting claims obviously good, and £20,000 more would suffice for that purpose. He added that the tithe was split into such minute portions that it was more vexatious than burdensome; for out

of 7005 tithe-payers in one part of the country, *one-third paid sums under ninepence each*; and a very large proportion of the defaulters owed debts *under a farthing*. It was not, therefore, the magnitude or oppressive nature of the burden which rendered it the subject of such general clamour and irritation, but the fact of its being, however small, payable to a different Church from that to which the parties owing it belonged. To remedy these evils, he proposed—1. That from 1st November next the payment of tithe should *entirely cease* in Ireland, and in lieu thereof a land-tax should be imposed, payable *to the Crown*, and to be collected by the Commissioners for Woods and Forests. 2. This land-tax to be redeemable at the end of five years by all who had a substantial interest in the estate from which it was payable. 3. The price to be fixed by commissioners on the principle of the fee-simple of tithes, being four-fifths of that of land in the same part of the country.

27. Apart from the proposal to make the composition in lieu of tithes payable *to the Crown*, instead of the incumbent entitled to it, which tended to make the clergy stipendiary merely, as in France, and might give the Exchequer a dangerous hold of this species of property, there can be no doubt that this bill was founded on the true view of the subject, because it went to remove the incessant irritation arising from the collection of tithes by clergy of a different profession of faith from those who paid them. For this very reason, it became from the very first the object of the most impassioned hostility to the extreme parties on both sides. Moderate men and their proposals are always thus assailed during the heat of party conflicts. It was difficult to say whether it was attacked with the greater violence by Mr O'Connell and Mr Sheil, the avowed enemies of the Protestant Church, or by Mr Shaw and Sir Robert Inglis, its resolute supporters. The former assailed it because it did not involve the principle of the extinction of tithes, or at least a transference of two-thirds of

them to the Catholic Church: the latter objected to it, because it took Church property altogether out of the hands of the clergy, and rendered them mere stipendiaries, dependent on the Crown. The bill, however, passed the second reading in the Commons by a majority of 167, the numbers being 243 to 76. It went accordingly into committee; but its progress there was very slow, and various material modifications were proposed by Ministers in its progress, which gave their opponents a ground for taxing them with inconsistency, without in reality obviating the real objections to it. It is not surprising it was so, for in truth the difference between the two parties was irreconcilable; the one struggling for a recognition of the principle that Church property was at the disposal of Parliament, and might be "appropriated" to secular purposes, or the support of other creeds than the Protestant; the other contending as strenuously that it was altogether inalienable, and could not be so applied without spoliation as violent as wresting from private individuals their estates. The bill was slowly dragging its weary way through committee, and had been the subject of repeated and fierce debates, when matters were brought to a crisis, and its ultimate fate decided, by an important event connected with the same subject, which finally overturned Earl Grey's administration.

28. This event arose out of the Irish Coercion Bill. That bill, as already mentioned, had worked wonders in stopping the agrarian crimes in Ireland, and the authorities in that country had not only strongly reported in its favour, but recommended its renewal, with the omission only of the court-martial clause, for another year after its expiry, which took place in August following. On this point the Cabinet were united; but they were divided on another point still more precious to the Irish agitators. This was the renewal of the clause prohibiting political meetings, unless under the sanction of the Lord-Lieutenant. This was a vital point for the Catholic

leaders, for it struck at the system of agitation by means of vast public meetings, by which they intended to convulse the country, and ultimately hoped to coerce or terrify the Government into a concession of a repeal of the Union. On it, accordingly, there was a serious division in the Government. The Lord-Lieutenant deemed the re-enactment of this clause unnecessary and inexpedient; and he was supported in this view by Lord Althorpe, Lord Durham, and a minority in the Cabinet highly important by their talents and consideration. On the other hand, Earl Grey, with the fearless determination of his character, was decidedly of the opposite opinion, and a majority of the Cabinet went with him. In these circumstances, a spark was only wanting to produce an explosion, and that spark was not long of falling on the combustible elements.

29. Trusting to the known opinion of the Lord-Lieutenant against the renewal of the political meetings clause, and anxious to disarm the opposition of Mr O'Connell on the approaching contest in Wexford, Mr Lyttleton, the Irish Secretary (now Lord Hatherton), in ignorance of the decision of the majority of the Cabinet, communicated to Mr O'Connell, in strict confidence, the secret of the disinclination of the Irish Government to renew the political meetings clause in the proposed renewed Coercion Act. In consequence of this communication, Mr O'Connell withdrew the Repeal candidate from the Wexford election, and the Government one walked the course. Afterwards, when it was too late to restore matters to the state in which they stood before the election, Mr Lyttleton communicated to Mr O'Connell the determination of the majority of the Cabinet to renew the Coercion Act *with* the clause against political meetings. The latter was naturally very indignant at this change, and deeming himself, as he said, "tricked out of his election," he conceived himself absolved from his obligation of secrecy, and revealed the whole transaction in Parliament. Mr Lyttleton

complained loudly of the breach of confidence, but his explanation did not differ substantially from that of Mr O'Connell. The schism in Government was now patent to all the world; and such was Lord Grey's agitation in consequence, that his voice was scarcely audible in moving the second reading of the Coercion Bill, *with the clause*, on 4th July, and his own son-in-law, Earl Durham, opposed him.

30. Next morning Mr Lyttleton resigned; but, notwithstanding all that had passed betwixt him and Lord Grey, his resignation was not accepted; for so great was the unpopularity of Ministers that they had little hope, on a vacancy, of filling up his place with an able man who was sure of a seat in the House. Matters had now come to such a pass that the wound could not be healed by any attempt to skin it over. Two days after, Lord Althorpe resigned, deeming it inconsistent with honour to remain in office when, on so important a question as the renewal of the clause against public meetings in Ireland, he differed from the head of the Government. No persuasions, and many were tried, could induce him to remain in his situation. In fact, he saw that the external popularity of the Administration was so much impaired, and its internal divisions had become so serious, that it could not possibly go on longer. This blow was fatal to the Government. Earl Grey felt that he could not possibly carry on the affairs of the nation after the secession of a colleague so influential and highly esteemed, both in the House and the country, as Lord Althorpe; and he was not sorry of an opportunity of abandoning a task which was every day becoming more irksome and difficult. He also, accordingly, tendered his resignation to the King, which was accepted, and the Ministry was dissolved. On Wednesday, 9th July, Earl Grey made his parting address in the House of Peers, in terms worthy of his own character, and of the solemnity of the occasion. Such was the agitation of the veteran statesman, that he was twice compelled to sit down and pause

at the opening of his address. The Duke of Wellington kindly gained time for him by presenting a few petitions; and having regained his composure, he addressed the House as follows, in a feeble and tremulous voice:—

31. “I really feel ashamed of the sort of weakness I have shown upon this occasion. I have recently been honoured with an interview with his Majesty, and the personal kindness I have experienced has quite overpowered me. I have, however, a duty to perform, and whatever be my present incapacity, I will to the utmost of my ability discharge it. I address you no longer as a Minister of the Crown, but as an individual member of the Legislature, strongly impressed with the necessity of passing the Coercion Act, in order to invest the Government of Ireland, into whatever hands it may fall, with a power which I believe to be necessary to the maintenance of law and order in that country. My opinion on the necessity of that Act has never undergone any alteration; and this was so entirely the opinion of my colleagues that I had given instructions to the Attorney-General to draw up the bill now on the table. On 23d June I received a confidential communication from the Lord-Lieutenant, which I felt it my duty to lay before my colleagues in office, which had been produced not so much by any original view taken by that illustrious person, of whom I cannot speak too highly, as by certain considerations *which had been suggested to him by others without my knowledge or privity*. The consequence has been that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who conducts the affairs of Government in the other House, and who had been fully impressed with the opinion of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, felt that the ground was swept under him by these disclosures, and that he could no longer retain office. This event has determined me to retire also. Since the commencement of the present session, several of the most powerful members of the Government have separated

from it, and my resolution to retire also was then so decidedly taken that I thought nothing could have shaken me from it. This resolution, however, was abandoned in consequence of the urgent representations of my friends that my retirement would break up the Government. But to remain is now impossible. Former breaches have weakened it: this new breach has placed us in a situation where it is impossible to be of any service to the country, for the Government has lost its right arm. In acting as I have done, both on this occasion and in the course of the Administration of which I was the head, I feel that I have acted in conformity with the spirit of the age, neither advancing before nor falling behind it.”

32. Earl Grey's resignation, however, was an insulated act; it did not, as was at first supposed, lead at the time to an entire change of Government. The other Ministers did not resign; on the contrary, Lord Brougham declared in the House of Lords next day, “that he should not discharge his duty, if, at all sacrifice of his comfort, at all abandonment of his own ease—at the destruction, if so might be, of his own peace of mind—he did not stand by that gracious monarch and that country whose support, whose gracious and hearty support, he had received during the three years and a half he had been a member of the Government.” And when the laughter which these words excited had subsided, he added, with characteristic naïveté, “Do your lordships think that there is anything very peculiarly merry or amusing in being Minister at the present time? If they do, I invite them to take a part in the reconstruction of the Government.” Notwithstanding the difficulties which these words so candidly admitted, the other members of the Cabinet did not resign, and a way was discovered of patching up a Government in the mean time,—with what success the result in a few months showed. LORD MELBOURNE was made Prime Minister; Lord Althorpe resumed his place as Chancellor of the Exchequer and

leader of the House of Commons, as without his aid the head of the Administration declared he could not carry on the Government; Lord Duncannon was appointed to the Home Office; Sir J. C. Hobhouse to the Woods and Forests, with a seat in the Cabinet; and Lord Carlisle, who had become Privy Seal on the retirement of the Earl of Ripon, resigned, and was succeeded by the Earl of Mulgrave. With these exceptions, the remodelled Cabinet remained the same as it had been before Earl Grey's resignation.

33. But although the Cabinet was thus reconstructed with little apparent difficulty from the old elements, yet in reality an important blow had been struck at monarchical government, and the first indication of the vital change worked in our institutions by the Reform Bill had been the destruction of its author. Earl Grey had been overthrown and driven from the Government, not by the Conservatives, but by the Catholics; not by Sir R. Peel, but by Mr O'Connell; not by his opponents, but by his supporters; and that, too, with a House of Commons which had recently divided in his favour by 523 to 38 on the question of the Repeal of the Union! No stronger proof could be figured of the momentous change which had taken place in the frame of the Constitution from the recent organic alteration, or of the insecurity of the basis on which any Government, even the strongest in appearance, in reality now rested, from the confusion of parties which had taken place from its effects. This immediately appeared when Lord Melbourne had kissed hands as Premier, and the Cabinet was reconstructed. His very first act was to announce the intention of Government to bring in a Coercion Bill *without the clauses against public meetings*, which Mr O'Connell had objected to, and which had broken up the late Ministry. Lord Brougham supported this change, alleging as a reason that they could no more carry the bill with the former clauses in the House of Commons than they could repeal the Reform Bill. The former

bill accordingly was abandoned, and on the next day Lord Althorpe brought in the modified Coercion Bill into the House of Commons. By it the consent of the Lord-Lieutenant and High Sheriff to public meetings was only to be necessary in districts previously proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant; and the bill, such as it was, was to endure only till August 1835. The change of course afforded room for ample sarcastic reproaches on the part of the Conservatives against Ministers, for having succumbed to the great agitator, and reopened Ireland to all the consequences of his inflammatory meetings; but it passed the House by a large majority, the numbers being 60 to 25. In the Lords it was agreed to without a division. The Duke of Wellington merely moved the restoration of the omitted clauses to give him an opportunity of recording a protest against their omission, which he accordingly did, signed by himself and twenty-one other peers.*

* "6. Because it appears from the papers laid upon the table of this House by his Majesty's Ministers, that the Act 3 & 4 Wm. IV. c. 4, wherever it had been carried into execution, had been effectual in preventing agitation, and in a great degree disturbance and outrage, and in bringing to trial those guilty of such offences; that witnesses had come forward to give their testimony on injuries done to themselves or others; that magistrates and juries had performed their duties; and that the districts of the country where the Act had been enforced were beginning to feel the effects of returning tranquillity, security, and happiness.

"7. Because it is obvious that the bill now under consideration cannot prevent agitation in associations in large towns. Yet it is to these associations that the Lord-Lieutenant (Wellesley) attributes the system of violence and outrage in effect and cause; and he states that 'he cannot separate the one from the other of the unbroken chain of indissoluble connection by any effort of his understanding.'

"8. Because the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland has declared it as his opinion that 'agitation (which it is the object of the clauses now omitted to prevent) for the combined object of the destruction of tithes and the repeal of the Union, had in every instance excited and inflamed the disturbances existing in Ireland,' which his Excellency had described as being 'of a disorderly, discontented, and turbulent character,' such as 'secret combination, controverted organisation, suppression of all evidence of crime, and the ambition of usurping the Govern-

34. The same predominant influence of the Irish agitators appeared in the next great measure which was in progress before Parliament—the settlement of the tithe question. That involved, in like manner, a direct conflict with the Irish agitators, if the clause, styled in common parlance “the Appropriation Clause,” which put the surplus of Church property, after providing for religious purposes, at the disposal of Parliament, were omitted, as it was the object of the greatest anxiety and vehement demand on their part. On 29th July the House went into committee on the Tithe Bill, already before the House; and after having been defeated by a large majority in an attempt to throw out the bill altogether, Mr O’Connell moved, as an amendment, that tithes, instead of being commuted into a rent-charge on land, should be instantly abated 40 per cent. “This,” said he, “would be intelligible to the people of Ireland. Every man can understand the difference between twelve shillings and twenty shillings—and if adopted, my opposition shall cease, and the bill may pass in two sittings.” This offer proved irresistible to a Government so recently shaken to its centre by this very Irish question. Deeply as the proposed clause trenched on the principle of the bill, and obviously as it admitted that of extinguishing Church property for temporal purposes, it was tacitly admitted by the new Government. Mr O’Connell’s amendment was carried, against a very feeble and simulate opposition on their part, by a majority of 82 to 33; and such was the subsequent departure from the original bill, that Mr Lyttleton moved, amidst much laughter, the omission of seventy clauses “at one fell swoop.” And when the bill at last passed, it consisted only of 111 clauses, instead of 172, the original number.

ment, and of ruling society by the authority of the common people, and of superseding the law by the decrees of illegal associations. That the system of agitation had ‘for its inevitable consequence combinations leading to violence and outrage; that they were inseparably causes and effect.’”—*Ann. Reg.* 1834., pp. 146, 147, note.

In this mutilated state it was read a third time without a division. But as the weakness of Ministers, in thus submitting to have a foreign bantling forced upon them instead of their own offspring, was now evident to all, and had gone far to discredit them, the House of Peers mustered up courage to throw out the bill entirely, which was done by a majority of 67, the numbers being 189 to 122.

35. To Earl Grey’s Administration belongs the credit of an important measure, which was only finally matured and passed under their successors, and which at the time excited a much greater interest and anxiety than its subsequent effects would appear to justify. This was the POOR-LAW AMENDMENT BILL, which, although not, like all those relating to Ireland, a party measure, yet excited the utmost interest in England, from the magnitude of the interests involved in and the persons affected by it, and the immensity of the burden which it was the object of the Act to reduce. Numerous abuses had in process of time insensibly ingrafted themselves on the originally wise and humane system introduced by the 43d Elizabeth; and they were the more serious, that they had arisen from benevolent feelings on the part of the Legislature, or those intrusted with the administration of the laws, and had come by the people to be regarded as not the least valuable part of their birthright. In particular, the 36th Geo. III. c. 39 had established the principle, that the relief to paupers should be given in such a manner as to place them in a state of comfort. However desirable it might be to effect this, if practicable, by legislative enactment, the operation of the Act was most serious in practice: for as the poor were undoubtedly more comfortable in their own houses than they could ever be made in public workhouses, the practice became general of ordering the poor out-door relief, and of this being done by magistrates at a distance from the applicant, and often very little acquainted with the real circumstances of each particular case. From this

had arisen another evil still more serious, which was the system of *making up wages*, as it was called, which consisted in the justices giving the applicant an order to get his wages made up to a certain amount, in proportion to the number of his family, from the parochial funds, if he could not earn so much by his own labour. Farmers, manufacturers, and all the employers of labourers, were not slow in taking advantage of this system to throw a considerable part of the wages of their workmen, especially during winter, upon the parish; and to such a length did this go, that in many of the counties, especially the agricultural ones in the south of England, nearly half of the entire sums paid annually for the wages of labour had come to be defrayed by the parishes, to the effect of entirely swallowing up the whole rental.

36. Serious as these evils were, they did not excite any general attention as long as they were partial, or confined chiefly to particular localities. But during the last fifteen years another cause of general influence had come

into operation, which had rendered the evils complained of universal, and engendered a general feeling of the necessity of its removal. This was the *contraction of the currency*, the prolific parent of so many of the social and political changes which have taken place in Great Britain during the last thirty years, and the effects of which were long of being exhausted. The burden of the poor-rates between 1810 and 1818 was, on an average, about £6,000,000 a-year; and in the last of these years it had attained its *maximum* amount before or since, having reached £7,870,000. Still no great complaints were heard, and no demand for a change arose; for the profits and remuneration of industry were in the same proportion. Wheat was, before 1819, at 83s. But by the alteration in the monetary laws introduced in that year, this auspicious state of things was immediately changed.* By the contraction of the currency which it induced, and by the bill of 1826 suppressing small notes, which came into full effect in 1829, prices were so far altered that the remuneration of

* The following table, compiled by Mr Porter, puts the increasing weight of the poor-rates, from the change in the value of money since 1819, in a clear light:—

Years.	Sums expended on Poor.	Population of England and Wales.	Average Price of Wheat per qr.	Poor-rate in Quarters of Wheat.
	£		s. p.	
1801	4,017,871	8,872,980	115 11	693,234
1803	4,077,891	9,148,314	57 1	1,428,751
1811	6,656,105	10,163,676	92 5	1,440,455
1814	6,294,581	10,775,034	72 1	1,746,740
1815	5,418,846	10,979,437	63 8	1,702,255
1816	5,724,839	11,160,157	76 2	1,503,240
1817	6,910,925	11,349,750	94 0	1,470,409
1818	7,870,801	11,524,389	83 8	1,881,466
1819	7,516,704	11,700,965	72 3	2,080,748
1820	7,330,716	11,893,165	65 10	2,223,913
1821	6,959,249	11,978,875	54 5	2,557,763
1822	6,358,702	12,313,810	43 3	2,940,440
1823	5,772,958	12,508,956	51 9	2,231,034
1824	5,736,898	12,699,098	62 0	1,850,612
1825	5,786,589	12,881,906	66 6	1,740,447
1826	5,928,581	13,056,931	56 11	2,083,855
1827	6,441,083	13,242,019	56 9	2,269,987
1828	6,293,000	13,441,913	60 5	2,084,855
1829	6,332,410	13,620,701	66 3	1,911,671
1830	6,829,842	13,811,467	64 3	2,125,772
1831	6,798,888	13,897,187	66 4	2,049,916
1832	7,036,963	14,185,647	58 8	2,398,966
1833	6,790,799	14,317,229	52 11	2,566,601
1834	6,317,255	14,531,957	46 2	2,736,717
1835	5,526,418	14,703,002	44 2	2,502,528
1836	4,717,630	14,904,456	39 5	2,393,723

industry was reduced fully a half. And such was the effect of this cause, coupled with the three fine harvests preceding 1834, that in that year the price of wheat fell to 46s. 2d., and in the next to 39s. 4d., being less than *a half* of what it had been when the change was introduced. Add to this, that from the terror inspired by the Reform agitation, the flames of Nottingham and Bristol, employment of every kind had sensibly declined, and the number of those thrown on the poor-rates by being deprived of bread had greatly increased. The effect of these two concurring causes was such, between the year 1829, when small notes finally disappeared from the circulation and the Reform agitation began, and the spring of 1834, that the burden of the poor-rates in England and Wales, as measured by the number of quarters of wheat required to provide for them (the true measure, since they were paid exclusively by the land), had increased *fourfold* since 1800, and *doubled* since 1811, though the population in the same period had only advanced 45 per cent. The effect of this vast increase in the burden of the poor, contemporaneous with the reduction in the resources of those who were to pay it, was the same as always occurs in the case of a great reduction of wages to workmen. Both employers and employed go sharply to work, and look closely into small sums, and numerous grievances are discovered and complained of which had passed unnoticed in previous and more prosperous times.

37. So great was the clamour raised by these causes, that Earl Grey's Ministry, soon after their accession to office, had appointed a committee to inquire into the operation and present state of the poor-laws. They had made most extensive researches, and brought to light a great number of important facts, particularly illustrative of the extreme inequality of the burden of the poor-rates, not only in different counties, but in different parishes in the same county, and even in those immediately adjoining each other. The report was printed and extensively circulated; and such was

the effect it produced, as well as the general sense of the necessity of the case, that Government, though perfectly aware of the difficulties with which the question was beset, and the violent resistance which any proposed change would meet with, resolved to grapple with it, and Lord Althorpe brought forward the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill in the House of Commons on the 17th April.

38. On the part of Government it was argued by Lord Althorpe and Mr Lyttleton: "The necessity of interference arises from this, that the poor-laws, as at present administered, tend directly to the destruction of all property in the country. Even to the labouring classes, whom they have been intended to benefit, nothing could be more fatal than to allow them to continue in their present course. It is the abuse of the system, however, not the system itself, which is to be condemned. These abuses are scarcely older than the commencement of the present century, when a feeling got abroad that discontent prevailed among the working classes in the country, and the principle was adopted by the 36th Geo. III., that relief to paupers ought to be given in such a manner as to place them in a state of comfort. The effect of this law has been to give the magistrates the power to order relief to be given to the poor in their own dwellings, which has introduced an entirely different class—viz., labourers working at *low wages*—into the roll of the paupers; and the effect of this has been, not only greatly to augment the numbers of those who received relief, but to extinguish all feelings of independence in many parts of the country among the labouring poor; and instead of paupers being placed in a state of comfort, all the labouring classes in many districts of the country have been brought into a state of deplorable misery and distress. So great are the dangers of allowing matters to remain as they are, that it has become absolutely necessary, to meet the difficulties of the case, to adopt sounder principles, and carry them unflinchingly into execution. In some dis-

tricts, under the pressure of absolute necessity, parishes have adopted a different and improved system of administration; in others, where the former system prevailed, cultivation has been entirely abandoned, and in consequence the poor have been compelled to resort to the neighbouring parishes, which in their turn have become pauperised, and from each of these, as from a centre, pauperism has spread in every direction.

39. "To check these great and growing evils, Government propose to erect a Board of Commissioners, to whom the general administration of the poor-laws is to be intrusted. The Board will be invested with great and extensive powers, heretofore an anomaly in the constitution; but this has been rendered unavoidable by the necessity of the case. A discretionary power must be vested somewhere, either in the Government, the local magistrates, or the Commissioners. The first is objectionable, as being engrossed with the general affairs of the empire; the second, as immersed in the details of their separate localities, and without the sources of information requisite to form a proper opinion on the subject. The Commissioners alone, being exclusively devoted to the subject, and in possession of the whole information regarding it, are in a situation to form correct opinions concerning it. The first thing to be done is to terminate the *allowance system*, as it is called, or the system of making wages, when low, up to a certain level, from the funds of the parish—the source of all the other evils, and without the extirpation of which all attempts to amend the poor-laws will prove nugatory. It is proposed to terminate this ruinous system in the ensuing summer, when the labourers are in full employment. Then the Commissioners are to have power to make rules and regulations as to the mode of relief and the regulation of workhouses, which are to receive the sanction of the Secretary of State before they become obligatory, and which will have the effect of establishing one uniform system of administration over the whole country.

40. "Power is to be given to the parochial authorities to unite parishes, and form large workhouses for several parishes massed together. The power of ordering out-door relief is to be taken from the justices, so as to subject all applicants for relief to the 'workhouse test;' this is only bringing matters back to what they were before 1796. The law of settlement, at present extremely complicated, and the fertile source of litigation between parishes, is to be simplified by making the settlement of every child up to sixteen follow that of the parents, and after that, be determined by the place of birth. The power of removal to the parish of birth is also to be restricted to the grounds specially set forth in the notice. Lastly, the power given to the mothers of illegitimate children of swearing the child to any man she chooses to select, which at present renders prostitution a source of gain to profligate women, is to be taken away, and the mother rendered liable for the support of her child in the same way as pauper widows."

41. So strongly were the evils of the existing system felt, that the second reading of the bill did not meet with any serious opposition. Sir Samuel Whalley, Alderman Wood, and Mr Walter, strongly objected to the bill as a whole, on the ground of its multiplying offices and the patronage of Government *ad infinitum*; vesting the Commissioners with arbitrary authority exceeding that of an Eastern pacha; centralising power, and depriving the local magistrates of all real power; and offering a premium to immorality and infanticide, by throwing the burden of bastard children exclusively on one of the parties concerned in begetting them, and that the one often the least in fault, and generally the least capable of maintaining them. There was much to be said on these points, but they went to change the details of the bill rather than to resist its general principles; and after a very short debate, the second reading was carried by an immense majority, the numbers being 319 to 20.

42. But although the principle of

the bill was thus carried, a more serious opposition arose in committee, when the details of the proposed measure came to be taken into consideration. The great point objected to was the clause throwing the burden of bastards on the mother, to the relief of the father, which was strongly opposed, on the ground both of its injustice and inexpedience. There could be no doubt that the old system of allowing a woman to fix a child upon any man she chose, by simply swearing that he was the father, had led to numberless abuses, and was itself absurd, and contrary to the first principle of justice, because it permitted a party interested to be judge without appeal in her own cause. On the other hand, to lay the burden exclusively on the mother was equally unjust, as it saddled one of the parents, and in general the one least able to bear it, with a burden for which both, as equally implicated in its formation, were obviously responsible. The bill, as originally proposed, passed the Commons by a majority of 187 to 52. So strong, however, was the public feeling on the subject, that a very vigorous opposition to this clause arose in the House of Peers; and at length it was obviated, and the bill passed, on an amendment proposed by the Duke of Wellington, that the mother should still be allowed to give her oath as to who was the father, but that it should not be conclusive unless supported by other evidence. This is evidently the just and reasonable view of this delicate matter, and which had from time immemorial formed part of the common law of Scotland on the subject—another instance among the many which contemporary history affords, that from some unknown cause the remote and poor realm of North Britain had been far ahead of its southern neighbour in wise and salutary legislation, and that nearly the whole real improvements introduced into the laws of England during the last half-century have been nothing but transcripts of the old Scottish statutes one hundred and fifty years before.*

* The last sentence will sound strange to English ears, and in fact the thing itself is so

43. The third reading of the bill was carried without a division, but on the bastardy clause, as it originally stood, the majority was only 11; and the Commons adopted the Lords' amendment without a debate, so that the bill became law. A still more serious opposition arose when it came to be carried into execution, from a regulation of the Commissioners, that, when admitted into the workhouse, husband should be separated from wife. It was soon, however, found to be utterly impossible to carry into execution the intentions of the Act in regard to refusing relief except in the workhouses; and accordingly, ever since the passing of the Act, the paupers receiving out-door relief have been fully seven times those admitted into the public establishments. This great preponderance of out-door recipients in a great degree alleviated the hardships of the regulation, as of course, when the money was given to the poor in their own houses, no separation of families took place. In the case of old and infirm persons, there can be no doubt that the separation of partners in life, who have "summered it and wintered it together," is one of the most melancholy severances that can be figured. It would seem as if

extraordinary that it is almost inexplicable to those best acquainted with Scotland, and most versed in its laws. Ample proof for the incredulous, and they will probably be many, will be found in the Author's Essay on the "Old Scottish Parliament," *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 585. It is impossible to suppose that this early precocity in wise legislation was owing to the superior wisdom or experience of the Scottish nation or legislature, for the former was rude and barbarous, the latter divided and ignorant. It probably arose from its poverty and inexperience, which, affording the nation *no precedents or information of its own* whereon to found legislation, led to the introduction, on all points between man and man, of the Roman law, the most stupendous monument of uninspired wisdom which the annals of mankind had exhibited. It is to the same cause that the ready adoption and universal retention in so many countries of Europe of the Code Napoleon is to be ascribed. That is little more than a transcript of the treatises of Pothier, which are nothing but a digest of the Institutes and Pandects; but they were the result of eight hundred years of thought and experience among the most civilised people upon earth.

it were intended purposely to fore-close that termination of the journey of life together, which the poet has justly described as the best alleviation of declining years.* It may be doubted, however, whether such a regulation is not absolutely unavoidable, especially with young persons, for whom the "workhouse test" is more particularly required; and probably the most advisable way to solve the difficulty, is to apply it only to persons in early or middle life, and administer relief to those in advanced years in their own houses.†

44. It was confidently expected that this important change would effect a very great reduction in the burden of English poor-rates, and the diminution which appeared in them for some

years after the passing of the Act, seemed in some degree to justify the anticipation. The result, however, after the lapse of a considerable time, has by no means been equally favourable, and the burden, after fifteen years had passed over, became nearly as great, whether measured in money or quarters of wheat, as before the bill passed. The amount levied is still on an average from £5,000,000 to £6,000,000, and the number of persons relieved from 800,000 to 900,000 a-year.‡ This is the more remarkable from the consideration, that for seven years preceding 1854 the annual emigration from the empire has been on an average 266,000, and in one year had reached 368,000. The effect of this vast exodus upon the labour mar-

* "John Anderson my jo, John,
We clamb the hill thegither,
And mony a canty day, John,
We've had wi' ane anither:

Now we maun totter down, John,
But hand in hand we'll go,
And sleep thegither at the foot,
John Anderson my jo."—BURNS.

† PAUPERS RECEIVING IN-DOOR AND OUT-DOOR RELIEF, FROM 1840 TO 1848.

Years.	In-door recipients.	Out-door recipients.	Total.	Of whom able-bodied.
1840	169,232	1,030,297	1,199,529	497,321
1841	192,106	1,106,942	1,299,048	469,114
1842	222,642	1,204,545	1,427,187	411,890
1843	238,560	1,300,930	1,539,496	466,585
1844	230,818	1,246,743	1,477,561	431,484
1845	215,325	1,255,645	1,470,970	420,096
1846	200,276	1,131,819	1,332,089	382,417
1847	265,037	1,456,313	1,721,350	562,355
1848	265,140	1,361,061	1,626,201	666,338

—PORTER, 3d edition, p. 94.

‡ POOR-RATES IN ENGLAND AND WALES FROM 1834 TO 1849, MEASURED IN MONEY AND IN QUARTERS OF WHEAT.

Years.	Sums expended on Poor.	Population of England and Wales.	Price of Wheat per Quarter.	Poor-rate in Quarters of Wheat.
	£		s. d.	
1834	6,317,255	14,531,957	46 2	2,736,717
1835	5,526,418	14,703,702	44 2	2,502,526
1836	4,717,630	14,904,456	39 5	2,393,723
1837	4,044,741	15,105,909	52 6	1,540,853
1838	4,123,604	15,307,363	55 3	1,492,684
1839	4,421,712	15,508,816	69 4	1,275,494
1840	4,576,965	15,710,270	68 6	1,336,340
1841	4,760,929	15,911,757	65 3	1,459,288
1842	4,911,498	16,113,214	64 0	1,534,843
1843	5,208,027	16,314,271	54 4	1,917,065
1844	4,976,093	16,716,128	51 5	1,935,595
1845	5,039,703	16,917,585	49 2	2,050,048
1846	4,954,204	17,119,042	53 3	1,860,733
1847	5,298,787	17,320,042	59 0	1,796,199
1848	6,180,764	17,521,956	64 6	1,916,515
1849	5,792,963	17,723,413	49 1	2,360,460

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, third edition, p. 90.

ket must have been very great, but it has by no means produced that decrease in the poor-rates which might reasonably have been expected. The truth would appear to be, that the excessive multiplication of the poor is a universal and irremediable evil in the advanced stages of society, springing from the vast accumulation of wealth in one section of it, and of labourers in another, and is one of the means by which Providence, in such circumstances, induces the decline of aged communities, and provides for the dispersion and renovation of mankind.

45. Parliament was prorogued by the King in person on the 15th August, and his Majesty congratulated the House in warm but not undeserved terms on the legislative achievements of the preceding session. He said: "I have not failed to observe, with the greatest approbation, that you have directed your attention to those domestic questions which more immediately affect the general welfare of the community; and I have had much satisfaction in sanctioning your wise and benevolent intentions, by giving my assent to the Act for the better administration of the poor-laws in England and Wales. It will be my duty to provide that the authority vested in commissioners nominated by the Crown be exercised with temperance. To the important subjects of our jurisprudence and municipal corporations, your attention will necessarily be directed next session. The continued increase of the revenue, notwithstanding the repeal of so many taxes, affords the surest proof that the resources of the country are unimpaired, and justifies the expectation that a perseverance in judicious and well-considered measures will still further promote the industry and augment the wealth of my people. It gives me great satisfaction to believe that, in returning to your several counties, you will find a prevalence of general tranquillity, and of active industry among all classes of society."

46. In one respect, the flattering assurances contained in these words were well founded. The public funded

debt in this year amounted only to £751,658,000, and the total annual charge on Great Britain and Ireland was £27,782,000; and the unfunded debt was £28,384,000. In 1815 the funded debt was £816,000,000, and the unfunded £42,000,000; and in 1833 it had been only £743,675,000. During the twenty years that had since intervened, therefore, the nation had paid off, notwithstanding the copious bleedings the Sinking Fund had undergone, no less than £73,000,000 of funded, and £12,000,000 of unfunded debt—in all, £85,000,000. These figures deserve to be noted, as marking the lowest point which the public debt had reached since the peace, and the lowest which it has ever since attained. The £20,000,000 borrowed this year to meet the claims of the West India proprietors, swelled the debt by that amount; and, subsequently, the disorder of the finances, from the effects of the contraction of the currency, became such, that for a course of years debt was annually contracted, instead of being paid off. In 1847 the debt was £777,000,000. If the Sinking Fund had been kept up to its amount of £15,000,000, which it had reached in 1815, by not repealing the indirect taxes from which it arose, the sum annually paid off would, by the year 1834, have come to exceed £35,000,000, and the debt would have been reduced by £450,000,000; and in 1845 it would have been entirely extinguished! As it was, the Sinking Fund this year amounted only to £1,440,000! Such had been the effect of the contraction of the currency, cheapening system, and consequent unavoidable reduction of indirect taxation.

47. But Government had ere long objects of more pressing concern to attend to than the ultimate liquidation of the public debt. Before the session closed, the weakness of Ministers had become apparent; and such was the irritation of the Irish Catholics and English Radicals, that the Reform party, recently so powerful, was in a manner broken up; and it was doubtful whether, on any trying question, the Administration could even command

a bare majority. Aware of this, Mr O'Connell renewed his exertions to promote agitation and confusion in Ireland; and with that view, addressed in autumn a series of letters to Lord Duncannon, in which, not confining himself to Earl Grey, who was now not worth assailing, being out of office, he attacked the whole Whig party as the worst enemies of Ireland, and the authors of the whole calamities under which the country laboured. "Never," says he, "was there a more ungenial or hostile Administration in Ireland than that which has subsisted since Earl Grey first obtained office, and still subsists. I am ready to give a detail of the follies, the faults, and the crimes of the Whigs in Ireland. I will not 'set down aught in malice,' but will give a full and unexaggerated detail of the principal acts of *folly, fatuity, and crime*, committed towards and against the people of Ireland by the Ministry since November 1830. . . . I

write more in sorrow than in anger, more in regret than hostility. It is true, you have bitterly deceived me—bitterly and cruelly deceived Ireland. But we should have known you better. You belong to the Whigs, and after four years of the most emaciating experience, we ought indeed to have known that Ireland had nothing to expect from the Whigs but insolent contempt, and malignant but treacherous hostility."

48. The incitement to agitation thus given by the Apostle of Discontent in Ireland, was not long of bringing forth its appropriate and well-known fruits. Predial outrages, which had so rapidly declined under the operation of the Coercion Act, increased as quickly with the yielding of Government, and in the beginning of winter assumed a most alarming character. Resistance was openly made in many different places to the levying of tithes, by large bodies of men, for the most part armed, which was only overcome by the employment of considerable military forces. On December 18th a body of 600 men assembled at the end of a lane at Rathcormack, which was blocked up with a car, which had been over-

turned, to resist the levying of tithes. The Riot Act was read, the soldiers assailed by volleys of stones, which knocked down several of the men and officers; and the riot was not overcome till they received orders to fire, by which several persons were killed and wounded. So far from repressing, the highest Catholic authorities openly justified these rebellious acts. Dr M'Hale, an able man, who, since the death of Dr Doyle, had been elevated to the See of Tuam, in a published letter at this time to the Duke of Wellington thus expressed himself: "All the united authorities, and the Senate, can never annex the conscientious obligations of the law to enactments that are contrary to right, reason, and justice; and hence the stubborn and unconquerable resistance of the people of Ireland to these odious acts (I will not call them laws), which have even forced them to pay tribute to the teachers of an adverse creed. I shall freely declare my own resolve. I have leased a small farm, just sufficient to qualify me for the exercise of the franchise. After paying the landlord his rent, neither to parson, proctor, nor agent shall I consent to pay, in the shape of tithe, or any other tax, a penny which shall go to the support of the greatest nuisance in this or any other country."

49. So rapid had been the change in general opinion, in consequence of the resistance of Government to the demands of the English Liberals and Irish Catholics, that the whole London press, lately so unanimous in their support, with the exception of the *Morning Chronicle*, expressed contempt for them. The *Times*, in particular, which had so recently recommended the brickbat and the bludgeon to beat down the Conservatives, and insure the retention of power by the Liberals, now exerted itself to the utmost to expose their weakness and incapacity, and ridicule, in particular, the erratic eccentricities of the Lord Chancellor, who was on a tour in Scotland, and signalled his arrival at every considerable town by oratorical displays—not altogether consistent, to say the least

of them, with the decorum and discretion expected from a person of his station and talents. At Inverness he assured his admiring audience that he would write to his Majesty that very night to assure him of their loyal sentiments. At Edinburgh, a great banquet was given to Earl Grey, in a pavilion on the Calton Hill, specially erected for the occasion, on the 15th September, at which the divisions of the Cabinet, and especially the schism between Lord Brougham and Lord Durham, were painfully conspicuous. The former earnestly counselled moderation in political expectations, and a slackened pace in the career of reform; the latter "regretted every hour which passes over the existence of recognised and unreformed abuses." These words were received with loud and prolonged cheers: Lord Brougham attempted no explanation at the moment, though he assailed Lord Durham shortly after at a public meeting at Salisbury, who retorted in very strong terms at another at Glasgow.* The schism in the Ministry was evident, and of such a kind as gave pain to those who witnessed it at the Edinburgh banquet.

50. These appearances, and especially the general hostility of the press to the present Government, induced the King to imagine that the time had come when a change of Ministry might with safety be attempted. He mistook the loudly-expressed dissatisfaction of the Reformers at the retarded progress of change for a reaction against re-

form itself, and he was not sorry of an opportunity of getting rid of a Ministry to whom he had never forgiven the coercion put upon himself on occasion of the passing of the Reform Bill. An opportunity ere long occurred for putting his intentions into effect. The death of Earl Spencer, which took place on November 10, necessarily raised his eldest son, Lord Althorpe, to the Upper House, and it became indispensable to appoint a new Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was also to be leader of the House of Commons. Lord Melbourne, a few days afterwards, waited on the King at Brighton, to take his pleasure on the subject, and suggested Lord John Russell as the person to fill both situations. His Majesty expressed his doubts whether the Government could be carried on as proposed, and stated, it is said, that he had objections to the continuance in office of the Lord Chancellor, and disapproved of the persons appointed to frame the Irish Church Bill. He therefore stated to Lord Melbourne that he would not impose on him the task of completing the existing arrangements, but would apply to the Duke of Wellington on the subject. The same evening a letter to his Grace was despatched by Lord Melbourne, and on the following day the Duke waited on the King, and advised him to send for Sir R. Peel. As Sir Robert, however, was at the time at Rome, whither he had gone with Lady Peel with the intention of spending the winter in Italy, the Duke offered in the mean time to carry on the Government. The temporary arrangements were soon concluded. On the 21st Lord Lyndhurst received the Great Seal, and took the oaths as Lord Chancellor, and a messenger was despatched to Rome for Sir R. Peel. He made the journey in a surprisingly short time, having arrived in Rome on the evening of the 25th November. Sir Robert immediately set out, and reached London on the 9th December, and on the same day he had an audience of the King and accepted the office of Prime Minister. In the interim the Duke of Wellington had singly dis-

* "He (Lord Brougham) has been pleased to challenge me to meet him in the House of Lords. I know well the meaning of the taunt. He is aware of his infinite superiority over me in one respect, and so am I. He is a practised orator and a powerful debater; I am not. I speak but seldom in Parliament, and always with reluctance, in an assembly where I meet with no sympathy in an unwilling majority. He knows full well his superiority over me in this respect, and he knows, too, that in any attack he may make upon me in the House of Lords he will be warmly supported by them. With all these advantages, almost overwhelming, I fear him not. I will meet him there, if it be unfortunately necessary to repeat what he is pleased to call my criticisms."—LORD DURHAM'S Speech at Glasgow; *Spectator* for 1834, pp. 1033, 1034.

charged the duties of the three secretaries, which led to the good-humoured remark that, as the country was to have a military Government, it was right to begin with a dictator.

51. The fall of Earl Grey, and with him, after a brief interval, of the Reform Administration, is one of the most remarkable events in British history, and, like the parallel one of Necker and the Girondists in French story, strikingly illustrative of the moral laws which, under every variety of climate, circumstance, and national character, influence, and in the end control, great political movements such as that in which he was engaged. It was no casual event, no unlucky jealousy, which overturned his Administration; it was the inevitable collision of great principles which occasioned his fall. He perished by the work of his own hands. It was the difficulty of coercing a democratic movement, which he himself had had a large share in creating, which was the cause of the ruin of himself, as it had been of so many of his predecessors engaged in a similar career. The quarrel between Mr Lyttleton and Mr O'Connell was no casual or personal occurrence; it was the collision between the Movement and the Conservative party in Ireland. Lord Brougham's schism with Lord Durham was the collision between the same parties in England. Men could not understand how that which had been encouraged and lauded by Government during the Reform struggle, should suddenly become the object of discouragement and prosecution when the objects for which alone they supported the Reform Ministry came to be demanded. This is the usual, it may be said the invariable, fate of the leaders in such organic changes. They are continually advancing before a devouring fire flaming close in their rear. If they advance before it, they *for a time* save themselves, but they destroy their country; if they halt, they destroy themselves, but they may save their country.

52. On this account Earl Grey and

his Administration deserve the very highest credit, and have earned the lasting gratitude of the Empire, for the patriotic and unselfish use which they made of power when it was placed in their hands, almost without limitation, by the passing of the Reform Bill. No one can doubt that they might have preserved their immense popularity and prolonged their tenure of office by conceding the principal demands of the agitators. O'Connell and the Romish priesthood would have been entirely satisfied by the confiscation of the Irish Church property or the extinction of tithes in the Emerald Isle; the English Radicals would have been converted into their noisy supporters by the repeal, without any equivalent, of the house and window tax, and of all duties on the importation of grain. When, therefore, instead of yielding to these demands, the Government manfully resisted them, they insured indeed their own downfall, but they deprived a great social revolution of its chief dangers, and got over a time the most critical that had ever occurred in English history without farther inroads on the constitution. Their legislative measures during the next two years, when they enjoyed unlimited power, if we except Negro Emancipation, which was not their own, but forced upon them by the people, were wise and judicious, and have been decisively vindicated in the result by their beneficial consequences to the country.

53. Earl Grey's conduct on this momentous occasion proves that the great and irreparable change in the constitution, which was effected by the Reform Bill, was done by its promoters, not in the spirit of revolution, but from want of practical acquaintance with the people with whom they were surrounded. This is the defect generally observable in aristocratic leaders, when they adventure on measures of social change: we often respect their motives, but we seldom fail to lament their ignorance and want of practical familiarity with affairs. One of the ablest of the Liberal annalists has thus char-

acterised his Administration: "His chief error was an induced incapacity through the evil operation of aristocratic station, uncorrected by timely political labour, and the extensive intercourses which are a privilege attendant upon it. He knew no more of the British people than he did of the Spaniards or Germans. *He did not see the scope of his own Reform Bill*, and could not bear the consequences of his own greatest act, the fruition of the aim of his whole life. When he had himself taken up the House of Lords in his hand, broken its fastenings, and set it down in a lower place, he insisted that it was still where it was before, and 'he would stand by his order' against any who declared to the con-

trary."* Making allowance for some exaggeration incident to the sex and disposition of this able writer, there can be no doubt there is much truth in these observations. But if the great Reform leader erred, and erred grievously, from ignorance of the effect of his own measure, he redeemed his fault by his subsequent conduct, though in so doing he underwent the penalty of his previous transgression. His fate stands forth as a memorable warning to all such as may hereafter adventure on a similar career. Earl Grey destroyed the old Constitution of England, and the first victim of the new Constitution was Earl Grey himself.

* MISS MARTINEAU.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, FROM THE FRENCH EXPEDITION IN 1823 TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE AND COMMENCEMENT OF THE CARLIST WAR IN 1833.

1. A BLOODY civil war, or an entire and lasting revolution in the Government, was bequeathed to the Spanish Peninsula, as it was to other states in Europe, by the wars consequent on the French Revolution. It was not immediately, however, that this took place, nor from the contagion of its principles while yet at a distance, that the effect was produced. Separated by the chain of the Pyrenees from the rest of Europe—having little foreign commerce except what was centred in a few great seaport towns, and carried on with their own colonies—possessing scarcely any internal manufactures, with a people for the most part unformed and superstitious—the two kingdoms of the Spanish Peninsula formed, as it were, a world within themselves, living on the traditions of the past, attached to the faith of their fathers, and scarcely influenced by

any, even the most important, events which were going on in the world around them. Hence the universal burst of patriotic enthusiasm which broke forth in all parts of the country on occasion of the atrocious perfidy of Napoleon and invasion of the Spanish territory in 1808, and the unexampled constancy and perseverance with which, aided by England, amidst numberless reverses, they had continued the contest.

2. But the case was entirely altered after this war in the Peninsula had gone on for some years, and its plains had during several campaigns been the battle-field of Europe. During a period of six years, from 1808 to 1814, the greater part of Spain was occupied by the French troops, and three hundred thousand imperious victors lorded it over the enthralled inhabitants. During the same years the English were predominant in Portugal, and from

forty to fifty thousand of these haughty islanders opened to the people of that country the career of glory, freedom, and independence. Immense was the influence which this long-continued locating of foreign armies on the soil of the Peninsula had in both countries. It was more akin to the impression imperceptibly produced in Europe by the Crusades, and the long sojourn of the Christian armies on the shores of Palestine. The French soldiers spoke to the inhabitants of towns, who could understand their language, of the wars and glories of the Revolution—of a country where the barriers of rank had been thrown down—where the career of honour and fortune was open to all, and the grenadier who entered the ranks with his musket on his shoulder might come out a marshal of France, with the baton in his hand. They kindled the imagination of their hearers with tales of fortresses stormed, battles won, glory and plunder brought to the meanest drummer in the army. The Portuguese soldiers, long accustomed to the shameful dilapidation of their pay and rations in the hands of mercenary nobles or contractors, were astonished to find their whole nominal pay given to them by the British paymaster, and listened with wonder, not unmixed with envy, to the stories of a country whose integrity pervaded every branch of the administration, and a free press and national legislature both furnished a channel for the exposition of the national wants and the prevention of public abuses. All this was secured by the result of the success of revolution in France and the long establishment of freedom in England; and nothing was wanting to effect the transference of such blessings to the Spanish Peninsula but the establishment of similar institutions among its inhabitants. To these representations and dreams the citizens of Madrid, Cadiz, Barcelona, Corunna, Valencia, Malaga, and a few other great towns, lent a ready ear; and, feeling themselves unjustly excluded from their due share in the government and administration of the country, warmly entered into views

which promised to remove their grievances, and in which they were secure of the support of the army which wielded at pleasure the cannon forming the last logic of kings.

3. But while the spread of these opinions was very natural, and in truth unavoidable, in the Peninsular armies who were brought in contact with the French and English troops, and in the inhabitants of great towns who shared their passions, the case was very different with the peasants in the country, who formed, as in Ireland, the vast majority of the entire inhabitants. They knew what war was; they had felt its horrors, and suffered under its devastation for six successive years. The progress of the revolutionary armies was associated in their minds not with tales of conquest and glory, but with the realities of suffering—with cities stormed, houses burnt, men massacred, women ravished. The war which had infested the Spanish armies, and the three hundred thousand Spanish prisoners in France, with revolutionary ideas, had only confirmed the peasantry in their conservative feelings. They could not understand the language of the ruthless bands which had so long devastated their country; but they could feel their cruelties and execrate the atrocities they had committed. In addition to this, the priesthood, which, as in all rude Catholic countries, possessed a very great influence over the people, were everywhere animated with the strongest hatred against their oppressors, as well for the innumerable injuries they had sustained at their hands, as the danger which experience had proved their success everywhere threatened to the Romish hierarchy, and often to the Christian faith itself. Thus, in proportion as the army and the citizens of the few great towns in the Peninsula were animated with Liberal and revolutionary ideas, the peasantry in the country were actuated by directly opposite feelings and passions, and regarded as their worst enemies those of their own country who promoted the laws or adhered to the principles of the stranger.

4. The conflict between two such parties could not fail, sooner or later, to arise, and when it did begin, to be marked with all the usual and frightful characteristics of civil war. It began, in fact, with the restoration of Ferdinand VII., in 1814, and his whole subsequent reign was little more than a continued struggle between the innovating and the conservative parties, with alternate success, but unchangeable rancour and animosity on both sides. The insurrections in Corunna, Valencia, Barcelona, Pampeluna, and, finally, the great movement in the isle of Leon in 1822 of the large army collected for the subjugation of South America, which overturned the Government, and established an aggressive democracy in its room, were all of this description. The army and great towns were on one side, the peasants and shepherds on another. The division of parties was the same in all the insurrectionary movements since the peace of 1815 in Italy and Portugal, and the same has more recently been exhibited in the revolutionary struggles in Russia, Germany, and Poland. In all these cases, and from the same cause, the democratic movement did not begin with the working classes; and was in this country at least resisted by them to the uttermost. It began with the regular soldiers, and presented the strange spectacle of Government being threatened by its paid and sworn defenders, and seeking support among its rural and neglected subjects.

5. In such a conflict the chances were more equal on opposite sides than might at first appear—at least in the Spanish Peninsula. On the one side there was the army and the whole fortresses which it held, as well as the inhabitants of the great towns, and all the principal capitalists in the country; on the other, the vast majority of the rural population, constituting in the two kingdoms at least twelve millions out of the fourteen millions of which they were composed, and the entire Church and both monarchies. In such a contest, the advantage in the outset would of course be with the

revolutionary party, supported by the army, and in possession of the fortresses, capital, and chief towns; but if it was prolonged for any considerable time, and the dormant strength of the country was roused, the chances might become more equal, or even victory incline to the other side. In either case, it would of course be very important to know to which side the Government would incline; but here also the chances were nearly equally balanced, for the revolutionary party was prepared with a plan for creating a division in the palace itself, and engrafting on a civil war of principles the still more envenomed animosities of one founded on a disputed succession.

6. The question at issue between these two parties was not, as was supposed at the time in this country, between absolute government and a constitutional regime. The question was between the ancient institutions of the country and the modern democracy, introduced by the constitution of 1812, which had ever since that time been the watchword of the whole revolutionary party in the south of Europe. That constitution, as explained by the author in another work,* struck out at a heat in the isle of Leon—where the Cortes was composed almost entirely of the representatives of a few great commercial towns, from the whole country, with the exception of Galicia and Asturias, being in the possession of the French armies—was in substance, though not in form, a purely unmixed democracy, and, as such, beyond measure hateful to the vast majority of the rural inhabitants. It established a Cortes of one chamber, elected by universal suffrage, in equal electoral districts of 75,000 inhabitants each, with a king deprived of the veto on a second requisition from the Legislature, and with the initiative of all laws vested in the popular representation. Short as their experience of this absurd and impracticable constitution had been, it had been sufficient to prove that it was utterly unsuited to the circumstances of the country, and, with the exception of the citizens of a

* *Hist. of Europe*, chap. lxx. § 7-10.

few great towns, in the highest degree hateful to its inhabitants. But being supported by the army and citizens of the towns, it at first obtained the ascendancy; and by the successful revolt of Riego and the army assembled in the isle of Leon in October 1820, it was established for a time as the constitution of the state.

7. The French intervention in 1823 at once put the popularity of this democratic regime to the test. The Spanish army, 100,000 strong, arrayed in defence of it, having been neutralised by a French army of equal strength, which crossed the Pyrenees under the Duke d'Angoulême, the civil portion of the nation was left to itself, and it was not slow in making its wishes felt. No resistance was anywhere attempted till the invaders reached the walls of Cadiz. The march of the French from the Bidassoa to Madrid was a continued civic ovation, and the extrication of the King from his state imprisonment in the isle of Leon was the signal for a general outbreak against the constitution in all parts of the land. Everything was restored to the monarchical regime as quickly as it had been changed in the preceding year into the democratic; and it was hard to say whether the march of Riego to Madrid in 1822, or that of the Duke d'Angoulême to the Trocadero in the succeeding year, was the most unopposed and triumphant, or the most seemingly in accordance with the wishes and interests of the inhabitants.

8. Had the finances of Spain admitted of it, or the victorious Carlist party had sense enough to have adopted it, a plan now presented itself which promised to sopite those formidable divisions, and if embraced would probably have secured to the Legitimate party to this hour the undisputed possession of the throne. The necessitous state of the treasury, in consequence of the loss of half the revenue of the state by the South American revolt, had compelled the Government for many years back to live almost entirely on borrowed money; and the popular party, which had got possession of the helm by the success of Riego's revolt, had

largely availed themselves of the facilities in this respect which the English sympathy with what appears the cause of freedom all over the world opened to them. The debt contracted by the Liberal Government, from its accession to power in 1822 to its overthrow in October 1823, had been very considerable—it amounted to the enormous sum of £19,000,000 sterling; but such was the exhausted state of the treasury, that it was impossible either to recognise it or pay its interest, and the stock was down from 100 to 15. In these circumstances, if the Government of the Restoration could have recognised that debt, and paid the dividends due on it, the capitalists interested in it would have been satisfied, and the hostility of the moneyed interest in Great Britain to the restored government would have been prevented. But neither would the national finances, in a state of utter ruin, admit of this; nor were the Carlist Ministry, composed of violent men, heated by the vicissitudes of civil warfare, disposed to make any such sacrifices for the support of those who had lent money to their mortal antagonists. The consequence was, that the Liberal debt was repudiated, and thereon ensued the most envenomed hostility between the Government of the Restoration at Madrid and the English capitalists, which, more than anything else, determined the part that Great Britain took in the civil war which ere long broke out, and for many long years bathed the Peninsula in blood.

9. After the victory had been gained, and the greater part of the French armies had retired from the theatre of their inglorious and bloodless contest, Spain was left in a most pitiable and distracted state. Some resistance was attempted in the provinces, particularly under Mina in Catalonia; but these efforts, being desultory, and without either concert or general direction, were ere long suppressed. By the end of 1823, no armed force in open resistance to the Government remained in any part of the Spanish territory. But the country was very far indeed from being settled; and it was not easy

to say whether most discontent prevailed among the discomfited Liberals or the successful Royalists. The former mourned over their disappointed hopes and blasted expectations, and were grieved on reflecting on the ridiculous figure they had cut in the eyes of Europe, when, after all their boasting, and their declared resolution to die in the last ditch, they had allowed a French army, not a third of that which they had combated for six years in the late war, to march from the Bidassoa to Cadiz without firing a shot. The Royalists, albeit successful, were hardly less disconcerted. Now that the contest was over, they began to reflect on the cost at which it had been purchased; and, like the French emigrants who returned to their country in 1814, they were in secret ashamed, as real patriots always will be, of a victory won by the arms of the stranger. Meanwhile the country remained in the most distracted state. A garrison of French soldiers, 5000 strong, overawed the capital, and others of the like force preserved the peace in Barcelona and Valencia; but the inhabitants of these cities were in the highest state of discontent, while, in the provinces, the Royalists openly threatened vengeance on the Liberals and the foreign army which had constrained the people to suspend the arm of vengeance, and accept a constitution. Numbers of disbanded soldiers traversed the country in every direction, levying contributions and forcing supplies from the inhabitants without mercy; while the regular troops, almost entirely without pay, were reduced to similar straits, and for their own subsistence were obliged to have recourse to the same violent mode of obtaining supplies. To such a pitch did the discontent and suffering of the country rise in the course of the following year, that insurrections, headed by the disbanded troops, broke out in several districts, two of which, organised in the town of Gibraltar, were only suppressed with considerable difficulty, and after a serious effusion of blood.

10. During these two years the inhabitants of Portugal, anxiously watch-

ing the progress of events in the neighbouring kingdom, and distracted by all its passions, underwent revolutions which parodied on a small scale the convulsions by which Spain had been shaken. The great revolt of the military in the isle of Leon in 1822, and overthrow of the Government by the soldiers headed by Riego, was immediately followed by a corresponding movement of the same kind in Portugal, which at once led to the overthrow of the Government. A constitution, precisely similar in all its parts to the ultra-democratic one established in Spain, was adopted by the Cortes in Lisbon, and proclaimed with great solemnity, and amidst general applause, in the capital, while the King was coerced and placed in a state of respectful imprisonment in his own palace. Unbounded joy in the whole Revolutionists followed this great success; they had now got the command of the sovereign, and all their usurpations and encroachments went on in his name. But the thorns were not long of showing themselves; and the establishment of a democratic constitution in the mother country produced the same severance of the colonies from Portugal which it had done in Spain. The members of the Cortes who represented Brazil, seven in number, declined to vote on or sign the constitution, alleging as a reason that they must, on a matter of such importance, await instructions from their constituents in South America. It soon appeared what these instructions were to be. No sooner did the citizens of Rio Janeiro and Bahia, the two chief towns of Brazil, receive accounts of the revolution at Lisbon, and the establishment of the Spanish constitution there, than they got up a revolution of their own, and formally abandoned their allegiance to the Crown of Portugal. They did not establish a republic, however, but declared the Prince Royal, Don Pedro, then viceroy of Brazil, Emperor, and convoked a Cortes of their own to frame a constitution suited to the wishes and interests of the colony, both of which were entirely disregarded by the re-

volutionists at Lisbon. This strong step was rested for its justification on the assertion that the King of Portugal, father of the new Emperor, was a prisoner in the hands of his own subjects, and was for that reason incapable of taking any legal step. The Government at Lisbon made some efforts to suppress the revolt, and sent out a considerable expedition to Bahia, which at first gained considerable successes. But at length, finding the sense of the country against them, and that the public feeling was unanimous for independence, the attempt to subjugate it was abandoned, and a convention entered into, in virtue of which the troops returned to Portugal, leaving the Brazilians to follow their own inclinations. The Emperor was immediately proclaimed, with great rejoicings and the utmost form, by the title of Don Pedro I., Emperor of Brazil. Thus the first effect of the great democratic movement, begun by Riego and his associates in the isle of Leon, was to lead to the severance of both the Spanish and Portuguese colonies from the mother country—an event of the utmost moment to both hemispheres, but more especially to Brazil, by delivering it from the democratic tyranny with which it was threatened, and establishing a constitutional monarchy for its government, the consequences of which have since stood forth in bright contrast to the devastation and misery which has ever since prevailed in the adjoining republics of South America.

11. As Portugal had followed Spain in the revolutionary movement which led to the overthrow of the Government and establishment of a democratic constitution in 1822, so it followed its more powerful neighbour equally closely in the reaction of the succeeding year. The whole great interests in the country were in a state of suffering in consequence of that convulsion. The separation from Brazil, which was now fully accomplished, had ruined commerce, by letting in the competition of the English mercantile adventurers. Credit was annihilated, the treasury was empty, the

soldiers without pay, agriculture languishing, and distress universal. As always happens in such cases, the very parties who had been the most active in bringing about this change were the first to suffer from its effects. The public revenue having been ruined by the separation of Brazil, and stoppage of commerce in consequence, the troops were without pay, and consequently on the verge of mutiny. In vain the Government tried to negotiate a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the revolutionary Government at Madrid; dread of a rupture, on the one hand, with England, if such a design were persisted in, or with France if it were abandoned, rendered the design abortive. So general did the discontent with the new regime soon become, that it led to open revolt which ended in a civil war. On the 23d February the Conde d'Amarante, a nobleman of great influence in the north of Portugal, published a proclamation from Villa-Real, the place of his birth, in which he called on the Portuguese to take up arms "to deliver their country from the yoke of the Cortes and the scourge of revolutions, religion from its enemies, and the King from captivity, and put him in a situation to be able to restore happiness and just laws to his people." This invitation was promptly responded to. On the day following he marched with a small body of his armed retainers to Chaves, where he was cordially received by the garrison, consisting of two regiments, and the whole population of the mountainous province of *Tras-os-Montes* joined him, along with a third regiment, with the utmost enthusiasm. He was soon at the head of 3000 soldiers, besides armed peasants of double that number; and with these forces, which were continually increasing, he advanced to the right bank of the Douro, on the left of which river Don Louis de Riego was stationed with 7000 men, chiefly militia. A series of obstinate conflicts ensued between these commanders with varied success; but, on the whole, the insurrection was firmly established in all the provinces to the north of the Douro, while the

Constitutionalists still retained the command in Oporto and everywhere to the south of that river.

12. This divided government, however, was not of long duration. The Liberal party and Cortes at Lisbon made the greatest efforts to raise and equip a respectable force to meet the Royalist invasion from the north; and as the greater part of the army was on their side, and had the strongest motives to support it, as they had brought about the Revolution, their defensive measures for a time kept the enemy at bay to the north of the Douro. The King on several occasions, in addresses to the Cortes, expressed his firm determination to uphold the constitution; and his second son, Don Miguel, the acknowledged head of the Royalist party, took the oath to observe it. But the Queen, endowed with a more masculine spirit than her son, refused to do so; and the knowledge of this division in the royal family tended to perpetuate a feeling of doubt and insecurity in the capital. Affairs soon came to a crisis. On the 27th May one of the regiments sent from Lisbon to join the army of observation in the north, revolted, and hoisted the Royalist colours; and on the same night Don Miguel effected his escape from the palace at the head of thirty cavaliers, and made straight for the quarters of this regiment, which he joined in safety at Villa-Franca. He immediately published a proclamation, calling on all faithful Portuguese to join him in rescuing the King and country from the shameful yoke which the Liberals had imposed on both. Meanwhile the Conde d'Amarante, being overmatched in the north, crossed the borders into Spain, and found Merino, a Royalist chief, in that quarter with four thousand men. But the march of events in the capital ere long became so rapid that the northern insurrection became of little moment. Immense was the sensation which the escape and proclamation of Don Miguel produced in Lisbon. An extraordinary meeting of the Cortes was assembled, who declared the country

in danger, and the attempts of the insurgents an effort to dethrone John VI., the best of kings. The supreme command in the capital was bestowed on General Supelerda; but suspicions were soon entertained of his fidelity, and he was only saved from being torn to pieces by the mob on the 29th June, when the whole garrison were under arms to celebrate the Fête Dieu. In the night he threw off the mask, and openly declared for Don Miguel. His example was immediately followed by several regiments stationed in the capital; and next morning he set out at the head of 2700 of the best troops in Lisbon for Santarem, where Don Miguel had fixed his headquarters, and where he was already joined by several of the chief persons in the kingdom.

13. Matters now soon came to a crisis. The Constitutionalists strove for some days to make head against the storm, and the King issued a proclamation against his son, in which he said that, "as a father, he would know how to pardon offences which, as a king, he was bound to punish." But the current had now become too violent to be by any means arrested. Don Miguel moved forward to within a few miles of the capital, where he was joined by nearly the whole remaining troops in it, and even by the minister himself. Deserted in this manner by the whole armed force on which they relied for their protection, the Cortes, which had now dwindled down to seventeen members, closed their sittings; the remainder had embarked for England or sought safety in flight. The King set out from his palace escorted by troops, who with the crowd shouted, "Viva el Rey Absoluto!" and directed his steps to Villa-Franca, where he was soon after found by Don Miguel, who threw himself at his feet and implored pardon. The King received him with kindness, and assured him of his favour: but the counter-revolution was complete, and only rendered the more so from its having now got possession of the reigning sovereign, and publishing proclamations and decrees in his

name. One was soon after issued which strongly inveighed against the faults and evils of the late democratic regime, but promised a constitution in conformity with ancient usage and the new rights of the age. This diffused general satisfaction, and caused the new Government to be universally acknowledged in the country. Encouraged by these flattering appearances, the King returned to Lisbon with great pomp, followed by Don Miguel on horseback, and amidst unanimous acclamations. But he was there little more than a state prisoner surrounded with the ensigns of royalty: the whole power rested with Don Miguel and the counter-revolutionists. This soon distinctly appeared in the state measures, which were still carried on in the name of the King. Don Miguel was appointed Generalissimo of the army; Count Palmella, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Don J. M. Pamplona Gomez, of the Interior—appointments which revealed unequivocally the Royalist influence which had become paramount. Thirty members of the Cortes were banished or deprived of their situations; and many foreigners of distinction who had long served in the army with éclat, particularly Sir R. Wilson, General Pepe, and Colonel Fabvier, were deprived of their appointments and sent back to their respective countries. This was a poor return for the exertions of men who, especially the first, had rendered eminent services to the country in the great war with France. But as these officers had thrown in their lot with that of the Revolutionists, they could not expect to be retained in office after they had been dispossessed; and to the glory of the Royalists be it said, this Restoration was unstained by human blood.

14. The King soon after his Restoration issued a decree from the palace of Bemporta, in which he announced the principles which were to regulate the Government of the Restoration. He took the title of King of Portugal, of the Algarves, and of *Brazil*; a designation which sufficiently proved that he was not disposed to acquiesce

in the secession of the transatlantic part of his dominions. He stigmatised the former Liberal constitution as “founded on vain theories, incompatible with ancient customs and the opinions and necessities of the Portuguese nation;” while at the same time it admitted that the “old institutions could no longer answer the interests of civilisation without some change.” In order to steer through these opposite difficulties, he proposed to issue a commission to fourteen members, with the Marquis Palmella at their head as chairman, to draw up a fundamental constitution in conformity with ancient usage, but adapted for modern requirements. The victory, however, of the Royalists was complete, and was soon evinced in the most unmistakable manner. Great rejoicings took place at Lisbon on occasion of the entrance of the Queen, who had always held out against the Cortes, in the course of which the Conde d’Amarante, who had first set on foot the insurrection, was created Marquis of Chaves, where it had commenced, and a medal was given to every officer and soldier of his little army of 3000 men which effected it, bearing the head of the King, and on the reverse the words, “Heroic Fidelity of the Tramontanists.” Though none of the persons involved in the preceding democratic revolution were brought to the scaffold, the measures of the police, which had fallen entirely into the hands of the absolutists, became every day more vexatious. But notwithstanding this, as the King and Don Miguel were to all appearance reconciled, and the Government was carried on ostensibly in the name of the former, there was no room for hesitation as to its recognition by foreign powers. The French were the first to send an ambassador to the King, and the person selected was M. Hyde de Neuville, who arrived on the 11th August, and had a private reception on the 14th of the same month. A few days after the Russian arrived, who brought the congratulations of the Emperor to the King and Don Miguel; and on 7th Septem-

ber Garter King-at-Arms came with the emblems of the Order of the Garter for the King, which he brought in the Windsor Castle, seventy-four, which were formally presented by the English ambassador, Sir Edward Thornton. Commissioners, towards the close of the year, were sent out to Brazil to endeavour to effect a reconciliation with the revolted colony, but they returned without effecting anything; and it was only by a loan of £1,500,000, contracted by the Government in London, that the daily expenses of the administration were provided for.

15. Although, however, the reactionary Government was in this manner, so far as outward appearances went, reconciled with the principal European powers, yet it may easily be believed that it was so more in appearance than reality, and that beneath all this seeming cordiality there lurked no small amount of enmity and distrust. This was in particular the case between the English Government and the Cabinet of Lisbon. It could not be otherwise, when what was going forward on the other side of the frontier is taken into consideration. The French army, under the Duke d'Angoulême, was rapidly traversing the Spanish territory, and establishing the influence of the Bourbons from the banks of the Bidassoa to the walls of Cadiz. The Royalist revolution in Portugal stood in the same line as this foreign-supported reaction in Spain, and Don Miguel was in principle as well as interest the ally of Charles X. Thus, both from principle and interest, the English Government was the ally of the Liberal party in Portugal as well as Spain; while, for the same reason, the French was the partisan of the Royalists. So strongly was this marked, and so universally understood, that the splendid embassies sent by France, Russia, and Great Britain were everywhere regarded as so many lures held out by these powers for the attainment of the political alliance which they all so much coveted.

16. Of these different suitors, however, England was at once the most powerful and the most sincere. By a singular combination of circumstances,

the natural result of the altered position of the European powers since the peace, *all* parties in the British empire were alike desirous of seeing representative institutions established in the Peninsula, and the French armies withdrawn from its territory. The Whigs and Liberals wished it, and were prepared to make any sacrifice to attain it, because they had a sympathy with freedom all over the world, and anticipated from the establishment of British institutions the same prosperity in foreign nations with which they were surrounded in their own. The Tories were not less desirous of it, for the invasion of the French defeated the traditional policy of Great Britain in regard to the Peninsula during two centuries, and threatened to restore French influence in a region where, to resist it, Marlborough had combated and Wellington had conquered. The Radicals were equally zealous in the cause. They beheld the Liberal party both in Spain and Portugal in arms against the King, and that was sufficient to make them their friends; for they are the supporters of every revolution except that which is directed against a republican government. Though last not least, the moneyed interest were the warm supporters of the revolutionary party in both kingdoms of the Peninsula, for they had advanced them loans to a great extent both in Europe and America, and they had a mortal dread of repudiation if the Royalists in either were restored to unshackled power. They put every possible engine in motion, in consequence, to further the designs of the Liberals in both the Peninsular monarchies; and to effect that they commenced and sedulously maintained a systematic series of abusive articles in the public newspapers against both Ferdinand VII. and Don Miguel. So powerful was their influence, and the weight of these concurring causes, that, as was afterwards the case in regard to the Reform Bill, they produced a "chaos of unanimity" from parties the most opposed to each other in general policy in the whole British monarchy; and when Mr Brougham made his cele-

brated declamation against the French invasion of Spain in May 1823, it was not easy to say whether he was most loudly cheered by the ultra-Tories or the ultra-Radicals, the Ministerialists or the representatives of the Stock Exchange.

17. It was not in the nature of things that this remarkable unanimity in the British House of Commons on the subject of the Spanish and Portuguese Revolutions should not produce a marked effect on both countries. England was the power to which all nations struggling for freedom naturally looked for countenance and support; and the spectacle of the House of Commons exhibiting so warm an interest in the independence and freedom of the Peninsula, gave the utmost encouragement to the Liberal party in both countries. In Portugal this effect was peculiarly strong, alike from the long-continued alliance which had existed between the two countries, the identity of feeling and interest which had been produced by commercial connection, and the recent and efficacious aid which Great Britain had afforded them, both in the prolonged strife with Napoleon during the revolutionary war, and still more lately on occasion of the invasion of Spain by the armies of Charles X. These feelings were in a peculiar manner strong in Oporto and Lisbon, from the close commercial connection which had so long subsisted between the former city and the British, and the infusion of liberal and independent ideas which had taken place in the latter, from the combined residence of the English troops during the war, and the influence of their diplomacy since the peace. For the British Government, with Mr Canning in the direction of foreign affairs, with reason jealous of the formidable interference of France in the affairs of Spain, lost no opportunity of strengthening themselves by liberal connection in the neighbouring kingdom, and laying a foundation in political alliances for the contest which they anticipated at no distant period with their ancient and again formidable enemy.

18. The combined influence of these causes ere long appeared in a fresh political convulsion in Lisbon. The Government, which was entirely in the hands of Don Miguel, the commander of the armed forces, had unhappily departed from the large professions of moderation and forgiveness with which the King had inaugurated his renewed accession to the throne, and several decrees and proclamations had been addressed to the army which presaged too clearly a return to a system of terror and cruelty. Arrests became frequent, the police redoubled their vigilance, the prisons were now filled to overflowing. The sect of Freemasons, who had lent their secret sign and organisation, in direct opposition to the principles of their fraternity, to the spread and furtherance of seditious preparations, were the object of especial anxiety to the police, and the most savage denunciations on the part of the Government. These violent and unjustifiable proceedings had immediately the effect of strengthening the hands of the Liberal, and proportionally lessening the strength of the Royalist party. The results were soon apparent. Veiled under the cloak of secret societies, which in recent times have become so formidable an engine of revolution in the principal European states, a widespread insurrection was organised, having for its objects to get quit of Don Miguel, and restore the Cortes and the Liberal regime. The King, who had long found himself superseded in authority, and virtually a prisoner in his own palace, was fully inclined to go into these measures; but towards the effecting of this object it was indispensable that he should regain his personal freedom, as, till that was done, all the tyrannical measures of the Royalists were conducted in the name of the Sovereign. A proclamation was issued on the 30th April, in the name of Don Miguel, in which he "deplored that the nation had not derived the advantages from the day of 27th May 1823 which had been expected from it; that the King was surrounded by the factious, and constantly oppressed; that the ma-

sonic clubs were still permitted, justice neglected, agriculture ruined, taxes increased, commerce depressed, and all that by the fault of the secret societies, the infernal race of which should be utterly extirpated." Still, however, the King was in their hands; but after several ineffectual attempts at escape, he succeeded in getting off under pretence of going by sea to hear mass in one of the royal country-houses on the sea-coast, with the princesses his daughters, and some of the courtiers devoted to his person. No sooner had they pushed off from the shore than, on a signal given, they suddenly changed direction, and, swiftly impelled by the oars of a hundred and twenty rowers, made straight for the Windsor Castle, which lay at some distance in the river. The rapidity of their motion defied pursuit. When they approached the English squadron, the boats of the fleet, with the crews fully armed, stood out to receive him and repel any attack; and the moment the King stepped on the quarterdeck the royal standard was hoisted, and all the fleet with royal honours sailed past his Majesty.

19. These alternate successes of the Liberal and Royalist parties proved that the nation was not inspired with the generous love of freedom, but that they were the struggles of two political parties of nearly equal strength, and alike indifferent to the public welfare, provided they could seat themselves in power. But it soon appeared that the Liberals, who were now again in the ascendant, had stronger support both in the influential classes at home and in the alliance of the adjacent states. Next day the whole ambassadors of foreign powers came on board the Windsor Castle, where his Majesty reposed under the broad shadow of the flag of Great Britain, and tendered the warmest assurances of their sympathy and regard. Encouraged by this support, the King issued a decree, in which, alleging as a reason the youth and inexperience of Don Miguel and his inability to conduct the Government, he was deprived of the command of the army and all

his military governments, his movement was stigmatised as rebellion, though it was ascribed to the influence of evil counsellors, not his own depraved disposition. But as his power was at an end, it was wisely judged that his presence could be well dispensed with; and accordingly he was on the 13th despatched on board the French frigate *La Porte*, which conveyed him in safety to Brest. From thence he proceeded to Paris, where he was received in the most distinguished manner by Charles X. The King, now liberated from all restraint, after having received deputations and promise of support from the principal public bodies of the state, left the Windsor Castle amidst the roar of artillery, and landed at the arsenal, from whence he repaired amidst universal acclamation to the royal palace of Bemporta. The Queen was sent off to the Chateau of Quiluz, and the Archbishop of Lisbon to Busaco.

20. The revolution was now complete, and it was followed by a partial change in the Ministry, by the Archbishop of Evora, a noted Liberal, being made Minister of the Interior. The English influence, which had been in abeyance ever since the revolt of Don Miguel in the preceding year, was completely reinstated by the fortunate result of this bold and well-concocted evasion on the part of the King, the success of which proved that, in the metropolis at least, the Liberal party had a decided majority, as well in influence as in numbers. The general satisfaction was increased by a decree, which appeared a few months afterwards, which restored the ancient constitution of Portugal; according to which the Cortes was to consist of the clergy, the nobles, and the Tiers Etat, each elected according to the old form. This was accompanied by what professed to be a general amnesty for all political offences, up to the 5th June in the preceding year. But from this were excepted those who had been implicated in the insurrection at Oporto, who were banished from the kingdom; the military officers who had fomented the revolution in Brazil, and obliged the King to

swear to the revolutionary constitution of the Cortes; and those who in the Traz-os-Montes had opposed the Conde d'Amarante, or in the Cortes expressed themselves disrespectfully of the King or Queen. These exceptions were so numerous that they took away almost entirely the grace of the gift; and the discontent in consequence became so general, especially in the army, which had taken so decided a part in favour of Don Miguel in the late convulsions, that the Government, despairing of internal resources to meet the difficulties with which they were surrounded, made a formal application to the English Cabinet for succour; and for some time the idea was entertained of sending out 8000 Hanoverians to support the Portuguese Government. But this plan was wisely rejected, both as it would require the consent of the Germanic Diet, which the British Government were by no means certain of obtaining, and as the existing treaties with Portugal only bound England to assist them in case of danger from a foreign power, not from internal commotions. It was determined, therefore, to decline the assistance of a land force, but to strengthen the British squadron in the Tagus, in order, in any event, to secure an asylum for the King, which was accordingly done.

21. While Portugal was undergoing these alternate elevations of the opposite parties to the direction of affairs, Spain was in still more difficult circumstances. For, in addition to the vehement strife of parties which was so strong in Portugal, its Government laboured under the triple curse of a restoration effected by foreign bayonets, the known disaffection of nearly the whole army, and the utter impossibility of effecting any foreign loan till the revolutionary debt contracted by the Cortes was recognised, which the straitened circumstances of the exchequer since the South American revolt rendered altogether impossible. Spain paid nearly as dearly for its restoration by foreign arms, in proportion to its resources, as France had done. The Cabinet of Madrid was com-

pelled to sign a treaty acknowledging a debt of 34,000,000 francs (£1,400,000) to France for the expenses of the Duke d'Angoulême's expedition, and to submit to have its principal towns occupied by 45,000 French soldiers, to be fed, clothed, and lodged at the expense of the French Government, with the exception of 2,000,000 francs a-month which Spain undertook to provide for. This burden was to continue till the 1st January 1825. The situation of Spain at this time was so miserable that it could not undertake any additional obligation. The remains of the constitutional army which had opposed the French, disbanded, shunned by their countrymen, and reduced to the last stage of misery, were compelled to form companies or bands which lived at free quarters on the inhabitants; while the want of discipline in the Royalist volunteers in many places led to similar excesses. The Government was not less straitened. Deprived of half their revenue by the South American revolt, and destitute of credit from the repudiation of the Cortes bonds, it had no resource but in borrowing largely from the capitalists of Spain itself, who were all Liberal in their politics; and this led to a forbearance on the part of Government to that party, which so disconcerted the extreme Royalists, that they openly talked of dethroning the King, and placing his younger brother and heir, DON CARLOS, on the throne, who was known to be more favourable to their extreme views. Thence the name of *Carlists*, which in the sequel acquired a mournful distinction in the civil war which followed. To make head against so many difficulties the Cabinet had no resource but the rude one of force. Two decrees were in consequence promulgated within a few days of each other, which distinctly portrayed the terrors of the Government and the course which, under a Royalist Cabinet, they were about to pursue. By the first a general police was established in the country, who had special instructions to seize all journals, books, and pamphlets on the frontier having a republican tendency;

while the second, which proceeded on the preamble of "the existence of armed bands on the principal roads and highways, who plundered the country, and diffused everywhere in-vectives against the throne and the church," decreed that the factious should everywhere be pursued, and in an especial manner denounced the partisans of the revolution of 1812 and the democratic constitution which it had established, and all who supported it in word, writings, or actions.

22. For several years after this period the annals of Spain present nothing but a series of struggles between the two parties, which terminated in nothing decisive, and had no other effect but to inflame the passions of the inhabitants, and weaken the strength of the executive by which they could be restrained. Volumes would be required to detail these numerous intrigues and ministerial changes, during the course of which the Government was in such penury that it was only carried on by the aid of £5,000,000 borrowed from its own subjects between its restoration in October 1823 and September 1830. Considerable as this sum was, it was little more than a *fourth* of what the Liberal Government of the Cortes had borrowed in the three years they were in power, from September 1820 to October 1823.* Meanwhile the country was distracted by continual conflicts between the new Royalist volunteers, aided by the rural population, and the old soldiers of the Cortes, supported by the mobs in the principal towns. The Government, from the date of the revolution, had made the utmost efforts to raise a respectable Royalist force by means of volunteers from the rural districts, and they had visions of augmenting their army to 300,000 men. But the "sober

sad reality," which alone was found practicable, fell miserably short of these anticipations. The excessive penury of the exchequer, owing to the causes already mentioned, rendered all their efforts nearly abortive. The utmost that they were enabled to do was to get together 80,000 men; and this force, scattered over a country of such extent and difficult access as Spain, was wholly inadequate to maintain the public tranquillity in all quarters. As usual in cases of civil dissension, when the passions in the same country are strongly excited, the violence of the followers on both sides soon came to outstrip altogether that of the chiefs. The Royalist mobs shouted, "Vive le Roi absolu ! Mort aux Negros !" (Liberals); the Liberals retorted in as loud strains, "Vive la Constitution ! Mort au Roi et à la Religion."

23. The violence of the civil broils which had now come so fatally to disturb the peace of Spain, was much increased by the unfortunate circumstance of the two neighbouring powers embracing opposite sides in the strife, and lending their support to the contending parties. Great Britain, under the Liberal foreign administration of Mr Canning, and, after his death, of the Duke of Wellington, lent its aid to the Liberal party: France, under the reactionary Government of Charles X., inclined to the Royalist side. M. Zea Bermudez was the Prime Minister who was first installed in power after the French invasion was over; and the object of his policy was to pursue a moderate course which might heal the wounds which were bleeding in all parts of the country, and, if possible, restore the finances and organise a respectable and well-affected military force for the protection of Government and the suppression of the disorders which distracted the country. But in

* The foreign debt contracted by the Cortes from Sept. 1820 to Oct. 1823 was £19,000,000

Contracted by the King from Oct. 1823 to Sept. 1830, 5,000,000

Foreign debt paid off by Cortes, None.

Do. by their King, 1,000,000

Interest paid on the domestic debt by the Cortes, None.

Since the Restoration, Paid regularly.

Yearly expenditure by the Cortes, 6,608,033

Do. since the Restoration, 4,197,732

revolutionary periods there is nothing so hateful to the exalted spirits on either side as forbearance and toleration. The Ministry of M. Zea with difficulty kept possession of the helm during the years 1825 and 1826: but he was overthrown at length by the effects of a humane measure which he was desirous of passing. This was a general amnesty for all political offences from the 7th March 1820 to the 1st October 1823, during which the revolutionary party were in power. This measure was with some difficulty passed by the Council of State, but it was strongly opposed by the Council of Castile, the most important deliberative body in the abeyance of the Cortes in the kingdom. As M. Zea continued to press the measure in the Council of State, several changes took place in the administration; and on 19th April a decree appeared, which, in lieu of the general amnesty which was so anxiously looked for, declared the firm resolution of the King to admit of no transaction with the revolutionists, and maintain inviolate the whole ancient constitution.

24. It was perfectly understood that these decided measures were a declaration of a *guerre à la mort* against revolutionists and innovators of all descriptions. It drove the Liberals accordingly into measures of open revolt. To counteract their design, a permanent Junta "*de sûreté publique*" was established, composed of the highest persons in the realm, with the Duke del Infantado at its head, and they soon discovered evidence of a conspiracy of a wholly different character, and far more formidable complexion, than had been anticipated. This was an association of a number of nobles, bishops, and other leading persons in the kingdom, including a great number of the members of the Council of Castile, the object of which was to displace the King as not being sufficiently *ultra* for the crisis, and to put Don Carlos, the next heir, on the throne in his stead. With these were combined other designs of the most violent character, among which were, to press the evacuation of the territory by the French

troops, to re-establish the Inquisition, restore to the clergy all the property of which they had been despoiled during the ascendancy of the Liberal party, and confiscate for the indemnification of the Royalists the property of all those who had taken a part against them in the preceding convulsions. This conspiracy had very extensive ramifications, and embraced many persons of the very highest consideration, both in point of rank and fortune, in the kingdom. It was ascertained that they had already distributed 200,000 reals (£2000) among the regiments of the Royal Guard at Madrid, a considerable part of which was gained over to their side; and so audacious did they become that a seditious placard of ominous character was found in the morning affixed to the gates of the Ministers' hotels. At length on the 17th August the insurrections broke out. General Bessuris, who was its military chief, gave the signal for a general rising by setting out in the night at the head of several companies of the disaffected Guards from Madrid, and marched towards Torrija, where he issued a proclamation, calling on all faithful Spaniards to join him in delivering the King from the faction which held him in fetters, and raised the cry, "Vive la Religion! Vive le Roi absolu! Vive la Sainte Inquisition! Mort aux Ministres! Mort à tous les étrangers!"

25. No words can paint the consternation which seized upon the King, and the whole royal party around the palace, when intelligence of these alarming and unexpected events was brought to St Ildefonso, where the Court was then sitting. The revolt having broken out among those esteemed the most faithful supporters of the Crown, they did not at first know on whom to rely, or where they were to turn for assistance. In the midst of the general consternation, however, Bermúdez retained his presence of mind, and acted with the decision which so often in civil conflicts secures victory to the audacious party. He instantly directed every disposable sabre and bayonet on Torrija; and the in-

surgents, seeing the Royalist part of the Guards advancing against them, lost heart, and began to drop off. Alarmed at these discouraging symptoms, Bessuris was obliged to retire by mountain-paths towards Aragon, where he had promises of support. But although his little band was in the course of his march recruited by some hundred volunteers, who joined his standard shouting "Vive le Roi absolu! Vive la Sainte Inquisition!" they did not arrive in sufficient numbers to enable him to make head against the King's forces, which were now closing in upon him in all directions. At length he was taken prisoner, with nearly all his followers, and they were executed on the 26th August, protesting, with their last breath, their devotion to their King and country. They all declared that they had taken up arms, not against the King, whom they would lay down their lives for, but the foreign faction which held him in durance vile. A few days before, several persons had been arrested at Madrid on the charge of being accessory to the rebellion—among others, the Marquis de Cardonas, a grandee of Spain, M. Gordon, secretary of the Council of Castile, and the far-famed guerilla, Don Juan Martin, who, under the name of the *Empecinado*, had been so distinguished in the war with Napoleon. He snatched a musket from one of his guards on his way to the scaffold, and had nearly escaped; but having been again seized, he underwent his sentence with undaunted fortitude.

26. The suppression of this ultra-Royalist revolt is a turning-point in Spanish modern history, and marks the commencement of a different arrangement of parties from any which had yet taken place. Hitherto the conflict had been between the Revolutionists and the Royalists—between the votaries of the new and the supporters of the ancient order of things—the proselytes to the democratic constitution of 1812 and the partisans of the ancient statutes and customs of the realm. But now, in consequence of the violence of the ultra-Royalists, and the known weakness and vacillation of the

King, a new combination presented itself, and the extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of the supporters of "El Rey absoluto" appearing in arms against the Sovereign, surrounded as he was by the extreme democrats, who under Riego had five years before overturned the monarchy. Such a combination is not unknown in countries which have been long tormented by the revolutionary passions, in whom the maxim, "Extremes meet," is often practically exemplified. But it was somewhat different here: the insurrection of Bessuris was against Ferdinand VII. because he was suspected of leaning too much to his old antagonists the Liberals, and his minister, Bermudez-Zea, was regarded as a wolf in sheep's clothing. As it was, however, this ultra-Royalist attempt and failure greatly strengthened the party of the King, and gave a new complexion to the troubles in the Peninsula. Henceforth the struggle was not between the Crown and the Republicans, but between the partisans of the old monarchy and the Sovereign at the head of the advocates of a modified revolutionary government.

27. The Ministerialists made a cruel use of their victory. Great numbers of persons were imprisoned and brought to trial at Madrid, and the result was that a very great proportion were convicted and sentenced to punishments of extreme severity, considering the trifling nature of the accusations brought against them.* At the same time numerous arrests of the Liberal chiefs took place at Seville and throughout Andalusia, as if to show the impartiality of the Ministerial party at Madrid. It was soon felt, however, by the Government, that of the two the ultra-

* The indictments and punishments stood thus:—

Indicted,	546
Convicted and transported,	25
Imprisoned for life in a fort,	1
Sent to the galleys,	60
Flogged,	8
Sent to police courts,	22
Found liable in expenses,	191
Sent to a convent,	1
Dismissed,	233
	— 546

—Ann. Hist., viii. 476.

Royalists were the more formidable, and by far the most numerous party; and several insurrections on their side in Valencia and La Mancha, though without concert, and easily suppressed, demonstrated how widely their principles were spread through the rural population. Sensible of this, and desirous, if possible, of reuniting the ultra-Royalists to the Ministerial standard, the Ministers ventured on a decided step. To the astonishment of all the world, a decree suddenly appeared on the 24th October 1825, which "relieved" M. Bermudez-Zea of his functions as Prime Minister, and bestowed them on the Duke del Infantado. This was intended to allay the apprehensions of the ultra-Royalists, as the Duke was the acknowledged head of their party. But it had this effect only for a very short time. It was soon discovered that the change made no real difference in the policy of Government, and the majority in the Cabinet remained on the other side. None of the sweeping measures of confiscation, dismissal, and restitution which the *Ultras* deemed necessary for the public security were adopted; their chiefs kept aloof in silent hostility; their old jealousy of the moderate Liberals speedily revived, and before the new Minister had been a month in office he was as much the object of distrust as M. Bermudez-Zea had ever been.

28. Such was the mutual exasperation of the parties in Spain at each other during this year and the three following, and so entire their devotion to their separate interests and disregard of the public weal, that tranquillity could never be said to be entirely restored in the country. The embers of revolt, either on the ultra-Liberal or the ultra-Royalist side, were always on the point of breaking out. Catalonia was, in an especial manner, the theatre of their machinations. This great province, abounding in mountains inhabited by a bold and loyal peasantry, great part of whom had become inured to a life of adventure by habits of smuggling, was the natural focus of the discontent. The first appearance of regular insurrection

was in 1825, when an attempt was made to seize Tortosa, which failed. In 1826 fresh symptoms of discontent appeared, and a second attempt was made on Tortosa, which was again unsuccessful; but the disturbances extended to Peníscola. Next year the insurrection assumed more formidable dimensions, and under two active guerilla leaders, Frollet and Hobet, assumed the character of a national movement. They issued a proclamation in which they declared that their object was "to relieve the King from the captivity in which he was held." Though often defeated, these bands continued to maintain their ground; and having concentrated in the hills in the districts of Manresa, Valls, and Gerona, they descended into the plains of Catalonia, and levied contributions. Baron d'Erolles was generally supposed to be no stranger to these commotions, and there is little doubt that their ulterior object was to raise Don Carlos to the throne instead of Ferdinand VII., who was considered as being entirely in the hands of the Liberals. The insurgents went so far as to establish a regency, and set up a newspaper entitled the *Catalonian Royalist*. On 9th September a proclamation was issued from their commander, breathing the fiercest hostility against the Liberals, who were accused of keeping the King in captivity, but still professing the warmest loyalty to his Majesty.* The

* "Long live the King! Catalonians who love the King and obey his sovereign decrees, do not believe that the troops already raised follow the cause or will ever embrace the party of the Liberals, as some would make you believe. No, never! our glorious object is, that our well-beloved monarch, Ferdinand VII., should be delivered from the infamous freemasons who, by artifice and cunning, have usurped the government. In vain has his Majesty dictated the several decrees as to military purifications, with orders to examine most rigorously into the reports. It has been all in vain. Civil and military officers have obtained appointments without undergoing any purification, while Royalists have been dismissed from their places with the most unblushing effrontery. How many orders has his Majesty issued for the execution of these decrees, and particularly for the punishment of the revolutionists, and indemnifying, in preference to all other things, the towns

success which at first attended these efforts on the part of the Royalists was great. Igualada was taken, and its fortifications repaired; bands of insurgents were raised at Montaban, Cervera, and other places; and 24,000 men were soon in arms in the province. So formidable did the insurrection become, that forces were directed against it from all quarters, and the King put himself at their head. By these means, and by the vigour and activity of the Conde d'España, who commanded the Royal forces in that quarter, the insurrection was at length put down, but not without a dreadful effusion of blood. Military courts were everywhere established, which sentenced the insurgents with unheard-of rapidity; and such was the wholesale slaughter of the captives after all resistance had ceased, that the cause of legitimacy was in that province drowned in blood, and never again made head in the subsequent troubles which ensued.

29. As the King, although he had been thrice married, had no family, and was now advanced in life, the succession to the crown became daily a greater object of anxiety to the contending parties. This was much enhanced by the knowledge that the King's younger brother, and the heir-apparent to the throne, was the avowed head of the aristocratic party; and that it was surmised that several of the most zealous Royalists entertained the design, from an impression of the King having fallen into the hands of the Liberals, of supplanting him, even

and villages for the damage and loss they have sustained in defence of the just cause! All this has been done in vain; the Royalists have been exposed to derision and to the most cruel persecutions, and the Constitutionalists have enjoyed favour and protection, while the advances made for the just cause are entirely forgotten. The Constitutionalists have been employed; the Royalists dismissed. These are the motives which have caused us to take up arms for our beloved monarch. The sound part of the army is animated by the same sentiments. Two hundred thousand Royalists, who have been despised and persecuted by the infamous men who manage the Government, are our companions in arms, ready to conquer or die with glory."—*Proclamation of September 1827; Moniteur, 19th September.*

while yet in life, by his junior and more aristocratic brother. The Liberals did their utmost to spread this idea, and foment the divisions in the Court and royal family, by everywhere giving out that Don Carlos was the head of a treasonable conspiracy to dethrone the reigning sovereign. For this purpose they prepared and widely circulated placards, professing to come from Royalist chiefs, inculcating those treasonable designs.* These proclamations were written in London by persons in the interest of the Liberal party, but they had failed in rousing any corresponding efforts in Catalonia. Not a trace of any such design was discovered on the examination of the prisoners, above a thousand in number in Catalonia alone, who were examined before a commission accorded to Don Carlos at his earnest request, in order to sift the truth of these calumnious charges. But meanwhile the spreading of the report worked out the desired result by sowing distrust between the two royal brothers, and throwing the adherents of the Court without reserve into the arms of the Liberals, from an idea that they were their only barrier against a fearful Royalist reaction on the demise of the reigning sovereign and the accession of his Conservative brother to the throne.

30. This danger, from the declining state of the King's health, and the non-appearance of any issue from the Queen, appeared to the advanced Liberals, who aimed at the restoration of the democratic constitution of 1812, so alarming, that they resolved on a general rising in different parts of the kingdom while the reins of power were still in the feeble hands of Ferdinand VII. The prime movers of this conspiracy were no longer the Carlist or Church party, but the violent revolutionists who had been in exile in Lon-

* The author has one of these papers before him, styled "Manifesto," addressed to the Spanish people by a federation of pure Royalists on the state of the nation, and the necessity of raising to the throne his "Most Serene Highness the Infanta Don Carlos." The paper was in 1826 written in London by well-known parties, and printed in Spanish and English.—WALTON, i. 363, note.

don or Paris since their defeat in 1823 by the French invasion, and who were stimulated to fresh efforts by the numerous moneyed men in both capitals, who, having advanced large sums to the Liberal Government after their seizure of power in 1820, saw no prospect of regaining their money but by the restoration of a democratic Government which should recognise the loans of the Cortes, and restore the lavish contraction of debt and profuse expenditure of their Liberal predecessors. Everything promised success to such an attempt; for not only was the King notoriously inconstant and irresolute, but the extreme penury of the exchequer kept the Government in a state of chronic weakness. Mina, of long-established fame in the Peninsular war, was at the head of this movement, which began along the whole Pyrenean frontier in September 1829, and was headed by Mina himself, Valdez, Mendez, Vigo, and others of lesser note. Mina issued, on 1st October, a proclamation, as General-in-chief, in which he called on all his countrymen to join him in restoring the liberties of their country, adding, "The moment a glimpse of hope presented itself for the liberation of our country, I put myself in motion." Great were the expectations formed of the success of this enterprise; and the invasion was pompously announced as likely to lead to the entire regeneration of the Peninsula in the English journals who were influenced by the holders of the Cortes bonds. At the same time General Torrijos, a noted Liberal leader, issued at the head of some hundred men from Gibraltar; and a part of the garrison of Cadiz revolted, and, having got possession of a gate, made their escape and joined the insurgents. They were soon met, however, by the King's troops, routed, and driven into the Sierra Biorriga, a range of mountains to the west of Malaga, where they maintained themselves amidst rugged fastnesses for some years longer, under Manzanares, until March 1831, when he was taken and executed, and what remained of his band finally dispersed.

31. The King's party made a cruel use of their double victory; and now began the atrocious system of massacres in cold blood after the conflict was over, which is the usual and melancholy attendant on civil conflicts, but has in every age been more painfully prevalent in Spain than in any other European state. It was hard to say whether the edge of the executioner's axe fell most heavily on the Carlists after their defeat in Catalonia, or the Liberals, after the dispersion of their bands in the succeeding year. The executions were so numerous that no special enumeration of them is practicable. Twenty-nine were shot in cold blood at Olot, nine officers at Barcelona, and the whole of their subalterns sent to the galleys. The Captain-general, after these melancholy punishments, announced in a proclamation to the Catalonians "that the sword of justice had fallen on the heads of those convicted of high treason. May the cannon which has announced the punishment of the guilty resound in the ears of their associates, and the infamous revolutionists, who, issuing from the territory of a neighbouring power, have dared to profane the territory of the King our lord." This measure, however, did not prevent an insurrection soon after in Rugierde, with the device, "Union y fueror," which was dispersed without difficulty; and soon after, a freemason's lodge having been discovered at Barcelona, the grand-master was hanged, and the whole members of the lodge, who were almost all French and Italian revolutionists, were sent to the galleys.

32. It affords a clear proof how alien the democratic constitution of 1812 was to the general wishes and interests of the country, that even the advanced Liberals, who also at this time took up arms for the cause of democracy, no longer ventured to make its re-establishment their battle-cry to rouse the country. On the contrary, they expressly disclaimed it. Torrijos was careful to assure his countrymen,—“We do not seek to re-establish the constitution of 1812, being uncer-

tain whether it is that which at this time the nation wishes to re-establish; we do not consider it lawful to anticipate its decisions, nor does it become us to do more than submit to that which it may determine to be best." In truth the Spaniards were not contending with each other for any abstract idea; still less were any of them animated by the generous love of freedom. No provisions for liberty were ever demanded in any of their proclamations; no complaints of its want ever made. It was the substantial advantages of power which they all desired—it was the disposal of the civil and military offices under Government which they coveted. The strife was much the same, and conducted for the same objects, as the Parliamentary struggle in the British Islands, with this difference—and it was a most essential one—that the agents of the conflict were not civil parties, but armed bands; and the victory was gained, not by decisions in the House of Commons, but by battles in the field. But the strife was only on that account the more infuriated; for warlike passions came to be joined to pacific ambition, and revenge for blood shed on the scaffold roused men to fearful and unrelenting deeds of retaliation.

33. Notwithstanding this, and despite the angry passions which were awakened on both sides in the course of this long-protracted struggle, it is probable, from the vast preponderance in point of numbers of the Conservative party, that it would have been terminated with the French invasion in 1823, were it not for the circumstance, eminently disastrous, that the Peninsula continued for fifteen years after that event to be the battlefield in which the rival parties in Europe contending for the mastery met and encountered each other. France, still tranquil under the Bourbon rule, gave no token of the violent explosion which in 1830 precipitated them from the throne; and Germany and Italy, if not altogether contented, were, in the mean time at least, quiet. But in Spain and Portugal the contending

parties in Europe were in presence of each other, and almost constantly in arms. Animated by passions as strong, and separated by diversities as insurmountable, as ever were the Goths and the Moors in the same land in former days, the Democrats and the Autocrats, or the *Progressistas* and *Serviles*, as they were named in the country, stood aloof in separate groups, and eyed each other with scarcely disguised hostility. Each was supported by a powerful party in the other European states, and hopes were entertained for either of the most sanguine kind by their respective partisans. The constitution of 1812 and a pure democracy was the war-cry of the one party, composed almost entirely of the citizens of the great towns: "Viva el Rey absoluto!" resounded not less loudly from the ranks of the other. The Emperors of Russia and Austria, and Charles X. in France, cordially coalesced with the latter, and in secret supported them by remittances of money; the whole revolutionary and republican party in Europe were the zealous and efficient allies of the former. The Court of Rome, regarding the Peninsula as its peculiar appanage, was zealous in the cause of the Conservatives, and its influence, through the priests in the rural districts, was very powerful. But it was neutralised, and more than neutralised, in all the fortresses and fastnesses of power, by the active exertions of the capitalists of London and Paris, who had no chance of securing dividends on their stock but by the restoration of the democratic Government.* This

* The loans contracted between 1820 and 1823 by the revolutionary Government were as follows:—

In London,	1800,000,000 reals, or	£18,000,000
In Paris,	600,000,000 reals, or	6,000,000

£24,000,000

—*Ann. Hist.*, xii. 460, note.

The efforts which the holders of this stock, who were for the most part ardent young Republicans, made to resuscitate the strife in Spain wherever it seemed to be likely to die a natural death, were astonishing. Enormous exaggeration, incessantly repeated, in the daily press, was the great engine, and it was worked with surprising effect. In allusion to the last invasion of Spain by the Liberals from France, one London journal observed:

powerful and active party were indefatigable in their endeavours to restore the revolutionary regime, in direct opposition to the wishes of nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the country; and by means of the Liberal press, which they had everywhere at their command, they succeeded in prolonging the strife, and imprinting on it a savage character long after the time when, but for their efforts, it would have been terminated by the final triumph of the Conservative party.

34. Such was the state of parties in Spain, and such the divisions in the country, when an event occurred which, in its ultimate effects, united two of the sections of the community into one, and gave such an impulse to the Liberal party as enabled them, after a fierce and sanguinary civil war, to impose, by foreign aid, their domination on the country. On the 17th May 1829, Marie-Joseph Amelie, Queen of Spain, a princess of the most amiable disposition, of the house of Saxony, expired, being then only in her twenty-sixth year. As the King had no family, speculation immediately was rife as to her successor, especially on the part of the Liberals, who dreaded nothing so much as the accession of the heir-apparent, Don Carlos, the King's younger brother, to the throne. Under their influence, which was quite predominant at the Court, negotiations for a fourth marriage of the

King were immediately set on foot; and on the 7th September a marriage-contract was signed at Naples between his Majesty and the Princess Maria-Christina, second daughter of the King of Naples, then in her twenty-fourth year. This formed the second marriage between the royal families of Spain and Naples, the young princess being the daughter of the King of Naples and the Infanta, Isabella of Spain, and consequently niece of the reigning sovereign of that country. The bride was accompanied by her father, who brought her by land to Madrid, where she was received with extraordinary pomp by Ferdinand VII., who was enchanted with her person, and the marriage was publicly solemnised on the day following. Great rejoicings followed this apparently auspicious event in all parts of Spain; but no imagination could prefigure the mournful scenes of slaughter and devastation of which it was the herald to the country.

35. The marriage of the King being over, the public interest was soon after much enhanced by the announcement that the Queen was pregnant. This intelligence excited in the highest degree the hopes and expectations of both parties: the Liberals being hopeful for a son, which would continue the influence they already had at Court; the Legitimists wishing for a daughter, who, being incapable of succeeding by the established law of succession, would leave the throne to their chief, Don Carlos. As the time of her *accouchement* drew near, the public anxiety, distracted between hope and fear, became so great as to be almost insupportable. The Queen soon became the life and soul of the Government. Independent of her important and interesting situation as the probable mother of their future sovereign, the new Queen was a woman of very remarkable abilities, and endowed with that mixture of ambition and love of intrigue which constitutes the most efficient and formidable head of a party. Her personal charms were such as in any rank would have rendered her an object of admiration, and

"Mina will not enter Spain without a strong conviction of the probability of success; but if he should enter, such is the charm of his name on Spanish ears, that a few days, we would imagine, will be sufficient to induce the King to convene the Cortes, and use other proper means to prevent a civil war." The *Times* observed at the same time: "The train has long been laid, and is waiting only for the match. It is in the heart of Spain, and in towns and provinces from north to south, that the movement towards a constitution works onwards, the Pyrenees being but a gate, through which the exiles join their countrymen every hour."—*Times*, Aug. 4, 1829. When Mina entered the country in pursuance of these boasts, the Liberals were only able to bring 1500 Spaniards and 800 foreigners of all nations into the field, and they never penetrated more than a few leagues into the Spanish territory.—WALTON, i. 371.

in a sovereign extended infinitely her influence. It was much augmented by the declining health and rapidly sinking mental powers of the King, who was now advanced in years, and whose disposition, at all times prone to favouritism, had now brought him into such a state of dependence on the young Queen, as rendered her influence for good or for evil altogether paramount. This state of matters, joined to the high character and general popularity of Don Carlos, the existing heir-apparent, led to a most important step, attended with lasting consequences to both the kingdoms in the Peninsula, and on the general policy and balance of power in Europe.

36. By the old law of Spain, as of the other monarchies of Europe, although males had the preference, yet there was no fixed or invariable exclusion of females from the succession to the throne. Instances were not wanting of queens having sat in their own right on the thrones in the Peninsula when it was divided into several kingdoms, of which Isabella, the Queen of Ferdinand, the founder of the united monarchy, was the most illustrious. But when, by the bequest of the Spanish dominions to the grandson of Louis XIV., the obvious danger to the independence of the other powers of Europe, from the possibility of both crowns being united on one head through marriage, led first to the long and bloody war of the succession, and finally to a compromise between the contending parties by the Treaty of Utrecht,—the crown of Spain was, on 10th December 1713, with the full consent of the Cortes, entailed on heirs-male. By the treaty itself, it was provided that the Salic law which prevailed in France should be extended to Spain, and that *no female should ever succeed to the throne of that monarchy*. The marriage of princes of France with those of the royal house of Spain was not forbidden, and many such took place in the next century. It was simply provided that no female should inherit or transmit inheritable blood to the throne of Spain. In this way it was thought the danger of the

two crowns coming to be placed on the same head, and the immense possessions of the Spanish monarchy being added to those already possessed in France by the house of Bourbon, would be effectually prevented. This entail of the Spanish crown on the male line was enacted with the full concurrence of the Cortes; and as it formed a condition of the Treaty of Utrecht, it had become part of the public law of Europe, and regulated the succession to the Spanish crown for one hundred and twenty years.

37. As this law was a complete bar to a female ascending the Spanish throne, and Don Carlos was the next male heir to the reigning sovereign, it became the great object of the new Queen, as soon as her pregnancy was declared, to obtain an alteration in it, in order that, even though her child were a daughter, she might inherit the throne. Towards this object it was indispensable to gain the consent of the King; and to this point all the efforts of the Queen and the *Camarilla*, which supported her views, were directed. It was no easy matter, however, to attain it; for Ferdinand, though vacillating in many things, and always extremely liable to secret influences, often of the very lowest kind, was extremely obstinate in others; and he was known to be warmly attached to his brother, and to have a superstitious reverence for the male succession to the throne. The delicate task of winning the royal assent was intrusted to a royal favourite, named Grigalva, a man of humble birth, but considerable talents for intrigue, and who, having been introduced into the palace by marrying the huntsman's daughter, had gradually insinuated himself into the royal confidence, and had long been intrusted with the entire direction of the King's private fortune. Having been won over to the Liberals, he lent a willing ear to the proposals made to him for working upon the King's mind; but it proved a very difficult undertaking. Ferdinand regarded the project, when first broached, as decidedly revolutionary, and rejected it with the utmost indignation. So

strong were his feelings on the subject, that it is probable he would at no other time of his life have gone into it. But the Queen's Camarilla were incessant in their efforts; and between their entreaties on the one hand, and his deep-rooted feelings of reverence for the existing line of descent on the other, he became so depressed that for days together he never said a word, and he became so nervous that a tremulousness appeared in his signature to the most ordinary papers. It is probable his consent would never have been obtained, had not the King been in a state of mental prostration, and the principal agent in the movement a handsome and fascinating woman. At length, however, these influences prevailed, and he was prevailed on to take the first step in the changes designed to alter the succession to the throne, and put the seal to the Revolution.

38. The means adopted to effect this object were as astute as the undertaking itself was audacious. It was not attempted to convene the Cortes and obtain the necessary legislative sanction to the alteration in the order of succession to the throne. In the present temper of the country, it would have been impossible to have obtained from any Cortes, however elected, any such measure. What was done was this. It was pretended that the late King Charles IV. had, in 1789, obtained from the Cortes then sitting a decree abrogating the entail of the crown on heirs-male of 10th December 1713, and restoring the right of females to succeed to the throne; that this decree had been kept secret in the royal archives, but that the present King had seen it, and delivered it to the late Minister immediately after the demise of the Queen Maria Isabella. No one had ever seen this pretended decree; it had never been published, nor even heard of; and it was not recorded in any register in the kingdom, which the Spanish law absolutely required to give it the force of law. Such as it was, however, this instrument, or pretended instrument, was made the foundation of the design to change the order of succession to

the throne. The King, so it was said, was prevailed on to send a message to the Minister of Justice to deliver to him the records of the Cortes of 1789, containing the decree in question. This was accordingly done; he kept it a fortnight beside him, apparently undecided whether or not to order its publication; and at the end of that time he returned it to the Minister, with a marginal note, written in his own hand, ordering it to be laid before the Council. This was done; and on the 6th April 1830, to the astonishment of every one, an edict appeared in the State Gazette, and which was immediately proclaimed by the heralds, with the usual formalities, amidst a torrent of rain. It bore this ominous heading: "Pragmatic sanction, having the force of law, decreed by King Charles IV., on the petition of the Cortes for 1789, and ordered to be published by his reigning Majesty, for the perpetual observance of law II. t. 15, partida 3, establishing the regular succession to the crown of Spain as it had existed for seven hundred years."

39. The absurdity of holding the public law of succession to the crown of Spain standing in the statute-book of 1713, as well as all the subsequent ones, confirmed and ratified by Charles IV., Ferdinand VII., and all the monarchs which had sat on the Spanish throne since 1713, and forming part of the public law of Europe under the Treaty of Utrecht, to have been repealed by an alleged act of the Cortes in 1789, which no one ever pretended to have seen except a decrepit old king, scheming to change the succession in his dotage for the daughter of his young wife, was too obvious to escape observation. Great, accordingly, was the sensation which the publication of the edict altering the order of succession produced. But the more extravagant the attempt to set aside in this summary fashion the established order of succession and abrogate the rights of Don Carlos without a hearing, the more eagerly did the Liberals support this arbitrary stretch. The worse the title of the future sovereign succeeding under the new law, the

more indispensable was it for support to be sought in the Revolutionary party, who, setting all law aside, appealed to the ruder but more formidable weapons of force. From the moment, therefore, that, on the 6th April 1830, the new law was published, an alliance, offensive and defensive, was virtually concluded between the partisans of the Queen and the ultra-Revolutionists. How they might ultimately adjust the many points of difference which, in the event of success, would immediately arise between them, was an ulterior matter, which for the time was adjourned by common consent. The great point, in the mean time, was to get quit of the common enemy Don Carlos.

40. The public anxiety went on progressively increasing as the day approached when the delivery of the Queen might be expected. Symptoms, however, of a contested succession and civil war were already appearing: the refugees of both parties were collecting at the entrance of the Pyrenean passes, and the principality of Asturias sent up a deputation in the beginning of October, when the *accouchement* was daily expected, requesting permission to do homage, according to ancient custom, to the expected infant immediately upon its birth, *if it should prove a son*. It had been announced that, if the child were a son, the royal standard should be hoisted on the palace; if a daughter, a white flag. On the morning of Sunday, 21st October, it was known that the Queen was in labour: all eyes in Madrid were turned to the palace: the officers of state were instantly summoned, and at two in the afternoon the cries of an infant were heard in the royal apartment. "What is it?" cried the King, in an abrupt and impatient tone. "*A robust daughter*," was the reply of the physician. The King turned pale, and expressions of chagrin escaped his lips. He already foresaw a frightful civil war breaking out on his decease. The infant was christened "*Isabella*," and from the very first treated with military honours as the heir to the crown.

41. The Carlists, who saw a special

interposition of Providence in everything, ascribed the sex of the infant to the direct act of the Almighty to disappoint the injurious ambition of the Queen, and, in consequence, they assumed a bolder tone, and openly spoke of claiming the crown on the King's demise for Don Carlos. The Queen's partisans made preparations accordingly. The Royalist volunteers, 350,000 strong, who had been enrolled during the first fervour of the reaction of 1823 for the support of the throne, were disbanded, and their arms taken from them and deposited in the fortresses under charge of the regular troops. The army was purified by the dismissal of all officers of superior rank who were suspected of a leaning towards Don Carlos; everything was done to conciliate the army and the people; and on 12th October 1831 a review of the Royal Guard took place, when the Queen presented them with two banners embroidered by herself, expressing at the same time a hope that they would defend the rights of Ferdinand VII. "and his issue." The banners were received by five generals, who pledged themselves accordingly; but Don Carlos, though superior in rank to any of them, was not present. About the same time the Gazette announced that the King had had an attack of the gout at La Granja, where the Court then was; and it was soon known that the disease had reached his stomach, and that his life was in imminent danger. The news instantly flew to Madrid, where, for some days, it was believed the King was actually dead. The chiefs of his party upon this urged Don Carlos to come forward and claim the crown in the event of the Sovereign's death, or the regency in the event of his lingering on for any time, as the only means of maintaining the public tranquillity. But he refused to do either the one or the other, declaring that, as long as his brother lived, nothing should induce him to do anything derogatory to his authority. On the 30th January 1832 the Queen was delivered of *another daughter*, who afterwards became the Duchess of Montpensier. This dis-

appointment was a source of great vexation to the Queen, and proportionally elevated the hopes of the opposite party, who were the more confident in the ultimate success of their cause, that, while the King had no male issue, Don Carlos was the father of three fine sons.

42. The increasing debility and dangerous situation of the King, and the conviction he had that his death would be the immediate signal for the commencement of a bloody civil war, had such an effect on his mind that, during the last few months of his life, he rarely spoke even to his immediate attendants. He was disconcerted by seeing himself surrounded by strange faces, and the Royalist chiefs, on whom he had so long leant for support, almost all absent. The utmost pains were taken by the Queen's party during this interval to prevent any person suspected of legitimist principles from approaching him: even Don Ignacio Mendez, who since 1814 had always shaved him, was removed, and a new person appointed to perform that operation. Don Carlos called every morning to inquire after the King's health, but he was never permitted to see him alone, and but rarely at all. Sensible of the embarrassment which was impending over the country on the death which could not long be averted, Grejalva made an attempt to conciliate Don Carlos by proposing, through the Count de Alendix, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that on the royal demise the regency during the minority of Queen Isabella should be vested jointly in him and the Queen-mother Christina, but on the express conditions that the title of the royal heiress to the crown should be expressly recognised, throwing upon him the whole responsibility of the bloodshed which might ensue if the proposal were rejected. To this proposal, however, the Prince positively refused to accede, assigning as a reason that even if he were inclined to sacrifice his own rights for the public tranquillity, he could not abrogate the rights of his sons, who, as the next heirs, were entitled to succeed to the crown on his decease. To this the

Minister made no reply, and the parties separated without having made an approach even to an accommodation.

43. The night which followed this open declaration of hostilities between the rival parties was one of extreme distress and anxiety in the royal palace of Madrid. The King's life was despaired of; his death was hourly expected. The Ministers were assembled in council in the room immediately below that in which the monarch lay, and every half-hour brought in intelligence more alarming than another, of the certainty of a civil war ensuing in the event of the succession of the young Queen being persisted in. The King himself was in the utmost alarm on the subject, and in accents of despair acquainted M. Calomarde, the Minister in attendance, who came up from the council below, with his apprehensions. The Minister fully confirmed them, adding that the Revolutionists had again made their appearance, and that, as they were evidently acting in concert with foreign powers, it was "too evident the crisis would end in blood." On hearing this, the Queen uttered a loud cry, saying, "Anything but that; I do not wish for blood." "What can we do, then?" said the King, addressing the Minister for Foreign Affairs. "Abrogate all that has been done to establish the *Partida* law," replied M. Calomarde, "for then the hopes of the Revolutionists will be nipped in the bud." "My only wish," rejoined the King, "is for the welfare of my people; your reasons have convinced me; write out, therefore, immediately a decree abrogating the late law; but I enjoin you not to let any one know of it till my eyes are closed, and take care that till then it is not published or allowed to go out of the department of Grace and Justice." To this Calomarde agreed, observing, however, at the same time, that it was necessary that the other Ministers should be acquainted with the change, as their presence was necessary to give validity to his signature. To this the King agreed, again enjoining, however, in the most earnest manner, entire secrecy on the whole affair beyond the

Ministers, and fixed six in the afternoon for the formal execution of the momentous deed. At that hour they all returned, bringing with them the decree, which had been drawn up by Calomarde, with the concurrence of all the Ministers.* A clause was introduced expressly annulling anything contrary to this his last deed which might be found in his testament, and this met with his Majesty's entire approbation. The screen being removed, the Ministers assembled round the bed, and Calomarde read the decree in a loud voice, to which the King replied, "I approve it; it is well." The Queen then took a pen, and, placing a blotting-book under the paper, handed it to the King, who affixed his signature in his usual way, and, turning towards Calomarde, asked if he should sign his name in full. The Minister replied that it would be advisable to do so, as the clause was of the utmost importance; upon which the King signed FERNANDO, at the side of his former signature; and looking round the bed, and missing one of the Ministers, he asked "where Zambrano the War Minister was?" "Sire!" replied Calomarde, "he has gone to place himself at the head of the troops in case of any commotion in the critical circumstances in which we are placed." The decree was then signed by all the Ministers present, as witnesses to the signature of the King, the original delivered to the Minister of Grace and Justice, and copies sent to the various departments of Government, to be used in case of the King's death.

44. What pains soever may have been taken to prevent the existence of this important instrument being dis-

covered, it was too momentous in its consequences, and the secret was known to too many persons, to render it possible to prevent its being divulged. It became known on the same evening, and produced an indescribable sensation. The Royalists were in transports; the Queen's party in sullen dejection. The most illegal stretches were agitated in their secret councils; it was even proposed to send a body of men to assassinate the Minister of Grace and Justice, and seize the original of the instrument lodged with him. But ere long a less violent method of effecting the desired object was fallen upon. It was suddenly announced that the King, who had been thought dead, had, almost by a miracle, returned to life, although a severe apoplectic stroke had for long rendered him insensible, and permanently weakened his mind. The first report of his convalescence revived the spirits of the Queen's party, and every engine was instantly put in motion to get the King to retract his late decree. The Queen in this crisis found an able and energetic support in her sister, the Infanta Donna Carlotta, wife of Don Francesco de Paula, the King's third brother. She hastened from Andalusia, where she was at the time of the execution of the deed, and represented to Queen Christina how weak it was in her to have concurred in a measure which went to disinherit her own daughter, and strongly urged her, before it was too late, to get the instrument withdrawn. In this she was warmly supported by nearly all the courtiers. Some even of the Ministers who had concurred with Calomarde in the return to the Salic law, in the idea of the immediate accession of Don Carlos, now took fright, from the unexpected recovery of the King, and the probable fate which awaited themselves in the event of his entire restoration to health, or falling again under the influence of the Queen. The English and French ambassadors strongly favoured these views, and recommended that, as the King was now so far recovered as to be able to converse on public affairs, a change of Ministry should

* The preamble was as follows: "Anxious that tranquillity and good order should not be interrupted, and desirous of giving to my subjects a proof of the affection which I bear them, I have thought proper to abrogate law II., t. 15, partida 2d, establishing the regular succession to the crown, and also any clause or clauses in my will contrary to this my last determination; and it is my will that the present do remain secret in the office of the Secretary of State for Grace and Justice until after my decease. Let the same be understood. To the President of my Council."—WALTON, i. 408, 409.

be made in his name, and the royal authority be vested, during his continued incapacity, in her Majesty as regent. Such a decree, accordingly, was obtained; the Ministry was entirely changed, M. Zea-Bermudez being the new Premier, in room of M. Calomarde; and on the 6th a royal ordinance appeared, authorising the Queen, during the King's illness, to conduct the public business of the kingdom.

45. At this time the King's life was despaired of, and it was not expected he could survive many days; but, contrary to all expectation, he recovered, and was able to undertake the journey to Madrid on the 18th October. The Liberals made the best use of the breathing-time thus afforded them to strengthen their partisans in the country. A universal change of persons in official situations of any importance took place. When the idea of changing the order of succession was first entertained, the captains-general of provinces were directed to report on the state of public opinion, and whether the majority would incline to Don Carlos or the infant Queen. With the exception of those commanding in Estremadura and Andalusia, they had all reported that the majority was for the former. They were all in consequence now removed from their situations with the exception of those who had reported favourably for the change, who were promoted, and the places so rendered vacant filled up with devoted partisans of the Queen's party. The whole officers holding military commands in the kingdom suspected of the slightest leaning to Don Carlos were dismissed, and their places filled up with persons on whose fidelity, in the event of a crisis, entire reliance could be placed. The governors of provinces, the commanders of the Guards, the commanders of fortresses, were all changed. So complete a transference of power had rarely been witnessed in any country. Every exertion was at the same time made to conciliate public opinion, and give the appearance of legality to the usurpation. On the

25th October 1832 a decree appeared, purporting to be "the most complete amnesty king ever bestowed," but which in reality was intended to shield the Liberals who had revolted against the King's authority, and enable the numerous Republican exiles beyond the Pyrenees frontier to re-enter the country. So transparent was this purpose that, on the day it appeared, the funds in Madrid fell *two per cent.* So general was the impression that this was the real object in view in the amnesty, that M. Zea-Bermudez drew up and circulated among the diplomatic body a circular disclaiming all revolutionary intentions, and professing a determination to abide by the ancient institutions of the monarchy.* Having then, as it was conceived, allayed the apprehensions of the friends of the monarchy and enemies of revolution, the Queen ventured on the bold step of inducing the King to recall his deed of 18th September, reverting to the former

* "False ideas are circulated in foreign countries as to the actual state of affairs in Spain, and intentions are ascribed to her Majesty which she never entertained. Well-disposed persons have even been alarmed to such a degree as to believe that the form and institutions of the monarchy were about to undergo a total change—in short, that Spain had formed an alliance with the Revolution. As nothing is further from the mind of her Majesty, the Queen cannot feel indifferent towards this error in public opinion. Her Majesty is not ignorant that the best government for a nation is that which is most adapted to its character, manners, and usages; and Spain has shown several times and in an unequivocal manner what in this respect pleases her and suits her best. Her religion in all its splendour; her legitimate kings enjoying the plenitude of their authority; her complete political independence; her ancient fundamental laws; the proper administration of justice, and that internal peace which causes agriculture, commerce, industry, and the arts to flourish,—such are the benefits which the Spanish people eagerly demand. Her Majesty, maintaining the bases which the King laid down as the fixed rules of his government, and persuaded that the Spaniards cherish a noble pride in being at all times faithful to their sovereigns and submissive to the laws, declares herself the irreconcilable enemy of every religious or political innovation that might be intended to be introduced into it from abroad, with a view to subvert the reigning order of things." —Circular by M. ZEA-BERMEDEZ, 25th Nov. 1832; *Moniteur*, Dec. 3.

order of succession. In the first instance M. Pury, President *ad interim* of the Council of Castile, was summoned to Madrid and ordered to give up the document; and on the 31st December the King, who was now able to bear the fatigue of such an effort, was made to deliver to the Archbishop of Toledo and other officers of state, summoned by the Queen for the occasion, a protest, in which he declared that his former deed on 18th September had been obtained from him by threats and false representations, and that it was to be held as null and void of effect.*

46. What chiefly tended to increase the strength of the Queen's party, and proportionally diminish that of Don Carlos, was the open support which the ambassadors of France and England gave to the former, and the assurances which were universally given by the Liberal press that their assistance was secured to the succession of the Queen as regent and her infant daughter as heiress of the throne. As the power of these two nations was known to be so great when taken singly, their united influence when acting in concert was felt to be irresistible, and the impression became general that the succession of the candidate of their choice was secure. This brought the whole waiters on Providence to the side of the Queen, and their name is legion in Spain as well as in other countries. Every effort was made by means of proclamations, fêtes, and processions to spread the belief that this

* In that deed the King declares "that in signing the decree of 18th September he had been taken by surprise in the moments of an agony to which he had been reduced by a serious malady; that disloyal and deluded men then surrounded his bed and led him to believe that the kingdom was opposed to the observance of the pragmatic sanction, and that torrents of blood would flow and destruction ensue if it was not abolished; but that he was now fully acquainted with the falsehood with which the loyalty of the Spanish people had been calumniated, and being free from the influence and restraints of these circumstances, he solemnly declared that the decree then signed was obtained by surprise, was the result of misrepresentations, and was therefore to be held as null and of no effect."—*Protest of the King*, Dec. 31, 1832; *Ann. Hist.*, xv. appendix.

was the decree of Fate, which it was in vain to contend with; and the entire command which the Liberals had got of the public press, by means of the capitalists in the great towns, gave them the means of diffusing this belief universally. Having secured this vantage-ground, the Queen's party ventured on open and decisive measures. On the 4th January 1833, a proclamation was issued, setting forth, in the name of the King, that, having now been entirely restored to health, he had resumed the direction of his affairs, and would henceforward reign of his own authority, though he would receive the assistance of the Queen in the management of the public affairs. Everything done by her Majesty during her regency was expressly confirmed. As every one believed that the Sovereign was in reality labouring under an incurable malady, this gave rise again to the report that he was already dead and the Queen was governing in his name, to counteract which the dying monarch was lifted out of bed and paraded in an open carriage through the streets, strapped round the waist to the back to prevent his falling down while undergoing the operation. Meanwhile, however, there was a serious division in the council, the natural result of the coalition of Royalists and Liberals to support the pretensions of the Queen. M. Zea-Bermudez and two of his supporters were for resisting any further concessions to the Liberals, and to them the Queen adhered, with the King. M. Ulloa and two others were of the opposite opinion, but the influence of the Queen determined the measures of Government in favour of the former. The victory of the Royalist portion of the Cabinet was soon apparent, and the most decisive measures were adopted to secure the succession of the young Queen and extinguish the rising hopes of the Liberals. On the 13th March a decree appeared which "*permitted*" Don Carlos and his family to retire into Portugal; and this being understood to be, as in fact it was, a command, the Prince and his family immediately withdrew into

the province of Tras-os-Montes in that country. Several changes were next made in the Ministry, the Liberal portion being removed to make way for thorough partisans of the Queen. A Cortes was next convened for the 20th June at Madrid in order to swear fealty to the infant Queen; and the Cortes, which consisted of seventy-six members, having been convoked according to the ancient form, which was by *order*, proved entirely subservient to the Court and swore fealty without a dissenting voice. Magnificent fêtes and bull-fights succeeded, which amused the people for several days, and won over the inconstant populace to the Queen's party in the metropolis; but the reception by the better classes was cold and dubious, such as seriously to discourage the Queen's partisans. But more serious cares awaited the Government, and the long-looked-for event at length took place. On the 29th September the King, after partaking too freely of a copious repast, was seized with an apoplectic fit, and expired the same evening.

47. As fast as the telegraph could convey the momentous intelligence, it was instantly transmitted to London and Paris, and an answer was as quickly received from the Governments in these two capitals, instructing their representatives at Madrid to recognise the Queen. This important event was immediately announced in the Madrid Gazette, and the ambassadors of both countries, as soon as forms would admit, formally acknowledged the reigning power. It was owing to this circumstance, and not any belief in the validity of her title to the throne, that the accession of Queen Isabella was so generally acquiesced in throughout Spain at that time. It was universally felt that these two powers had the matter in their own hands; and that for any competitor to contend with a Government supported by the French army and English fleet, would be a hopeless undertaking. The late King's will was speedily published, which, during the minority of the infant Queen, his daughter, constituted

her mother, Queen Christina, regent, with full powers to carry on the government.* As this provided the continuance of all the persons now in office for a very long period, it secured the universal concurrence of the Government employés of every denomination. The Queen accordingly was proclaimed without opposition in all the capitals of provinces and great towns in the kingdom; and although some trifling risings in favour of Don Carlos took place, particularly in La Mancha, they were suppressed without difficulty, and the Queen's government, in appearance, generally acquiesced in. An active minority, composed of the Radicals in the great cities, and the waiters on Providence at the court, in possession of the chief towns, the fortresses, the seaports, the army, the public press, and supported by the moral influence of France and England, without difficulty lorded it over a majority tenfold greater, but without leaders, without arms, without money, and spread over a vast extent of country without any strongholds to form rallying points. Don Carlos was proclaimed at Talavera, but that movement was speedily suppressed; and at Vittoria and in Guipuscoa with more difficulty, as the inhabitants of the Basque provinces knew that their privileges were threatened by the Liberal party in the ascendant at Madrid. But no general or sustained movement took place, and the new Government to all appearance was firmly established.

48. The interest of France in supporting the Government of the Queen was very obvious. To extend the influence of that country over the entire Peninsula, and thus have it in rear on

* The Queen shall be the guardian of the children under age; and "if the son or daughter to whom the succession devolved should not have attained the age of eighteen years, she is to be the *sole regent and governess of the monarchy*, to rule and govern the same by herself till such time as the said son or daughter shall have completed the age of eighteen years. A council of Government shall be formed, whom the Queen is to consult on all matters of importance, especially those relating to general matters, but without being thereby in any measure bound to act by their opinions."—WALTON, ii. 56.

the side of the Pyrenees when engaged with the northern powers in front, had long been as settled an object of French policy as it was of Russia to get possession of Constantinople and the command of the Dardanelles. It was the boast of Louis XIV. that, by having effected the bequest of the Spanish monarchy to his grandson the Duke of Anjou, "the Pyrenees no longer existed," and to sustain that advantage he fronted alone the coalition of Europe led by Marlborough and Eugene. Napoleon followed out the same design, and from similar motives. By fraud and violence he got possession of Ferdinand VII., placed his own brother on the throne of Madrid, and for six long years sustained a wearing and exhausting war to maintain him there. In addition to this, a motive still more pressing actuated the Cabinet of the Tuileries. Both the Queen's Government at Madrid, and that of Louis Philippe, were founded on the same principle. They were both revolutionary dynasties, and had both set aside the legitimate heir to the throne. But although alike revolutionary in their origin, and having won success by the force of democratic passions, their direction had in the end fallen, in both, into astute hands who had contrived to turn the movement entirely to their own advantage, and succeeded, on the basis of republican fervour, in establishing a quasi-legitimate government founded on the principle of *juste milieu*, and interposing with moderate measures and a new dynasty between the extremes on either side. Thus every consideration, both of national policy and family or party aggrandisement, counselled a cordial support of the Queen's Government at Madrid by the Cabinet of the Tuileries. Nor could it escape observation that as, according to the new regime, the throne of Spain would descend in succession, in the event of the eldest having no issue, to *two queens*, and the house of Orléans was blessed with several sons of attractive manners and in the opening of life, there was every chance of a matrimonial union rendering still closer the union of the

two countries. And not improbably the accession of the husband of Queen Isabella at a future period to the throne of France, would place at once the resources of both monarchies at the disposal of the house of Orléans.

49. Such being the obvious and highly important advantages which France was likely to obtain from the establishment of a succession of revolutionary queens on the throne of Spain, it is more difficult to see what were the inducements which could lead the *British* Government to join in the recognition. England had at that time no princes ready-made into whose arms to throw the Queen or heir-apparent of Spain. The union of France and Spain had long been felt as in the highest degree threatening to the independence of Great Britain. Either taken singly had seriously menaced it; the Spanish Armada had been as formidable to Queen Elizabeth as the Boulogne flotilla and army had been to George III. Our maritime superiority had been brought into the most extreme peril by the two united; in the American war, the French and Spanish fleets of forty-six sail of the line had blockaded Admiral Danby in Plymouth, who had only twenty-one; and in 1805, a disobedience of orders by Admiral Villeneuve alone prevented the French and Spanish fleets from riding triumphant in the Channel, and throwing, without impediment, Napoleon with 130,000 men on the southern shore of Britain. Why had the War of the Succession been undertaken, and, by an express stipulation in the Treaty of Utrecht, the succession of the crown of Spain entailed in 1713 on the *male* line? Why but to eschew the very danger which had now occurred, of the crown of Spain devolving on a *female*, and, by her marriage with a French prince, the heir of the throne of France, both crowns being placed on the same head? And was it a time to forego the existing security in the established order of the Spanish succession, when by the new law on the subject, introduced by the King's sole authority, and without the concurrence of any of

the European powers parties to the Treaty of Utrecht, the crown stood settled upon *two females* ready to be thrown into the arms of a prince of France? These considerations, how obvious soever, and how strongly soever stated at the time,* were overlooked by the British Cabinet during the new-born fervour of reform, and the prevalence of the belief that we could not confer a greater blessing upon *all* nations, how dissimilar soever to the English, than by transplanting among them British institutions. But it will be seen in the sequel how rough was the wakening from this illusion; and how completely the scales fell from the eyes of our Government in after times, when the proposed marriage of Louis Philippe's son, the Duc de Montpensier, to the Infanta of Spain, forced the danger they had brought on by their senseless proceedings on the attention of the most inconsiderate.

50. Although, however, the Revolutionary Government of France and the Liberal Cabinet of Great Britain were thus prompt in recognising the Revolutionary succession in Spain, the same unanimity was by no means conspicuous among the other European powers. A protest was taken at Madrid by the Piedmontese and Neapolitan ambassadors against the change in the order of succession, on grounds unanswerable, and to which no reply was ever attempted.† Russia, Austria, and Prus-

sia stood aloof, declining to commit themselves by any diplomatic note, although abstaining from any active hostility to the new dynasty, or open support of the competitor for the throne. They did not abstain, however, from secretly encouraging the partisans of Don Carlos to prepare for a struggle, holding out assurances of instant recognition of their chief in the event of his being successful in asserting his rights to the throne. In a word, everything announced a serious and protracted war of the succession in Spain; and in order to guard against it, the British and French Cabinets went a step beyond simple recognition, and concluded a treaty, the object of which was to compel obedience in both Spain and Portugal to the revolutionary dynasty, and permanently exclude the legitimate heir from the throne of both monarchies in the Peninsula. This was done by the famous *Quadruple Alliance*, intended as a counterpoise in western Europe to the Holy Alliance in the east. Before entering on this important subject, however, it is necessary, in a few words, to resume the annals of Portugal subsequent to the banishment of Don Miguel in 1825.

51. By a singular coincidence, at the very time while a revolutionary movement was engrafting itself on a disputed succession to the throne in Spain, a similar conjunction of parties, and from the same causes, was taking place in Portugal. By a treaty signed on the 29th August 1825, concluded under the auspices and by the advice of Sir Charles Stewart, the British ambassador, the old King, John VI., had recognised Brazil as a separate state, and acknowledged his eldest son, Don Pedro, as its emperor—reserving only during his own life that title to himself. As that country had been for years practically independent, and

* See 'Carlist Struggle in Spain,' ALISON'S *Essays*, ii. 367, 405.

† "The law of 1713 was enacted by the chief of a new dynasty with all the formalities that were requisite and indispensable for its validity, and at a time when a concurrence of extraordinary and distressing circumstances justified the propriety of a new law of succession: it is a law consecrated by more than a century of uninterrupted existence; it was the necessary consequence of the stipulations which secured the throne of Spain to the grandson of Louis XIV., and to his male descendants; and the weighty reasons in which it originated still exist.

"We have further considered that an order of succession, established as this was by the consent and under the guarantee of the principal powers in Europe, and recognised successively in various treaties concluded with those powers, has become obligatory and unalterable; and has transmitted to all the descendants of Philip V. rights which, as they were obtained by the sacrifice of other rights,

they cannot relinquish without material injury to themselves, and without failing in the consideration due to the illustrious head and founder of their dynasty."—*Protest by the Ambassadors of Sardinia and Naples at Madrid*, June 20, 1833; *Moniteur*, June 30; and WALTON, ii. 46.

this treaty only provided for a strict alliance between the two nations, without providing anything in regard to the two crowns, and whether they were to remain separate or be united on one head after the present sovereign's decease, it left ample room for conjecture and intrigue in that event. It was not long of happening. The King, in the beginning of March 1826, was seized with an alarming illness, which terminated fatally on the 10th of that month; and on his papers being opened there was found a testament, which conferred the government of the state on the Infanta Isabella-Maria, third daughter of the King, assisted by a council of which the Patriarch of Lisbon was the president; and, "in the event of the King being called to his glory, till the *lawful heir* of the crown should give orders with respect to the government."

52. This settlement merely conferred the regency *ad interim* on the Infanta Isabella, and said nothing on the succession to the crown; but as this authority was in the mean time given to the *third daughter* of the King, it gave the greatest annoyance to the Legitimists, of whom the Queen-mother was the head. The precautions, however, taken by the Government were such that resistance seemed hopeless, and the Regent was proclaimed without opposition in the capital. Faithful to the instructions of the deceased monarch, one of the first cares of the new Government was to despatch a swift-sailing vessel to Rio Janeiro, to announce the death of the late King, and receive the instructions of Don Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, in regard to his successor. The knowledge that this had been done kept expectation on tiptoe in Portugal; for not only was it uncertain, in the unparalleled circumstances of the monarchy, who was to be declared King of Portugal, but it was also uncertain whether the empire of Brazil was or was not to remain united to the crown of that country. The public anxiety went on hourly increasing as the time approached when an answer from

Rio Janeiro might be expected; and the excitement spread, owing to the gravity of the circumstances, and the important consequences with which a decision either way might be attended. Among those diplomatists whose activity was in an especial manner conspicuous on this occasion was the English ambassador, Sir Charles Stewart; and it was very evident that his influence and that of the Liberals in Lisbon would in point of fact dispose of the succession. At length the anxiously-expected decrees from Don Pedro arrived. By them not only was the settlement of the crown provided for, but the future constitution of the realm was settled on a footing which it was hoped would satisfy all parties, and avert the internal dissensions with which it was too evident the kingdom was threatened.

53. By the first of these decrees Don Pedro accorded a general amnesty to all persons in confinement, or charged with political offences; while, by the second, a constitutional charter was accorded to the people, with the provision that the crown was to be hereditary, beginning with the Princess Maria da Gloria, the eldest daughter of the Emperor Don Pedro. The Legislature was to consist of two chambers—one of the nobles, and one of the commons—the latter of which was to be elected on the most liberal principles. The Upper Chamber consisted of the principal nobility and most dignified of the clergy, and was constituted on the principle of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of England, but all nominated by the Regency. By the last, the monarch, "considering that the continued union of the two kingdoms of Portugal and Brazil was incompatible with the interests of either, abdicated in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria, his whole rights to the Portuguese monarchy; but provided always that she should not leave the empire of Brazil till the Orders in Portugal had all sworn to the constitution, or before her espousals were celebrated, and marriage concluded, with her uncle Don Miguel, younger brother of Don

Pedro;" and these conditions were considered so essential that it was declared that, till they had all been carried into effect, the abdication and cession should be null and of no effect.

54. The seeds of a serious civil war were sown broadcast in Portugal by these decrees, and, what is very singular, they necessarily induced a fusion of parties for its protection of the same description as afterwards took place in Spain, as has been already described. As the regent appointed in the first instance to carry on the Government was the *third* daughter of the late King, and the person declared entitled to succeed on her coming of legal age was the daughter of Don Pedro, the late King's younger brother and Emperor of Brazil, and the Council appointed to assist the regent in the Government was entirely in the Liberal interest, the whole of that party immediately and cordially threw themselves into the arms of the Government. Thus that party, already strong in the support of the Ministry, the army, the great towns, and the English Cabinet, obtained now the inappreciable advantage of getting a disputed succession engrafted on their revolutionary banners. The weight of this coalition was much increased by an article in the treaty with Brazil, introduced at the instance of Sir Charles Stewart, to the effect that the whole pecuniary claims on either side between the two governments should be adjusted by the immediate payment of £2,500,000 by the Government of Brazil to that of Portugal; a fact which soon brought that numerous class, the waiters on Providence, over to the side of the Regency. Considerable difficulty was at first experienced by the Council in recognising the liberal charter accorded by Don Pedro; and the Prime Minister, the Count of Santo Porto, declared his resolution to resign if such a step was resolved on, as likely to revive all the passions which the wise conduct of the late King had gone so far to allay. But the influence of Sir Charles Stewart at length prevailed, and on the

11th and 13th July the whole decrees of Don Pedro were published without alteration.

55. This proclamation was received with transports by the Liberal party. Cries of "Long live the Charter!" "Long live Don Pedro!" "Long live the Infanta!" were heard on all sides; and Sir Charles Stewart, to whom this great victory was universally ascribed, was the object of general enthusiasm. Ominous symptoms, however, were observed in some regiments in favour of Don Miguel, the legitimate heir; and the accounts from the north, where his principal adherents lay, were still more alarming. A proclamation, unsigned but ably drawn, was then extensively circulated, setting forth that Don Miguel, as the next male heir, was, by the laws of Portugal, entitled to the succession to the throne; that the decrees of Don Pedro, the work of a revolutionary faction, published in Brazil, were null and void in a question as to the succession in Portugal, as he had renounced all title to dispose of it by the acceptance of the crown of Brazil. Numerous assemblages of malcontents took place in the mountains; and for some days things looked very threatening. But the mercantile population of Oporto took part with the Government; the garrison remained faithful to the Regent; and the peasants in the country, without a head or rallying-point, after being together for some little time, gradually dispersed, and the public tranquillity was not permanently disturbed in that quarter. Soon after the Regent formally assumed the Government, amidst great rejoicings, in the name of the absent Queen, and a Ministry was appointed, composed entirely of persons in the Liberal interest.

56. Ere long, however, more serious disturbances broke out in other quarters, and, what was more alarming, among the armed force of the kingdom. When the oath of fidelity to the revolutionary Government was tendered to the troops in the Alentejo, several of them refused to take it, alleging

that Don Miguel was the rightful heir; and when attempts were made to coerce them, more than one corps crossed the frontier, and entered Badajoz with colours flying, amidst cries of "Viva Don Carlos!" These demonstrations spread the utmost dismay in the Government, as they were well aware that the rural population was all for Don Miguel, and that his succession was certain if the majority of the troops adhered to his side. In this crisis, however, the Government was saved by the energy and decision with which it was conducted, especially by the War Minister, Don de Saldanha de Oliveira. Instantly scanning the imminence of the danger, he directed the whole disposable troops to the threatened points; the entire garrison of the capital was conveyed on board English frigates to the nearest harbours of the Algarves, leaving the protection of the capital to the city guard, which was thoroughly to be relied on, aided by the marines of the English fleet in the Tagus. In this way the insurrection in the south was put down; but the troops still remained in a wavering state as long as Don Miguel delayed giving in his adherence to the new Government. At length, however, by the advice, it was said, of the Austrian Cabinet, he sent in his adhesion, pure and unqualified, to the Regent and absent Queen, to whom by the decree of Don Pedro he was to be espoused. The ceremony of espousal took place on the 29th October, with great pomp, at Lisbon, which it was hoped would terminate the existing discontents.

57. These sanguine expectations were by no means realised. The Cortes indeed met, and by a majority of 83 votes to 71 supported the Government, and received with enthusiasm the intelligence of the betrothal of the Queen, Donna Maria, to Don Miguel; but this seeming concord was by no means an indication of a corresponding state of the public mind. On the contrary, the old divisions still continued, and soon broke out in a more formidable way than ever. The partisans of Don Miguel and absolute government were

by no means satisfied with the espousals of their chief with Donna Maria da Gloria. They were mortified by the continued enjoyment of the patronage of Government by the Liberals; they dreaded the ultimate ruin of their fortunes and loss of their rank by the ascendancy of the Democratic party in the capital. The Church, with still more reason, feared the confiscation of its property, as had been done in Spain in 1821, to meet the lavish expenditure of the revolutionary Government. Actuated by these feelings, a general feeling of discontent, followed by a widespread conspiracy, ensued in Portugal, which ere long threatened the most serious consequences. It was headed by the Marquis de Chaves, a noted Conservative, and who possessed great influence in the north of Portugal. A general insurrection was projected, extending from the frontiers of Galicia in the north, to the extremity of Algarves in the south; and not only did it embrace the vast majority of the inhabitants, but it was supported by large bodies of Portuguese refugees in the interest of Don Miguel, who, having escaped across the frontier when former insurrections were suppressed, had since been arranged in battalions, armed, equipped, and disciplined in Leon and Estremadura by the Spanish authorities. They now re-entered their country with every prospect of overturning the Government. Marked success attended their inroad, especially in the province of Tras-os-Montes, where their adherents chiefly lay. Valdez, with a considerable regular force, was made prisoner by Silveira, who was at the head of 5000 men, all equipped and disciplined; the towns of Braganza, Villa-Real, and Chaves were taken amidst the loud acclamations of the inhabitants; Oporto was threatened from two different quarters, and a regency established, which governed all Portugal north of the Douro in the name of Don Miguel. At the same time, in the south, the Carlist chief Magessi, issuing from Badajoz at the head of 2000 men, entered Villa-Viciosa without resistance, and spread alarm through the whole of the Alem-

tejo and the Algarves. Seriously alarmed, the Regency now issued an energetic proclamation, urging the most violent means of resistance, and made a formal application to the British Government for succour against the impending danger. As it was evident that the insurgents were supported by the Spanish forces, the British Cabinet, as already mentioned, were of opinion that the *casus fœderis* under the old treaties had arrived, and 6000 men, with 76 guns, were in the utmost haste despatched from the English shores, and landed amidst loud acclamations at Lisbon from the Liberals. The great body of the people, however, regarded the arrival of the foreigners with chagrin and in silence. They said it argued little for the popularity of a cause when it could be supported only by the aid of foreign bayonets.

58. The arrival of the British, however, and the open proof which it afforded that the cause of the Liberals in Portugal was now supported by the British Government, for the time gave such an impulse to the Regency as enabled them to put down the insurrection. The garrisoning of Lisbon being left to the British auxiliaries, the whole regular force of the kingdom was directed upon Silveira, who was defeated, and his followers all driven over the frontier, on 25th January 1827. Before many weeks were over, the victory of the Government and the regular troops was complete at all points; but the constitutional regime did not on that account become more popular. On the contrary, it became less, as it was now associated in general opinion with heretical domination and foreign bayonets. "A great part of the population in the provinces, in the capital," says the Liberal annalist, "even in the Cortes, seemed only to await a signal to rise against the constitutional regime. Every sort of violence was used to recruit and nourish the army: the presence of the English was submitted to with impatience: placards on the walls of Lisbon announced a general massacre if they should venture on any movement against the insurgents. A great number of priests,

as well secular as regular, declaimed against the institutions bestowed by Don Pedro, not only in the pulpits and the confessionals, but even in the public squares. To such a length did this go that the Regency was under the necessity of ordering, in the name of the King, the Archbishop-Primate and the other bishops to command their clergy to preach weekly to their flocks on the blessings which might be expected to arise from constitutional government, under the pain of instant suspension from their ecclesiastical functions."

59. The large military establishment which required to be kept up to stifle the public voice, which was daily pronouncing itself more strongly against the Government and constitutional regime, involved the public exchequer in constant difficulties. The annual expenditure was found to amount to 63,500,000 francs (£2,540,000), while the receipts were only 50,000,000 francs (£2,000,000), leaving a deficit of 13,500,000 francs (£540,000), which, although not very alarming in larger monarchies, was a serious embarrassment in a country in which the revenue could with difficulty be raised to £2,000,000 a-year. To conciliate public opinion to the new Government, a general amnesty was published on 13th April for all political offences committed since the 21st July 1826; but it was clogged with so many exceptions that it gave very little satisfaction. An insurrection broke out a fortnight after in a regiment in the important fortress of Elvas, which was immediately joined by a large body of the populace amidst cries of "Long live the King Don Miguel!" "Down with the Constitution!" and was only suppressed by the vigour and resolution of the governor, Don Carlos de Caula, who charged the rebels with some squadrons of horse, and drove them into a bastion where they were, after a bloody conflict, cut down with grape-shot. The difficulties of Government were seriously augmented at this crisis by the expected demise of the Princess Regent, who was at the point of death in the beginning of May. The Liberals were greatly

at a loss for a successor, and it was feared Don Miguel would at once step in and seize the government, when the danger was averted and the difficulty adjourned by the unexpected recovery of the Regent. The crisis, however, had been so violent that it was followed by a change of ministry, M. de Saldanha and the Marquis Palmella, then ambassador in London, being placed at its head—an appointment which sufficiently proved that the Liberal interest had now acquired an entire ascendancy in the Government.

60. The settlement of the Ministry on this basis inspired the constitutional party with the hope that at length they might be permitted to retain the helm without further molestation. But what was their astonishment when, on the 27th August, a messenger arrived in London bearing a packet, which on being opened was found to contain a nomination by the Emperor of Brazil, then in Vienna, of *Don Miguel* as Regent of Portugal till his marriage with the Princess Donna Maria da Gloria! The Regent accepted the office under a solemn promise to observe faithfully the obligations laid on him by his august brother, and to uphold the existing institutions. This was announced to the public officially on the 24th September. This publication spread unheard-of consternation among the Liberals, and proportionally elevated the Miguelites. But the great body of the constitutionalists, faithful to the polar-star of interest, fell down and worshipped what appeared to be the rising sun, and the Court of the convalescent Regent was entirely deserted for that of the Queen-mother, the tried supporter of absolute government. The public joy and exaltation reached its highest point on the birthday of Don Miguel (26th October). Forgetting altogether the Infant's promise to abide by the constitution, they traversed the streets amidst cries from a prodigious multitude of "Vive Don Miguel absolu!" "Mort à la Charte et les here-tiques Anglais!" and these cries were heard in the great opera which had so recently resounded with the hymn of Don Pedro! So far did the reaction go,

that the ardent partisans of the Liberal regime had already made preparations for taking refuge in England and France before the assumption of power by Don Miguel. These threatening circumstances induced a run upon the Bank of Lisbon, which was under the necessity of suspending cash payments on 6th December. But all eyes were turned to Don Miguel, who left Vienna on the same day, and, passing by Paris, arrived in London on the 20th, where he was very favourably received by the Duke of Wellington's Government. By a decree of 28th December, the Cortes of Portugal was convoked for the 2d January to swear fealty to the new Regent. The public mind was for the time calmed by this device; but it was the stillness which precedes the storm.

61. After a residence of six weeks in London, during which he was most kindly received by the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister, who endeavoured to impress upon him the course which he should pursue in the difficult duty which lay before him in ruling so distracted a country as Portugal, Don Miguel sailed for Lisbon. He had previously received addresses of congratulation upon his new dignity from the Cortes, which had assembled on 2d January, and for a brief season men surrendered themselves to the pleasing illusion that concord might be restored to the agitated state. He arrived in the Tagus on the 22d February, after a stormy passage; and while the cannon of the forts was thundering a salute on his arrival, the Princess Regent departed in a small boat to receive him on board, while a prodigious crowd assembled on the quay to hail his arrival. Enthusiastic cheers rent the air when the Prince and Princess descended together, hand in hand, from the boat to the quay, and the cries were symptomatic of the feelings of the people. "*Vive le Roi Don Miguel!*" and "*Vive Silviera!*"* were heard on all sides, and occasionally "*Vive la Constitution!*" No voice was heard to pronounce the words *Vive Don Pedro*. Next day, when the Infant

* A Royalist chief in the north.

went to the cathedral to return thanks for his safe arrival, the public feeling still more strongly manifested itself. "Vive le Roi Don Miguel!" was heard on all sides from the immense assemblage; and such emphasis was laid on the words *le Roi*, that the meaning could not be misunderstood, and the Prince manifested some embarrassment.

62. It soon appeared that the hopes which had been entertained of a fusion of interests and reconciliation of parties from the arrival of the Infant were fallacious, and that the assumption of the functions of Regent by him was to be the signal for the breaking out of furious passions and a more determined civil contest. The cries in the streets and in the public places when he appeared now ceased to be "Vive la Constitution!" and those of "Vive le Roi Don Miguel!" were alone heard, and with them were not unfrequently heard "A bas la Constitution!" The Regent, however, readily and gracefully abdicated the authority she had received from Don Pedro in favour of Don Miguel. "As for myself," she said, in the sitting of the Cortes, where the august ceremony was held, "delivered from a burden which I feel to be above my strength to bear, which I accepted with no other feeling than that of resignation, and in obedience to commands I was bound to obey, I restore it with the same feelings, and conclude my public duties with sincere and fervent wishes for the prosperity of a nation which will ever be dear to me, and which I shall always regard as the highest honour to have governed." Don Miguel made no reply, which excited some surprise, but simply took the oath prescribed by the Charter on the Gospels in the hands of the Patriarch Archbishop of Lisbon. Three rounds of artillery announced the important event to the people; and the meeting broke up amidst loud acclamations from the Constitutional party, who formed the majority of the assemblage.

63. The choice of ministers by the new Regent sufficiently proved which interest was in the ascendant, and pre-

saged a serious struggle before power was permanently transferred to the new hands into which it had fallen. The Duke of Cadaval, who was Prime Minister, the Count Villa-Real, the Minister at War, M. d'Oliviera, Minister of the Interior, all belonged to the Legitimist and high monarchical party, and might be expected to obstruct every attempt to expand the Liberal institutions which had been planted in the country. The Absolutists, seeing this, deemed the counter-revolution already accomplished, and shouted *Io Pœans* on all possible occasions, when, in reality, they were far from having got possession of real power. The army was still doubtful, and everything depended on the part which it took. On the 1st March a demonstration took place at the palace which distinctly showed what the Absolutists were aiming at, and portended the near approach of a crisis. On occasion of a levee that day the great staircase and halls of reception were crowded by an immense concourse of persons, who never ceased exclaiming "Vive le Roi absolu! Vive Don Miguel! A bas la Constitution! Meurent les Libéraux!" To such a pitch did the excitement rise that the Count of Villa-Flor and the Count of Caula were obliged, to save their lives, to repeat these seditious cries. Count Caula, military commander in Lisbon, escaped only with a contusion in his arm by the aid of a sentinel, and the Patriarch Archbishop himself only avoided the necessity of submitting to the mandates of the multitude by extending his arms and giving them his benediction. Representations having been made to the Regent of these disorders, he replied, coldly, "that the duty of the guard was to watch over the safety of the royal family, and of it alone." General Caula having next day made a complaint of the manner in which he had been treated, he was deprived of his command. Similar scenes took place at the same time in several provincial towns; and at Elvas, Oporto, Evora, and Coimbra, they were mingled with exhortations to the Regent to cast aside the trammels of his transatlantic

appointment, and at once in his own right as next heir-male ascend the throne.

64. Seeing the public voice thus generally expressed, Don Miguel began to take steps in an open manner to assert his right to the crown. Orders were first given to stop the playing of the Constitutional air on parades and in public assemblies; and as this was submitted to without resistance, the next step was to change the command of the army, which was at present entirely in the hands of the Liberals. The Minister at War, Count Villa-Real, who, notwithstanding his known attachment to Don Miguel and the aristocratic party, was not deemed sufficiently "advanced" for the sweeping changes which were in contemplation, was dismissed from his office, which was bestowed on Count Rio-Pardo, a man entirely at the devotion of the Royalist party. Seven colonels out of the nine commanding regiments in Lisbon were dismissed, and their places supplied by known partisans of the Legitimists; and the same was done with the governors of the Alemtejo, the Algarves, and the chief towns, as Oporto, Elvas, and Coimbra. Seeing the determination of the absolute party now openly pronounced, Count Villa-Flor, General Stubbs, and the other leaders of the Liberal party, dreading arrest, made preparations for leaving the kingdom; and their example was followed by the principal English merchants, both at Lisbon and Oporto, whose attachment to the Liberal cause was well known. And the English soldiers who still remained of the expedition which had arrived there in the preceding year were so frequently insulted in the streets of the capital, that orders were given to confine them to their barracks. So serious did these disorders become, that Mr Lamb, the British minister, suspended the payment of the loans which England had guaranteed to the late Government, and postponed the departure of the British troops in order to afford protection to the British subjects in Lisbon.

65. On the 12th March Don Miguel

dissolved the Cortes, which, having been elected under the Liberal Government, was less favourable to his interests than a new one might be expected to be; and it separated without attempting any resistance. This important event was celebrated by the Court party and their adherents throughout the country with the most outrageous rejoicings, in the course of which the English soldiers and citizens were openly insulted. The Liberals of every grade, commercial classes, and a part of the army, mourned over it as the ruin of their hopes, and fatal to the growing liberties of their country. As a Cortes elected under the form prescribed by Don Pedro's charter was not likely to prove so favourable to Don Miguel as his partisans desired, the Cortes, in violation of the Charter, was indefinitely adjourned, and a special commission appointed to draw up the regulations for the election of its successor. Seeing a civil war now evidently approaching, and desirous of avoiding taking any part in it, especially in opposition, as it evidently would be, to the general wish, the British Government took the wise resolution to withdraw their troops from Lisbon, the last of whom, accompanied by a great number of Liberals and English merchants, took their departure on 2d April. Relieved now from the oppression of those heretical allies, the Legitimist party openly commenced the destruction of the constitution, and the installation of the Regent as absolute king. This was no difficult matter to effect; for the great majority of the people in the towns, and the entire country inhabitants, were heartily tired of the constitutional regime, and ardently desired a return to the days of simple and absolute government. The 25th April, being the birthday of the Empress-Queen, who then entered her fifty-third year, was fixed on for the decisive change. At nine in the morning of that day, the commander of the police arrived with fifty horsemen in front of the Hôtel de Ville, and, uncovering and drawing his sword, called out, "Long live Don Miguel, absolute King of Por-

tugal ! Long live the Empress-mother !” Loud acclamations from the assembled crowd responded to these words, and at the same instant the mayor and municipal body appeared on the balcony of the palace, and proclaimed Don Miguel king, while the royal standard was hoisted on the summit of the building. The loud acclamations of the immense assembled multitude drowned the expressions of discontent which escaped from some of the Liberals ; and at noon registers were opened for those who favoured Don Miguel, praying him to assume the government as king, and he was proclaimed in every part of the city. Several thousand signatures were in a few hours attached to the petition, among which were found the names of several grandees, peers, magistrates, officers of all ranks, and a vast multitude of the working classes. Don Miguel returned a moderate and dignified answer, in which, without committing himself either way, he left the decision of the question to more tranquil times and higher authorities. Similar demonstrations took place on the same day in Coimbra, Vizeu, and other towns ; but, on the other hand, in Oporto, Braga, and some commercial cities, and in several garrisons, open resistance to the change and adhesion to the constitutional government were manifested. In this dilemma Don Miguel issued a decree soon after, on May 3, 1828, convoking the three Orders according to ancient usage to deliberate on the existing state of affairs, in order that the public affairs of the state should take a right direction.*

66. This proclamation threw the diplomatic body at Lisbon, and especially the representatives of France and Eng-

land, into no small embarrassment. On the one hand, they were well aware that, in the present state of men's minds, and after the experience they had had of the divisions and heart-burnings consequent on the attempt to establish a Liberal government, it was certain that the new Cortes, elected according to ancient usages, would declare Don Miguel king, independent altogether of the regency conferred on him by Don Pedro. On the other hand, such a result was in the highest degree distasteful to some of the foreign powers, especially France and England. Their Ministers were accredited only to Don Miguel as regent under the appointment of Don Pedro, and to recognise him as king would be a direct departure from existing treaties with Don Pedro, which had received the sanction of all the powers. The English Cabinet was in an especial manner hostile to the assumption of the royal authority by Don Miguel, regarding it as a deathblow to their influence in, and commercial relations with, Portugal, and as likely to lead to its being thrown into the arms of France, already paramount by the restoration of Ferdinand VII. in Spain. In these circumstances the Ministers of France and England intimated to the Portuguese Government that, being accredited only to Don Miguel as regent, they could not recognise him as king in his own right, and the other members of the diplomatic body in Lisbon followed their example.

67. Although this diplomatic difficulty had arisen, Don Miguel felt himself too secure of the support of the great majority of the people to hesitate in the course which he had entered upon. Addresses during the interval which elapsed before the meeting of the Cortes continued to pour in from nearly all quarters, praying him, in his own right as heir-male, to assume at once the government of the country as king. In Oporto, however, the public manifestation was different. The long establishment and influence of the English merchants in that city had largely imbued its inhabitants with Liberal feelings ; and the great majority of

* The three Orders were ordained to assemble within thirty days at Lisbon, “in order that they might, in a legal and constitutional manner, according to the customs and usages of the monarchy, and agreeably to the forms observed on similar occasions, apply the fundamental points of Portuguese law, and thus re-establish the public concord and tranquillity, in order that the important affairs of the state should acquire consistency, and take a right direction.”—*Proclamation*, May 3, 1828 ; *Ann. Hist.*, xi. 536.

them inclined to Don Pedro's constitution. Accordingly, when the municipal council there as elsewhere proclaimed Don Miguel king, and hoisted the royal standard, the proceeding was received with marked symptoms of disapprobation on the part of the most respectable citizens, and some regiments which had been ordered to take part in the ceremony evinced the most decided repugnance. Such was the general effervescence that it became soon evident an explosion was at hand. It was brought on by an officer of resolution, Don Francisco Persois, the colonel of the 6th regiment, who, on learning that his arrest had been resolved on, assembled his men, and exhorted them to raise the standard of revolt against the usurper at Lisbon, and remain faithful to their oaths to the Constitutional Government. They answered with acclamations and cries of "Long live the Constitution!" and the rest of the garrison having joined them, the governor of the town, who was in the interest of Don Miguel, seeing it was in vain to resist, left the city with a regiment which adhered to him, and took the road to Tras-os-Montes, where he was sure of meeting persons of the same way of thinking. The night which followed was spent in general rejoicing in Oporto; the city was illuminated, and the constitutional hymn chanted in all the streets. Next day a regular junta was established to support the cause of Don Pedro, his daughter, and the constitution, which immediately began to enrol volunteers, and organise the means of resistance. A similar movement took place at Coimbra, where the students of the university formed themselves into a corps to support the Liberal cause; while in the mountains of Tras-os-Montes the peasants unanimously flocked to the standard of Don Miguel, and prepared with enthusiasm to follow the fortunes of their legitimate monarch.

68. Everything prognosticated a serious and bloody civil war, of which, as the great majority in numbers were on one side, and of regular soldiers and wealth on the other, it was not easy to foretell the issue. The Liberals

were the first to take the field. On the 21st May 1828, a corps of 4000 infantry, 800 horse, and six guns, set out from Oporto, taking the road to Lisbon, and reached Coimbra without resistance, proclaiming everywhere Don Pedro and the Charter. When the news of these events arrived in Lisbon, the Court was thrown into the utmost consternation, for it was feared the troops in the capital would follow the example set at Oporto, and declare for the Liberal cause. Don Miguel, however, finding that this was not the case, recovered his spirits, and took the most vigorous steps to assert his pretensions. Ships of war were detached from the Tagus to blockade Oporto; three regiments, on whom most reliance could be placed, were despatched towards Coimbra, and the most pressing orders were sent to the governors of provinces to enrol volunteers, call out the militia, and organise the means of resistance; while an energetic proclamation offered an amnesty to all who would now join the royal standard, and all classes were called on to come forward, and by "a unanimous effort exterminate for ever the revolutionary monster." Registers were opened at Lisbon to enrol volunteers to support the royal cause, and the people with loud cries demanded arms to defend their sovereign; but it was observed that though the working classes in crowds answered the appeal, and appeared at the rallying points, but few of the more educated and wealthy rank made their appearance. Insurrectionary movements in favour of the Charter soon after broke out in the Algarves and Almeida; and at Lagos a revolt of a regiment took place in favour of the Liberals, which, however, was soon checked by General Palmerin, who, with a handful of resolute soldiers in Don Miguel's interest, totally defeated the mutineers. The garrison of Lisbon remained firm on his side, which allayed the immediate terrors of the Government; and the arrests of the Liberals were so numerous that the jails were soon filled to overflowing. The Liberals replied by placards posted in the night on the

streets, in which Don Miguel was accused of the most horrid crimes—charges which were instantly taken up and repeated by the Liberal press in England, which, being entirely at the command of the capitalists, who had lent their money to the revolutionary governments in Spain and Portugal, now made the greatest exertion to support their cause.

69. Meanwhile the insurrectional party at Oporto were not without the most serious disquietude. The blockade of the city cut them off from external aid, and the British cruisers were instructed by the Duke of Wellington, who preserved a real neutrality, to observe the blockade. The regular troops there which had revolted were under 3000 men; and out of the entire army of Portugal, which contained 24,000 sabres and bayonets, not more than 10,000 could be relied on to act against Don Miguel. The militia, which were 48,000 strong, were almost to a man in his favour. On June 24th the insurgents were attacked by the Royalists near Condeixa, defeated, and driven across the Mondego with the loss of 500 killed and wounded; a success which, though not great, was of great advantage to the King's party, as being the first in the war. Seeing matters thus serious, the Marquis Palmella, General Saldanha, and other Liberal leaders, left London, and reached Oporto in safety, where they added to the insurrectional junta the weight of their presence and the advantage of their talents. But decisive events were at the same time in the course of occurrence at Lisbon. On June 23d the Cortes met, amidst an immense crowd which never ceased to exclaim, "Vive Don Miguel! Vive le Roi absolu!" When the Assembly was constituted, the Bishop of Vizeu, on the part of the King, rose to explain the reasons of their convocation; which were, that, according to the ancient laws of the monarchy, Don Miguel was next heir on the death of the late King, and the acceptance of the crown of Brazil by his eldest son, Don Pedro, in 1825, who by doing so renounced all his rights to the succession of Portugal. "Having

thus," added M. Jose Accurno das Neves, the procureur of the Commons, "no right to the crown himself, Don Pedro could transmit none to his issue, and least of all to his august daughter the Princess Donna Maria da Gloria, to the prejudice of Don Miguel, the next heir to the monarchy. Her august Highness neither can claim on the right conferred by his appointment, because no one can cede what is not his own to assign; nor on hereditary right, because the Cortes of 1641 has expressly excluded from the succession *not only a foreign prince, but his descendants*. The inheritable blood is stopped in his person by the very act of his becoming foreign, and no one thereafter can claim a succession to the crown in his right." The three Orders, on 26th June, *unanimously* declared Don Miguel king, in conformity with the ancient usages and fundamental laws of the Portuguese monarchy, and as having become such on the death of his father, John VI. In consequence they passed a resolution, that all acts of the Emperor of Brazil as king of Portugal were null. At the same time, the King was besought to choose a spouse who might afford hopes of an heir to the monarchy. This decree was received with transports of joy in Lisbon; the city was spontaneously illuminated, and public games continued through several days gave expression to the general feeling of satisfaction.

70. Don Miguel was now King of Portugal, so far as hereditary right and the popular voice, expressed by the constitutional organs, could make him so. But there remained the more difficult task of obtaining his recognition by foreign powers, some of which had a decided interest in disclaiming him, while others were led by political sympathy or mercantile connections to take part with his opponents. The Brazilian ambassadors at Vienna and London, the Marquis de Resinde and Viscount d'Itabayna, loudly protested against "the usurpation of the crown of Brazil" by the Government of Don Miguel; and though the English ambassador did not take a similar step,

yet he did nothing towards recognising him as king in his own right. Meanwhile still more important events were in progress in the northern provinces, where the armies were in collision, by which it was evident the question must ultimately be decided. On the arrival of the Marquis Palmella and General Saldanha in Oporto, it was resolved to march out with all their forces to meet the Royalists, who, under General Provoas, were advancing towards that city ten thousand strong. They met them accordingly on the 28th June, but sustained so serious a defeat that they were obliged to fall back towards Oporto, with the troops in a state of such extreme discouragement that General Saldanha found it impossible to get them to stand and cover Oporto. The Douro was passed in the utmost haste; the greater part of the volunteers disbanded and made off; the junta was dissolved; and the Marquis Palmella and his friends, who had so lately arrived under very different auspices, were too happy to escape on board a steamer, in which they sailed for London. They were obliged to put into Corunna by an accident during the voyage. Meanwhile the Royalist army, ten thousand strong, of whom two thousand were splendid cavalry, with thirty guns, entered Oporto, where they were received with loud acclamations, and cries of "Vive le Roi absolu!" "Vive Don Miguel!" by the inconstant populace who had so lately shouted "La Constitution jusqu'à la mort!"

71. The cause of the Constitution appeared to be lost; and in truth it was so if Portugal had been left to itself. Its inhabitants had made the experiment of a Liberal government; they had found it not suitable either to the circumstances of the country or the character of its inhabitants; and they had made their election for an absolute king and their old institutions. The remainder of the session of the Cortes was passed in consolidating the monarchy, and confirming the throne to Don Miguel and his descendants, all of which was done unanimously, and it was prorogued on 15th

July. At the same time a general amnesty was published in favour of all persons in the prisons of Lisbon or Oporto, for offences of every sort, "excepting those which, from their enormity, cannot be forgiven—viz., blasphemy against God and his saints, high treason, perjury, murder, and robbery." These exceptions greatly lessened the value of the amnesty, and left the prisons still encumbered with a multitude of captives, whose trials all the activity of the special commission which was appointed for the purpose could not overtake. These imprisonments and arrests, as is usual in such cases, envenomed to a fearful degree the feelings of the parties towards each other. They became the instruments by which private pique or jealousy wreaked its vengeance on its opponents. To such a length did these passions extend, from the alternate triumphs of the contending parties, that humanity was universally discarded, and good government became impossible. Universal terror was diffused by a decree published on the 26th August, denouncing all persons charged with high treason since the return of Don Miguel on 22d February last, which was immediately followed by numerous arrests.

72. What tended in an especial manner to perpetuate these melancholy facts, and stain the royal Government with blood, was the continued refusal of the foreign powers to recognise Don Miguel, and the ceaseless efforts made by the Portuguese refugees, by means of expeditions fitted out in England, to disturb and overturn the existing Government. The Portuguese islands, Madeira, Terceira, and the others of the Cape de Verde cluster, afforded a secure place of asylum for these adventurers, as they still held out for Donna Maria and the constitutional Government. The Portuguese Government, on learning that the isles held out for Don Pedro, sent an expedition, consisting of a ship of the line, two frigates, and some smaller vessels, having 2500 troops on board, against the largest and most important, which was taken on the

23d August, with scarcely any resistance. Upon this the authority of Don Miguel was recognised in all the lesser isles of the Cape de Verde group, excepting Terceira, which still held out for Don Pedro. The people in it were desirous to follow the example of the other isles, and took the field with 4000 militia to compel the governor to do so: but he was a man of resolution; easily dispersed the assailants, and held out with the garrison for the constitutional Government. Meanwhile Don Pedro, in Brazil, having learned the course which events were taking in Europe, despatched his daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria, though a child only ten years of age, for Lisbon, in the hope that Don Miguel would go on with his marriage with the young princess, or at least divide the Government with her, and that thus this civil war might be stopped, and the succession to the crown preserved in his family. By a singular coincidence, she set sail in two frigates from Rio Janeiro on the 5th July 1828, the very day when Don Miguel had assumed the crown exclusively in his own right.

73. The frigates, with the young princess, arrived at Gibraltar on 2d September, after a stormy passage of fifty-nine days. Her council, having there learned the course which events had taken, after much deliberation resolved that she should proceed to London instead of Vienna, which was first proposed. She arrived at Falmouth on the 24th September, and was received with a royal salute by the batteries. The royal standard of Portugal was then hoisted, and the Princess came ashore amidst the acclamations of an immense crowd of spectators. She was treated on the whole road to London, and in that city itself, with royal honours; while in the *Lisbon Gazette* of the 10th September her arrival at Gibraltar was announced as that of a foreign princess with whom Portugal had no concern. She was received at Windsor with royal honours; but the Duke of Wellington was cautious not to use expressions which might shut the door

to conciliation. On the contrary, on the 16th October he sent Lord Strangford to Lisbon with a special message to endeavour to bring about still the marriage of Don Miguel with Donna Maria. But nothing was done to shake the general belief that the Princess's title to the throne, in virtue of her father's bequest, was beyond a doubt. On the contrary, as the negotiation with Don Miguel led to no result, she was, on the 22d December, received in state as Queen at Windsor by the King, who drank to her health as "his friend and ally the Queen of Portugal." During these trying scenes, the little Queen won all hearts by her grace, presence of mind, and affability. To the Duke of Wellington she said, "I know that you have saved the crown of Portugal once, and I trust you will do so a second time."

74. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, and by the accounts received of the general consternation spread in Portugal, especially at Lisbon, Oporto, and Coimbra, by the numerous arrests and convictions of persons in those cities suspected of complicity with the Liberal party, the Marquis Palmella and the other refugees in England, who were for the most part men of high rank, deemed the moment for action arrived. A considerable force accordingly was collected, consisting of 1800 Irish and German adventurers, with a few Portuguese refugees among them, a part of whom were embarked on board four English transports, and set sail from Plymouth in the beginning of 1829. Although they sailed in this manner, however, from a British harbour, and in a manner under cover of the British flag, yet the Duke of Wellington allowed it only on the assurance given by Marquis Palmella that they were destined for Brazil, and on no account were to land anywhere in Portugal. This was a pleasing device which deceived no one; and the Duke gave proof that he was not taken in by it, for he only permitted the expedition to sail in company of two English frigates under Commodore Walpole, who had instructions not to permit them to land on any part of

the Portuguese coast. Thus watched and hampered, the expedition made sail for Terceira, the only point in the Portuguese dominions where the authority of Donna Maria was still recognised. When they arrived, however, at that island, they found the entrance to the harbour barred by Don Miguel's squadron, to which Commodore Walpole now added his two frigates, declaring that he could not permit the troops to be landed in any part of the Portuguese dominions. After a violent altercation, General Saldanha, who commanded the expedition, was obliged to submit, and he returned with his squadron to Europe, and found refuge in Brest, where he met with a hospitable reception. As it was universally understood that the expedition was designed to restore Donna Maria, who had been recognised by the English Government, this contradictory proceeding, which in effect frustrated it, excited universal astonishment, and gave rise to acrimonious attacks on the Duke of Wellington, both on the part of the Liberal class and in both Houses of Parliament. The Duke and his Ministry defended themselves on the ground that their principle was non-intervention, which could not admit of an expedition sailing from British harbours attempting to change the government of Portugal. The principle undoubtedly was the right one; but it was not so apparent how it was reconcilable with permission to the expedition to assemble and sail from Britain and a previous recognition of the young princess by the British Government.

75. The Government of Lisbon, however, felt too strongly the narrow escape they had made from having a revolutionary force established in an island of considerable strength lying in the midst of their transmarine dominions, not to be desirous to get it out of hands in which it might become a dangerous rallying-point to the disaffected. It became the more necessary to do this, that the counsellors of Donna Maria in England had contrived to send arms and ammunition to the garrison in her interest in that island; and

they had even sent an entire battalion composed of volunteers, who had arrived safely, and raised the troops in it to two thousand men, who assumed the government under a regency appointed by Don Pedro in Brazil. Don Miguel, in consequence, fitted out an expedition, consisting of a ship of the line, three frigates, and several smaller vessels, which arrived before Terceira on the 11th August, and after waiting some days in expectation of a movement in its favour among the inhabitants, which did not take place, succeeded in effecting the landing, under cover of a thick fog, of a battalion, which at first made itself master of some batteries, and was very near achieving decisive success. But not being supported in time by the remainder of the land force, it was soon surrounded by the troops in the island and obliged to capitulate. Defeated at all points, the expedition had no alternative but to retire, and made sail for Lisbon, which they reached with some difficulty, with the loss of 471 killed and wounded, and 400 prisoners. Don Miguel was consoled, however, for this disaster by the recognition of his title to the throne by the Spanish Government, which took place about the same time.

76. More even than by this external disaster was the Government of Don Miguel discredited at this time by the vindictive and sanguinary measures which it adopted to quiet internal commotions. An unfortunate attempt of an ardent votary of the Liberal cause, Brigadier-general Moreira, which had been made on the 9th January, to excite a revolt in the garrison of Lisbon, and which had totally failed, afforded too good a pretext for the adoption of rigorous measures. He himself and four of his principal officers were sentenced to be executed on the 5th March on the Place de Commerce at Lisbon, protesting with their last breath their devotion to their queen and country. What rendered the punishment inflicted on these conspirators in a peculiar manner revolting was, that the accused had been in part acquitted or sentenced to punishments

short of death, in the first instance, by a military commission, and had their sentences reversed by the sovereign's authority, and even those acquitted sentenced to ten years' transportation. Nor did the severe measures of Government stop with the punishments consequent on this conspiracy. It was made a pretext for continuing and increasing the arrests, and inflicting severe punishments on those convicted of the insurrection of 1828, whose sentences, from the dilatory forms of the Portuguese law, had not yet been pronounced. This was the more vindictive, that among the persons against whom these sentences were pronounced, were many of the first nobles in the country, whose only fault was having adhered to the opposite party in possession of power in a case of disputed succession. Fortunately these parties were all out of the kingdom and beyond the reach of their persecutors; but the knowledge of the fate which awaited them if they returned, of course rendered them in their turn, if victorious, cruel and vindictive. An ordinance published in November of this year, sequestered the effects of so large a number of persons accused of high treason, that a considerable proportion of the property of the country passed into the hands of the Crown. In sanctioning these cruel and vindictive proceedings, there is no reason to suppose that Don Miguel was actuated by inherent barbarity of disposition. The truth was, that he was in the hands of an ambitious and vindictive party, which saw no safety to itself but in exterminating its opponents. It was the same in England in the Wars of the Roses; it was the same in India during the revolt of 1857, where for a year and a half no prisoners were made on either side. Finding her cause at present hopeless, Donna Maria, with the consent of her father, returned to Rio Janeiro; and Don Miguel was gratified by the recognition of his crown by the President of the United States, as the sovereign of Portugal *de facto*, and by the declared consent of the people.

77. The year 1830, so fruitful in po-

litical convulsions or change in France and England, passed over without any remarkable occurrence in Portugal. The same system of arrests and confiscations went on in the country: the dungeons of Belem and St Julien on the Tagus were crowded with prisoners, who in vain implored that they might be brought to trial; but the confiscations produced little, as it was impossible to find purchasers, in the existing uncertainty of the Government. The hopes of the malcontents were kept alive by the resistance of the regents, Count Palmella, Count Villa-Flor, and General Saldanha, in Terceira, from whence they issued decrees in Donna Maria's name, and by the recognition of her as queen by the Government of Great Britain. But no active movement was attempted in her favour. The treasury at Lisbon was reduced to great straits in the course of this year for want of money; the annual expenses amounted to 40,000,000 francs (£1,600,000), and its income was below 20,000,000 francs (£800,000); while a loan which was tried totally failed, from the hostility of the entire moneyed class to Don Miguel, alike in Lisbon, London, and Paris. Their angry feelings were increased by a sally of temper on his part, in refusing to receive the deputies from the mercantile classes, because they did not come, in conformity with ancient usage, with his effigy on the medals which were suspended round their necks. But all these lesser causes of irritation were thrown into the shade by the revolution in Paris in July 1830, which shook every throne in Europe, and the repercussion of which was felt on the rock of Belem and in the palace of Lisbon.

78. That great event immediately altered the position of Portugal as well as Spain towards one, and that the most important, of the neighbouring powers. The Revolution of July having established a government in Paris which set aside the ancient and legitimate line, and introduced one which owed its existence to a well-concerted urban tumult, the policy of France towards the adjoining states un-

derwent an immediate change. Louis Philippe and his Cabinet felt the necessity of the support of the neighbouring powers to consolidate their newly-acquired power; and this was to be looked for with sincerity only in governments having a similar origin. Threatened by legitimate Europe on the Rhine, they were fain to secure themselves by revolutionary Europe in their rear. The necessity of having no longer any Pyrenees was as strongly felt by them as it had been by Louis XIV. when he braved the hostility of combined Europe to attain that object. Thus the Revolution of July at Paris at once changed the relations of France with Spain and Portugal; it converted a dubious and cold neutrality towards the contending parties in the Peninsula into a warm and cordial sympathy with the Liberal one. As the ascendancy at Madrid had, from the influence of the Queen-mother Christina, fallen into the hands of that party, this change strengthened immensely the authority of Government in the Spanish capital. As much did it weaken the foundations of authority in the Portuguese, where the throne of Don Miguel was rested on the support of the Legitimist aristocracy and the Roman Catholic clergy. The overthrow of the Tories in November 1830 in Great Britain, and the accession of the Liberals to power, which, with the exception of a few years, they have ever since retained, produced a similar and equally important change in the policy of the British Cabinet towards the contending parties in both parts of the Peninsula. It at once brought English influence round to the Liberal party both in Spain and Portugal, and converted the cautious neutrality of the Duke of Wellington in the contest between Donna Maria and Don Miguel for the crown of Portugal into a cordial alliance with the former of these parties.

79. The effects of these changes were soon apparent in the relations of France and England with Portugal. Feeling secure of support from their respective Governments, the natives of both countries in Lisbon began to give open vent

to their sentiments, and to join in secret conspiracies, or that open manifestation of revolutionary sentiments which was sure to awaken the jealousy of the despotic and suspicious Camarilla, now in possession of government. On the 7th of February 1831, two Frenchmen, one a student at Coimbra, and the other a merchant in Lisbon, were apprehended in an *emeute* in the latter city—the former on a charge of indecency in a church, the latter for shouting “Long live Donna Maria! Down with Don Miguel!” and next day symptoms of a general conspiracy were apparent in the capital. The consequence was, that the two Frenchmen were apprehended and sentenced to severe punishments—the former, M. Bonhomme, being to be flogged through the streets of Lisbon. The French consul immediately transmitted the account of this barbarous and injudicious sentence for a very slight offence to his Government, and received in answer by return of post instructions to demand the delivery of the man sentenced, and an ample indemnity. All reparation having been refused, even after two French frigates had appeared at the mouth of the Tagus, the French consul left Lisbon, and orders were given by the French Government to commence hostilities against Portuguese vessels at sea. This measure not having been attended with the desired effect, a French squadron of six sail of the line, three frigates, and a number of smaller vessels, appeared at the mouth of the Tagus on the 8th July, and transmitted the *ultimatum* of the French Government. It having been refused, the squadron, on the 11th July, taking advantage of a high tide, made sail up the river, received the fire of Fort Belem and the batteries adjacent, and, without sustaining any serious damage, cast anchor alongside of the quays, and directly opposite to the King’s palace. Submission now became a matter of necessity: the most ample offer of reparation was made by the Portuguese Government; M. Bonhomme was given up, an indemnity promised, and, as a security for the due performance of the treaty, the

whole Portuguese fleet was carried off by the French Admiral, to be held in deposit till a certain number of Frenchmen were liberated, on condition of their not taking part in any conspiracies which might be directed against the Portuguese Government.

80. What encouraged the Portuguese Cabinet to resist so long the demands of France on this subject, was the belief that the British Government, whose assistance they invoked under the ancient treaties between the two countries, would never allow the Tagus to be forced by a French squadron, or Lisbon to be placed at the mercy of a French expedition. The Duke of Wellington confessed in the House of Peers that it went to his heart to see the French flag waving in triumph before the palace of Lisbon. But this appeal was made in vain. Not only had the policy and feelings of the Government of England towards that of Portugal been entirely changed by the accession of the Liberal party to the direction of affairs in London, but the vindictive spirit and marvellous imprudence of the Lisbon Camarilla had given the English just cause of complaint, and involved the Cabinets of the two countries in an angry and almost hostile correspondence. A feeling of irritation had arisen in consequence of the imprudent act on the part of the Portuguese squadron blockading Terceira, in maltreating some English officers and sailors who had been taken in the St Helena, an English packet-boat, when trying to run the blockade. The stoppage was legal, and as such respected by the Duke of Wellington; but the maltreatment was unjustifiable, and gave rise to a demand for reparation by the British Government. Since that time the British residents in Portugal had been thrown into alarm by the arbitrary seizure and detention in prison, without a trial, of a number of British residents, on the charge of being implicated in attempts to overturn the Portuguese Government. From the known aversion of the British in Portugal to the Government of Don Miguel, it is not unlikely that these charges were not altogether

destitute of foundation. But there can be but one opinion of the *imprudence* of such conduct on the part of his Cabinet, when already involved in an altercation with France. They soon reaped the fruit of such strange and inconsiderate conduct. The English Government made a formal demand for satisfaction and reparation, which the appearance of a British squadron of three sail of the line and three frigates, at the mouth of the Tagus, gave that of Portugal no means of resisting. The satisfaction demanded was promptly accorded, and the *Lisbon Gazette* of May 2d announced the dismissal of the captain of the frigate who seized the St Helena, and of the magistrates who had signed the warrants of committal complained of in Portugal.

81. The known favourable dispositions of the Liberal Governments of France and England towards his daughter, encouraged Don Pedro, in the latter part of this year, to leave Brazil, and hazard an expedition in person against Portugal, with a view to the establishment of his authority. The Emperor of Brazil, albeit a liberal sovereign, had shared in the fate of many sovereigns of that disposition—he had been forced to resign in favour of his son, and was now obliged to embark with his daughter, to endeavour to reinstate his affairs in the Old World. He arrived safely in Europe with the young Princess, and disembarked in France, where he met with the most hospitable reception from Louis Philippe. He immediately commenced recruiting forces for an expedition into Portugal; and as the dispositions of the Governments both of France and England were known to be in his favour, he met with surprising success. Then began, on the part of both Cabinets, the system of pretended neutrality and real intervention which had been so successful in detaching the colonies of Spain from the mother country. They did not openly join the standard of Don Pedro, nor send the national troops of either country to his support; but they allowed corps of volunteers to any extent to be formed for his cause, and to sail from the har-

bours of the two countries for the point of rendezvous of the forces destined to invade Portugal. Already, by the end of December 1830, three hundred refugees and volunteers, chiefly officers, had sailed from Liverpool for Belleisle in the Cape de Verde islands, and they were soon joined there by a still larger force which had been organised and equipped in France. The addition thus made to the forces of the Regency in Terceira was so considerable, that they made themselves masters, successively, of the island of St George's, which surrendered without resistance, and of that of St Michael, which was taken after an obstinate defence by Count Villa-Flor, with its garrison of 2000 men. Emboldened by these successes and the open countenance now given by France and England to their projects, the Liberals made an effort in Lisbon itself. On the night of the 21st August, eight hundred men of the 2d regiment of the line lying there revolted, and cried out, "Vive Donna Maria! Vive Don Pedro! Mort au tyran! Vive la Charte!" But the insurgents, on approaching another regiment which they expected to fraternise with them, were received with a point-blank discharge which brought down great numbers. A bloody conflict ensued. But at length the other regiments in the garrison, with the police, having joined the Royalists, the insurgents were obliged to retreat, and soon after surrender at discretion. In this conflict they lost three hundred killed and wounded; and after their surrender forty were inhumanly shot by orders of the Government. This abortive attempt, as is ever the case, strengthened the hands of Don Miguel, and gave rise to fresh arrests and more extensive and rigorous executions. It was estimated that by the middle of September there were in the prisons and pontoons of Lisbon alone 3000 prisoners, for the most part detained for political offences; and in the rest of Portugal 2600 persons had been incarcerated during the course of the year, of whom 37 had been executed and 1600 transported.

82. On the 2d February 1832, Don Pedro, having completed his preparations and joined his assembled forces in Belleisle, issued a proclamation, in which he disclaimed all intentions of claiming the crown of Portugal for himself, and declared he came only to assert it for his daughter, to whom it rightfully belonged, and to restore the Charter and the liberties of the people. On the 3d March the squadron, which had during the winter swelled to a very considerable amount, approached Terceira, where it was received with unbounded enthusiasm. The land and sea forces there assembled for the Liberal crusade were very considerable, and portended a rude conflict when they approached the Portuguese shores. The former amounted to nearly 7000 men, a great part of whom were French and English veterans, who were distributed in battalions of their respective countries. The sea armament consisted of two frigates, four smaller vessels, fifteen gunboats, and sixty-two transports or steamers, manned by 2400 seamen, for the most part of British origin. On the 8th July the expedition appeared off the bar of Oporto, where their adherents were very numerous. Next day the troops disembarked without opposition, and, marching at once on Oporto, entered that city without resistance, the regular troops having been almost all withdrawn to provide for the defence of the capital, against which it was anticipated the descent would be made. The troops which remained, after a sharp skirmish with the advanced-guard of the Liberals, crossed the river and took the road to Lisbon.

83. Seriously alarmed by these events, the Government of Don Miguel in Lisbon made the most strenuous efforts to form a respectable army, and they were warmly supported by the clergy and religious orders, who did everything in their power to augment the general fervour in his favour. The troops, which was still more material, stood firm in their allegiance, and a force of 6000 having been got together, they proceeded northward to-

wards Oporto, and encountered Don Pedro's men, 1000 strong, who were guarding the road from Lisbon to that place, at the village of Vallionzo, a short distance from that town, on 22d July. The battle which ensued on the following day was claimed as a victory by both parties; but as the Liberals retreated on the next day into Oporto, it may fairly be presumed that on the whole they had the worst of it. The Miguelites followed, and invested the city on every side. On September 8, 1832, an assault was made on Villanova, the southern suburb of Oporto, which was carried after an obstinate resistance; and on the 29th, a day esteemed favourable to their cause, being the day of St Michel, they hazarded a general assault on the city itself. The weight of the contest, which continued five hours, fell entirely on the French and English battalions. The French lost and regained their position twice, and the slaughter was great on both sides; while the assault on the English part of the line was so vehement, that for some hours it was entirely in the possession of the assailants; and they would have penetrated into the very heart of the city had it not been for the vigorous fire kept up from the batteries. At length they drew off, and the conflict ceased. Both parties were busily engaged for some months after this bloody struggle in strengthening their respective positions, without any attempt at offensive measures on either side. It was evident that the two sides were so equally matched, that neither could hope for any decisive advantage over the other. Don Miguel was too strongly supported by the army and the great majority of his countrymen for the Liberals to dispossess him and march to Lisbon; and they were too powerfully aided in Oporto by the formidable French and English auxiliaries to admit of the Miguelites chasing them from the Portuguese territory.

84. Matters remained in this balanced state all the winter, and Don Pedro's prospects became every day

more gloomy. The Miguelites mustered on the north of the Douro 17,000 men, all native Portuguese, of whom 12,000 were regulars, among whom no defection had appeared; on the southern bank 6000 watched the road to Lisbon. The whole force which could be called efficient at the disposal of Don Pedro were 13,000 men, of whom more than half were French or English, and 1500 national guards. The lines before the town were 2500 toises (5000 yards) in length, and required 5000 men for their guard; but the garrison were worn out with incessant watching and fatigue. The tempestuous state of the weather during December and January nearly shut them out from all succour by sea; and the only aid they received were some inconsiderable additions to the French and English auxiliaries. Want, in consequence, came to be severely felt both in the city and camp adjoining; and, to add to their difficulties, cholera broke out in the end of January, and soon carried off great numbers, both of the soldiers and citizens. Depression was universal. Almost all those around Don Pedro despaired of his cause; and but for the resolution and firmness of that prince himself it would have been inevitably lost. But in the midst of the general consternation he preserved his constancy unshaken—spoke cheerfully to those around him, when his own thoughts were very much the reverse; and he was energetically supported by Admiral Sartorius, to whom he had given the command of the fleet, and General Solignac, who had been sent by the French Government to take the direction of the auxiliary land forces.

85. It is with an invading army, however, as with an insurrection; every pause in the advance is a step towards the rear. Sensible of this, the counsellors of Don Pedro, after a stormy debate, resolved on an expedition, under that prince in person, into the Algarves, with a considerable party in which they had already opened secret communications. The troops, accordingly, were embarked on board the fleet at Oporto, to the number of 4000,

leaving 13,000 to guard the works around it. Thus was seen, in the strongest manner, the immense advantage which the command of the sea gives to the operations of land forces on the coast. The fleet consisted of three frigates, five war-steamers, two corvettes, and a brig; and the whole embarked on the 21st June 1833. They reached the coast of the Algarves in a few days, long before the regular troops, which had been crowded round Oporto, could arrive at the menaced points by land. The consequence was, that all the chief seaport towns on the coast, Tavira, Faro, and Lagos, fell into their hands without opposition, with a small squadron of brigs in the first of these towns, which was the capital of the province. The land forces were now disembarked, and a detachment was sent off towards the Alentejo. The Queen was proclaimed in every town through which they passed, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

86. The position of Don Miguel was now critical, for insurrection menaced him on either side, and the co-operation of England and France with his enemies was no longer doubtful. But a more serious danger awaited him, and that on the element where the former of these powers was able to lend them the most efficacious assistance. ADMIRAL NAPIER, who commanded the squadron of Don Pedro, and who to the hardihood and energy of British seamen united the eagle eye of a great commander, made sail from Lagos, intending to blockade the Tagus, or if it was resisted, to bring the Miguelite fleet to action. Relying on the superior number and weight of their vessels, the latter did not decline the encounter, and the two fleets met off Cape St Vincent, already memorable in British annals, on the 5th July. Don Miguel's squadron was greatly superior to that of the English Admiral; for it consisted of two sail of the line of 80 and 74 guns, the Raynha and John VI., two frigates, one of 56 guns, three corvettes, and two brigs. But this inequality in the number and weight of vessels on either side was compensated by the

quality of the crews; for those on Napier's side were English and Portuguese sailors, trained in the storms of the Channel and the Bay of Biscay; while the Miguelites were in fact mere landsmen, or fresh-water sailors hurriedly got up for the occasion. Yet notwithstanding this, the chances seemed unequal between two sail of the line, two heavy frigates, three corvettes, and two brigs; and three frigates and two brigs. But the wind being favourable, Napier did not hesitate to engage, and bore down on the enemy, who stood in line to receive him, directing the pilot to lay his own ship of 48 guns alongside of the Raynha of 80; while to the frigate Donna Maria was assigned the Princess Royal of 56 guns.

87. As the fleet under Napier approached, they were received with a heavy fire from the Miguelite squadron, which was well arranged in the same order as the combined fleet at Trafalgar, with the two line-of-battle ships in front in the centre, and the frigates on the wings. But the English Admiral, reserving his fire, made straight for the La Raynha, and having got within pistol-shot, opened so close and well-directed a discharge into her port-holes, that the men were speedily driven from their guns, and the vessel was soon after carried, with little loss, by boarding. An obstinate resistance was made on the quarter-deck, however, which was only overcome after great slaughter. At the same time the Donna Maria, in like manner, made itself master of the Princess Royal; and the other frigate having made off, Napier directed his own ship and the Donna Maria against the John VI., which, seeing the fate of its comrades, struck its colours without firing a shot. Chase was immediately given to the frigate, which was taken; the corvettes and brigs saved themselves by flight, and were soon lost sight of in the offing. The victory was complete: the fleet of Don Miguel no longer existed, and the crown had dropped from his head. This great and decisive success was gained with the loss of 25 men killed

and 96 wounded on the part of the victors, and 78 killed and 108 wounded on that of their opponents. Such and so wonderful is the advantage which superior hardihood, skill in seamanship, and training in gunnery gives in naval war.

88. While these events, which proved decisive, were in progress in the south, the Miguelites were preparing a grand attack on the only stronghold the Liberals possessed in the north. In the beginning of July M. de Bourmont, so well known as the conqueror of Algiers, and M. de la Rochejaquelein, and other Legitimist chiefs, arrived in the camp of the Miguelites, before Oporto. Their design, it is said, was to have taken that town, and established Don Miguel on the throne at Lisbon, and then lent a hand to Don Carlos, who, it was foreseen, from the state of Ferdinand VII., would soon have a contest to maintain for the crown of Spain. The Miguelites around Oporto were now about 20,000 men; but a great proportion were mere guerillas, upon whom little reliance could be placed in regular operations. The attack was fixed for the 25th July, and was maintained on both sides with equal resolution. The Miguelites were superior in point of numbers by a third, but the Liberals had the advantage of a strong fortified position, strengthened by bastions faced by deep ditches, and they were animated by the victories of Admiral Napier and the Duke of Terceira in the south. The assault commenced at seven in the morning; but though the attack was vigorous, the defence was not less obstinate, and it continued for some hours without any signal advantage having been gained. At length the assailants broke through the lines, and carried the batteries in one quarter, and were on the point of winning the town. Despair seized the garrison: the tocsin sounded in all the churches to summon the citizens to join in the defence, and even such of the wounded as could walk were hurried from their beds to reinforce the combatants. But at this critical mo-

ment the English brigade was brought up, and, by a headlong charge with the bayonet, regained the batteries which had been lost, and expelled the enemy. The conflict in front of the works continued with various success till evening, but the Miguelites were never able to regain their advantage, and at length drew off, after having sustained a loss of 1200 men. The Liberals had to lament as great a loss, but they had gained the immense advantage of having repulsed the enemy, and disconcerted all his plans. In the last extremity it was not the people of Portugal, but the English auxiliaries by land and sea, which achieved the Portuguese revolution, as they had done those of the South American states.

89. While this disaster was incurred in the north, the tide of success had flowed not less violently in favour of Don Pedro in the south. Taking advantage of the consternation produced by the destruction of the Miguelite fleet and the revolt in the Algarves, the Duke of Terceira, supported by the victorious squadron of Napier, advanced by the sea-coast towards the capital. He experienced very little resistance, so completely had the recent disasters, and the open protection of England to the side of Don Pedro, disconcerted his opponents. The seaport town of Setubal yielded on 22d July to their joint forces. A corps of 4000 Miguelite guerillas, under General Jordao, was next day attacked and dispersed on the southern bank of the Tagus by Count Villa-Flor. Filled with consternation at these disasters, the Duke de Cadaval, Governor of Lisbon, in the name of Don Miguel, withdrew in the night of the 23d with the few regulars that remained in the city and the armed police, taking the road to Santarem, around which the chief strength of their party lay. The next day the Duke of Terceira, at the head of 1500 men, entered the capital, and, proceeding straight to the citadel, hoisted the standard of Donna Maria amidst loud acclamations; and the day after, the arrival of the Duke of Palmella and Admiral Napier with the victorious fleet and the Miguelite prizes, complet-

ed the transports of the Liberal party. Upon hearing of these events, Don Pedro hastily departed from Oporto in the night, on board a swift-sailing vessel, and made sail for Lisbon, which he reached in safety on the 26th, and immediately proceeded to exercise the government.

90. The first acts of the new Government were injudicious, and characteristic of the deep lines of division which had now come to separate the two parties in the Peninsula, and the violent rancour with which they were mutually animated. The triumph of Don Pedro was followed by measures as harsh and inexpedient as those of Don Miguel had been. Some trifling unpopular taxes were first removed, and all condemnations pronounced since 25th April 1828—the time when Don Miguel had assumed the government—were reversed, and all property sequestered during that period ordered to be restored. So far all was unobjectionable, and the exercise only of the legitimate rights of war. But he went a great deal further; and in his exasperation at his old enemies the priests, ventured on measures which seriously affected the stability of his throne, and jarred against the strongest feelings of the people. The whole guarantees provided by the Charter, which he himself had granted, for personal freedom, were suspended till the conclusion of peace; and the clergy, the especial object of his enmity, were subjected to the most rigorous and unjustifiable treatment. The Pope's Nuncio was first ordered to quit the kingdom; the old laws against the Jesuits, which had been allowed to slumber, were revived and put in full force; a special decree on 30th July prohibited the repayment of any part of the funds which the religious houses had advanced to Don Miguel; the pains of high treason were declared against all priests who had left their benefices to follow the fortunes of the usurper; all benefices filled in any rank by the former Government, were declared vacant; all novices in the convents were ordered instantly to leave them, and forbid-

den to return, under severe penalties; and finally, all ecclesiastical patronages were abolished, and their appointments vested in the King. It was ordered that seminaries should be established for the education of the clergy, apart from the convents; and by a sweeping decree, on 31st August, the property of all who had served under Don Miguel was confiscated. The ecclesiastical courts were abolished as inconsistent with the Charter. These rigorous measures bespoke a determination to break entirely with the Court of Rome; and this disposition was still further evinced in the appointment of the Ministry, from which the Marquis Palmella, the representative of moderate opinions, was excluded, while three noted democrats of the French school, Carvalho, Xaviers, and Fieni, were appointed to the most important offices in the Cabinet; and the constant performance of the Hymn of 1820 in the public places and at the heads of regiments indicated clearly an intention not only to establish an extreme democratic government, but to introduce an entire change in matters of religious form and belief. The general discontent produced by these violent innovations was much increased by the injudicious nature of the appointments in all grades, which the new Government, under the force of pressure from without, was compelled to make, and which were so unpopular as seriously to threaten the stability of the new regime.*

* "Difficulties increase every day, and the re-establishment of the kingdom is paralysed by the cupidity of the Ministers, and the total loss of credit in the Government. The Ministry have entirely lost the confidence of the public. The grossest ignorance is shown of its laws, and the greatest unskilfulness in its precautionary measures; while the most scandalous immorality is practised in the nomination to public offices, and in every department of government. The present Ministry is not the representative of a single interest in the country; it is nothing more than a faction of rapacious fools, of anarchical cosmopolites, without names, without property, without talent, without claim upon the public, a faction that in no other manner belongs to Portugal but that its members happened to be born on its soil, with no other desire but to appropriate all the good things of the state. They are without principle good or bad, gov-

91. The partisans of Don Miguel did not fail to make the most of these extreme measures, inexpedient in all cases of a restoration, but in an especial manner to be deprecated in a country so strongly influenced by religious feeling and so much under the government of the priests as Portugal. He himself withdrew to Santarem, where he took post in a strong position formerly occupied by Massena during the invasion of Portugal under Napoleon, and immediately summoned all his adherents to join his standard. The peasants came in great numbers, and being almost all instructed in the rudiments of the military art by service in the militia, they soon greatly strengthened his forces. Don Pedro, not having force sufficient to occupy the lines of Torres Vedras, continued with his troops in Lisbon, so that the whole interior of the country remained in the hands of Don Miguel. Encouraged by the accounts received of the small force at the disposal of the Liberal Government, Marshal Bourmont, who had the real command of the army in the north, raised the siege of Oporto, and advanced with the greater part of his forces towards Lisbon with a view to regaining possession of the capital. To impede his approach, Don Pedro, who was not in sufficient force to give battle in the open field, erected in haste all the fortifications and barricades he could to obstruct the entrance, and on the chief roads redoubts were thrown up capable of opposing a stout resistance. Bourmont arrived with the Miguelites 18,000 strong, in the first week of September, and the Liberals withdrew altogether within their works. Several partial attacks were made on different parts of the lines, but without any marked success; in the course of which the young Princess, Donna Maria, arrived in the Tagus, and was enthusias-

tered merely by an intense selfishness, the *caput mortuum* of all factions, the mere dregs of the state, without either morality or principle."—COUNT TAIPA to DON PEDRO, 7th Sept. 1833; *Ann. Reg.* 1833, 260, 261. Count Taipa, a peer of Portugal, was immediately imprisoned, with the printer, for this letter, and Don Pedro confirmed the sentence.

tically received by the inhabitants. After remaining in front of the town for some weeks, Bourmont withdrew to Santarem, where Don Miguel had already established himself in a strong position, which was fortified with the utmost care. The force of Don Pedro was in no condition to expel them from this stronghold, which remained in the possession of Don Miguel during the remainder of the year and spring; and in an attack made by Don Pedro's forces on this point, they were defeated with the loss of 1000 men. Don Pedro and his daughter were consoled for this disaster by the unqualified recognition of the title of the latter to the throne by France and England, and the junction of the marines of the latter power to their forces in Lisbon.

92. Such was the state of affairs in Spain and Portugal when the British and French Governments, abandoning the system of simulated neutrality and disguised intervention which they had hitherto pursued, entirely threw off the mask, and gave their unqualified and open support to the Liberal party in both kingdoms. The death of Ferdinand VII. left no room for doubt that a serious civil conflict would speedily arise between the partisans of Don Carlos and those of Queen Christina in Spain, of which the issue, to say the least of it, was extremely doubtful. In Portugal, affairs looked still more unpromising for the Liberal party, and it was evident that without powerful internal support the throne of Donna Maria would crumble into dust. It was well known that nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Spain were in favour of Don Carlos, and that, bereft of foreign assistance, the reign of Queen Christina and her daughter would soon come to an end. In short, the Liberal cause was in evident jeopardy in both kingdoms; and no time was to be lost by France and England if they would prevent a restoration of the rule of legitimate sovereigns by the choice of the people in both Spain and Portugal. In these circumstances they came to the rescue, and by the QUADRUPE ALLIANCE a bar was put to the

growing reaction in the Peninsula, and Liberal sovereigns forced upon the inhabitants of both in opposition to their greatest efforts and most strongly expressed wishes.

93. This celebrated treaty, which was signed on 22d April 1834, by Talleyrand on the part of France, Lord Palmerston on that of England, the Marquis Miraflores on that of Spain, and M. Sarmento on that of Portugal, proceeded on the narrative that the high contracting parties, being "profoundly convinced that the interests of the two Crowns and the security of their respective states require the immediate and energetic employment of their united efforts to put an end to hostilities, which, directed in the first instance against the throne of his most faithful Majesty, present a point of support to the evil-intentioned and rebellious subjects of the Spanish crown; and their Majesties, wishing at the same time to secure to their subjects the blessings of internal peace, and to cement the bonds of a peaceful alliance between their respective subjects, have determined to unite their forces to compel Don Carlos to withdraw from the Portuguese territory." With this view it was provided that a Spanish corps should, without delay, enter the Portuguese territory to co-operate with the forces of his most faithful Majesty in compelling Don Carlos, Infant of Spain, and Don Miguel, to quit Portugal, the whole expense of the troops being defrayed by Spain; the said troops to be withdrawn as soon as the expulsion of these princes has been effected, and their presence is no longer required. 2. His Majesty the King of Great Britain engages to concur, by the employment of a naval force, in the support of such enterprises as may be undertaken to secure the entire carrying out of this treaty by the troops of Spain and Portugal. 3. In the event of the co-operation of France being deemed necessary by the high contracting parties to secure the complete performance of the objects of this treaty, his Majesty the King of the French engages to do whatever in that respect may be agreed between

him and his three august allies. 4. A declaration should immediately be published, declaring a general amnesty in favour of all persons who, in a time which shall be specified, shall make their submission, and an income suitable to their rank provided for the Infants Don Carlos and Don Miguel. In addition to this, 1. The King of the French engaged to take, on that part of his dominions which adjoined the Spanish territory, the most efficacious means to prevent succours of any sort, in men, money, or munitions of war, from being sent from the French into the Spanish territory. 2. The King of Great Britain engaged to furnish to his most Catholic Majesty all the succour in arms or munitions of war which his most Catholic Majesty may require, and, in addition, to assist him with naval forces if that should become necessary. 3. The Regent of Portugal, acting in the name of the Queen Donna Maria II., obliges himself to send assistance, if it should be required, to his most Catholic Majesty, by all the means in his power, in the form and manner prescribed by the aforesaid treaties, which are to be held as inserted word for word in the present treaty. In a word, the four contracting powers bound themselves to recognise the two Liberal Queens on the Peninsular thrones, without the smallest reference to the wishes of their inhabitants, and having placed them there, to maintain them in the possession by all imaginable means, including succours in men, money, and munitions of war.

94. Such was the famous Quadruple Alliance Treaty of 1834, celebrated as being the first confederacy designed to confer freedom on the continental states of Europe, and establish in its western states a counterpoise to the Holy Alliance in the east. Its effects and consequences have not been of such magnitude as were anticipated when it was first promulgated; but still they were considerable, and the treaty itself is valuable as presenting a picture of the real designs of the Liberal Alliance, and tearing the mask from many faces which wore those of

freedom and peace. Disguised under warm professions of humanity, and a desire for the happiness of mankind, the Quadruple Alliance really was, what the Holy Alliance was not, *a conspiracy against the independence of nations and the self-government of mankind*. The result has clearly proved the difference between the two treaties. No external aggression, no assault on weaker states, followed the adhesion of the Emperor Francis and the King of Prussia to the amiable but impracticable dreams of Alexander, and every subsequent war to 1854 has been provoked by the democratic party. But a violent assault on Portugal and Spain, and the most bloody civil war of recent times, was the direct and immediate consequence of the adhesion of Lord Palmerston in 1834 to the ambitious projects of Louis Philippe and Talleyrand. It is hard to say whether the Liberal attack on Spain and Portugal was most at variance with the legitimate rights of their respective sovereigns, or the rights and wishes of the majority of their subjects. Beyond all doubt Don Carlos was the lawful sovereign of Spain, and Don Miguel of Portugal. The first was the heir-male of the Spanish crown, according to the Salic law, solemnly introduced into Spain by the treaty of 1713, and guaranteed by all the powers of Europe, including France and England, by the Treaty of Utrecht. Don Miguel was as clearly the legitimate monarch of Portugal. He was the immediate younger brother of Don Pedro, the eldest son of John VI., who, by renouncing the Portuguese crown and accepting that of Brazil in its stead, had expressly abandoned all claim to the European crown, and lost all right to dispose of it in favour of his third daughter, Donna Maria. The two Queens whom the Quadruple Alliance recognised as the sovereigns of the Peninsular kingdoms were not properly usurpers, for they were both minors, incapable of forming or executing any such design for themselves. They were mere puppets, put up by a party in France and England in order to favour the growth of ideas favourable to

their interests in the Peninsular kingdoms, and engraft a war of succession on one of principles. In entering into engagements to maintain the revolutionary queens on both Peninsular thrones, the Governments of France and England were declaring open war against the principles on which they themselves were founded; for the Hanoverian family, not less than that of Orleans, had been placed on the throne by a violent assertion of the popular will. Don Miguel had been seated on the throne of Lisbon by a unanimous vote of the Cortes, elected according to ancient usage, with the full assent of the army and the great majority of the people, and he had held it without opposition for five years, and until powerful foreign intervention had been called in to support his rival. Don Carlos was not less the sovereign of the people's choice in Spain, as was decisively proved in the sequel; for his adherents, who were twelve millions to two, would beyond all doubt have placed him on the throne, and maintained him there, but for the powerful intervention of France and England. But without consulting the inhabitants of either country, or paying the least regard to their legal rights of succession, the Governments of France and England took upon themselves to dispose of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, and prepared to support the prince of their choice in both, by all the influence, moral and physical, which they possessed.

95. But if morally wrong, and directly contrary to their own principles, it must be admitted that the Government of France had strong reasons of political expedience to advance in favour of the course which they adopted on this occasion. The geographical position of Spain—adjoining France, in rear as it were, when engaged with Europe in front—must always render it a matter of the highest importance to have the Cabinet of Madrid in harmony with that of the Tuileries. It was to attain this end that French diplomacy, in the close of the seventeenth century, obtained from the King of Spain the bequest of his crown to the Duke of

Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV.; and so strongly was the value of the bequest estimated, that that powerful monarch risked his own crown in the Succession War to retain it. Napoleon felt the same necessity not less strongly. His first step, when he had established his supremacy in Europe, was to place his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain; and to maintain him there he incurred the risk of a war at once in the Peninsula and in Russia, which double strain, beyond all question, proved his ruin. The danger thence arising was averted only by the swords of Marlborough and Wellington. Even Harley and Bolingbroke, who concluded the Treaty of Utrecht, felt the danger of such a family alliance so strongly, that they inserted in the Treaty of Utrecht an express clause entailing the crown of Spain on the male line, in order to prevent the possibility of its being acquired by marriage by a prince of France. The event proved the necessity of this precaution; for by the alliance of France and Spain Great Britain was twice in the next century brought to the verge of ruin: once in the American War, when Admiral Darby, with 21 sail of the line, was blockaded in Plymouth by the combined French and Spanish fleets, with 46; and again in 1805, when the disobedience of orders by Admiral Villeneuve, in retiring with the combined fleets from Corunna to Cadiz, instead of advancing to join Admiral Gantheaume, who was ready at Brest to join them with 21 line-of-battle ships, alone prevented the French and Spanish fleets, of 56 sail of the line, advancing to Boulogne, and transporting Napoleon, with 130,000 men, to the coast of Sussex. The same reasons of expedience—it may almost be said, of state necessity—existed in the time of Louis Philippe, and considerations of the most pressing kind recommended the placing the little Isabella instead of Don Carlos on the Spanish throne. By so doing a revolutionary dynasty was established there, which, of course, could be relied on as likely to support the revolutionary dynasty in France; and there was every likelihood that

this alliance might be rendered still closer by a marriage of French princes to the youthful sovereigns of Spain and Portugal.

96. It is more difficult to discover any reasons, either in national interests or state necessity, which could justify the active intervention at this period of Great Britain in Spanish and Portuguese affairs. The ground assigned in the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance—viz., the interests of humanity and the maintenance of peace—were not only nowise promoted, but directly reversed, by the course pursued. By forcing sovereigns in both countries on the people against the feelings and wishes of the majority, they prolonged for years a murderous fratricidal contest, which, if the two countries had been let alone, would have been terminated in both in three months, with a comparatively small effusion of blood, and before any of the atrocious horrors of civil warfare had arisen. By intervening in favour of the unpopular sovereign in both countries, and heaping upon her the odium of heretical support, the conflict was prolonged for six years, and stained with unutterable atrocities on both sides. Nor was there anything in the circumstances or peculiar interests of England which called for so glaring a departure, on the part of her Government, from the principles of non-intervention, which she had so often loudly invoked against others, but so seldom practised herself. On the contrary, her interests were directly the reverse. By placing a liberal government and a revolutionary queen at the head of affairs, both in Spain and Portugal, both these powers were, from community of origin and identity of interest, necessarily thrown into the arms of France; while by abrogating the Salic law in the former of these countries, we ran the nation headlong into the danger which the War of the Succession was undertaken to avert, and the victories of Marlborough and Wellington had, at so great an expenditure of blood and treasure, successfully guarded against. These dangers were not visionary or chimerical—they were instant, press-

ing, and alarming; they threatened, at no distant period, to put the independence of Great Britain seriously at stake, by an alliance, offensive and defensive, of France with the two Peninsular kingdoms, now connected by the bonds alike of interest and marriage. It came on sooner than could have been anticipated. The Montpensier marriage at once realised the danger which had been set aside as visionary; and the extreme resentment on that occasion displayed by the British Government, evinced more than the alarm of a far-seeing statesman—it betrayed the irritation of a duped diplomatist.* In a word, the

* By the recent marriage of the Comte de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe, to the eldest daughter of the Duchess of Montpensier, niece of the Queen of Spain, the danger of the crown of France and Spain being

Quadruple Alliance and subsequent intervention of England and France in the War of the Succession in Spain and Portugal, was, in both countries, an act of political immorality, because it was directly contrary to their professed principles, and the foundations of their own political institutions. But in France, though morally wrong, it was undoubtedly expedient; in England it was at once a moral fault and a political mistake.

united on one head, after having been averted by the efforts of England for a century and a half, may be in the end brought on this country by the act of the English themselves. This is the more likely, as the popular party in France is daily declaring more strongly against the Napoleon dynasty, and the Orleans family will soon, from the failure of male issue in the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, unite both divisions of the Legitimists.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CARLIST WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT IN 1833
TO THE DEATH OF ZUMALACARREGUI IN 1835.

1. THUS, by a singular combination of circumstances, a war of succession was engrafted on one of principles, at the same time, both in Spain and Portugal. The contest for the throne in each bore the closest resemblance to that in the other. In both, a queen was brought forward in consequence of the last sovereign having died without a male descendant who could take the throne, contrary to the settled usage or obligation of treaties, which forbade such an attempt. In both, the revolutionary party gave their strongest support to the revolutionary queen, as the sovereign who, having the weaker title, was the most likely to lean on them for the means of attaining the throne, and most under the necessity of yielding to their demands. In both, an infant queen was chosen by the Liberal party, resting her claim

on no legal right, but on the nomination of a sovereign who had no title to confer it—Ferdinand VII., because the succession of a female to the throne was shut out by the Spanish law of 1713, confirmed by the Treaty of Utrecht—Don Pedro, because, having renounced the crown of Portugal and made his election to take that of Brazil in its stead, he had lost the right to dispose of the European crown. In both, the revolutionary candidate was opposed by the male heir and legal successor to the throne, and his right to it was supported by the majority of the inhabitants of each country respectively. In both, their infant female rivals had the suffrages of the mercantile classes in the seaport towns, of a part of the army, and a portion of the most intelligent members of the aristocracy, who desired more liberal in-

stitutions than either country had as yet enjoyed.

2. When the contest was fairly begun, the chances of success were more equally balanced in both monarchies than might at first be imagined. The equality, however, was owing to entirely different causes in the two, and the one was, in many respects, the reverse of the other. In both countries the great majority of the people, in point of numbers, were in favour of the ancient traditions and institutions, and supported the absolute government of the King and the ancient faith. In both, the majority in point of talent and organisation was on the Liberal side; and the educated classes, especially in towns, ardently supported the same principles. But in other respects the situation of the two countries was directly opposite. In Spain the army, the Government, the Treasury, the fortresses, as well as the *élite* of the educated and commercial classes in the towns, were in favour of the Queen Isabella, who was identified with the Liberal cause throughout the provinces, and supported by the Liberal press throughout Europe. On the other hand, Don Carlos had the warm support of the Church, both regular and secular, of the majority of the nobility, and of the vast majority of the people, who, especially in the rural districts, were almost unanimous in his favour. The mountaineers of the Basque provinces in particular, comprising Biscay, Guipuscoa, and Alava, as well as those of Navarre, were zealous in his support; and not only were they individually brave and hardy, but, like the Swiss, they had been long trained to the use of arms, and their country in many places was a succession of huge natural fortresses. In Portugal, on the other hand, the Absolutist party was in possession of the Government, the Treasury, the capital, and the fortresses; and though the army was divided, experience had proved that the majority of it would range itself on the side of Don Miguel. The clergy were unanimous in his favour; and although the majority of the inhabitants of towns were on the

other side, yet the influence of the Church and the major part of the nobility proved more than sufficient to counterbalance it. The Liberal party, however, had a strong support both in the English and mercantile residents in Lisbon and Oporto, and in the proximity of the English fleet, which was always at hand, either to furnish succour in case of difficulty, or the means of evasion in the event of disaster. Upon the whole, though the advantage could not be said to be decisively on either side, yet the chances on the whole were in favour of the Monarchical party, both in Spain and Portugal, if they were left to their own native strength. But this advantage was likely to be more than counterbalanced, in the event of a protracted struggle, by the united influence of France and England, which had not merely concluded the Quadruple Alliance, one object of which was to force a Liberal Queen and a free constitution on both countries, but were prepared to second the efforts made in their behalf in both by the weight of their diplomacy, the influence of their renown, and the terror of their arms.

3. Among the supporters of Don Carlos in Spain, the most ardent, and not the least formidable, were the inhabitants of the Basque provinces, lying in the valleys on the southern slope of the Pyrenees, and the craggy shores of the Bay of Biscay. These sturdy mountaineers had a double motive for espousing the cause of Don Carlos—loyalty to the throne, and the preservation of their own *Fueros* or exclusive privileges. These privileges were of great antiquity, and to them of the utmost value. They amounted, in all local concerns or taxation, and the regulation of their parochial or municipal concerns, to absolute self-government. Like the democratic cantons of Switzerland, and mountaineers in many other parts of the world, they had contrived to rear up for themselves a host of rights and privileges which entirely regulated their domestic concerns, and which the sovereigns of Spain, respecting their valour, and dreading a war in their inaccessible

mountains, had hitherto religiously respected. Strange to say, local government was not only carried on entirely by persons of the people's election, but they were chosen, as in Uri or Unterwalden, by universal suffrage; and the taxes were voted and allocated by assemblies selected in this primitive manner. This system, so perilous in an advanced or opulent society, had answered well among the shepherds of these sequestered valleys. The people were ardently attached to their exclusive privileges; but an unerring instinct told them that they would immediately become the objects of jealousy to a Liberal central Government, which would be as desirous to crush the privileges of others as to assert its own; and that the only security for their preservation was to be found in the rule of a legitimate sovereign who adhered to the customs and traditions of the monarchy.

4. It is not to be imagined, however, that because the mountaineers of Navarre, Alava, Biscay, and Guipuscoa were the first and most successful assertors of the rights of Don Carlos, the feeling of loyalty towards him was peculiar to those provinces, or that in them it was mainly for the defence of their *Fueros* that the inhabitants took up arms. It was no selfish motive, or anxiety to avoid taxation, which led them to leave hearth and home and imperil life and property in behalf of the royal cause. As little did they act in blind obedience to the dictates of their spiritual advisers, or the mandates of a foreign ecclesiastical power. If the priests had ordered them to support Queen Christina they would not the less have taken up arms for Don Carlos. Loyalty, pure and disinterested, burnt in their bosoms, if ever it did in those of any human beings. Their feelings were the same as those which prompted the Highlanders in 1745 to rise in behalf of Charles Edward, or the peasants of La Vendée in 1793 in support of the Bourbons. They knew the forces they had to encounter, and the risks which they ran. They were well aware that the Queen had at her dis-

posal the army, the Government, the capitalists, the great towns, and that the peasantry, unarmed and undisciplined, were all they had to rely on. They knew it all, and they went forth to the fight. They did so without expectation of profit, with scarce a hope of success, but under the strong and overbearing sense of social duty. These were the sentiments of the peasantry over all Spain, with the exception of some parts of Estremadura, where, from the land being in the hands of a few great proprietors who were unpopular, such feelings had been in great part stifled. As it was, however, they were the feelings of nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the monarchy.

5. With this great preponderance in point of numbers, and these generous and disinterested sentiments actuating the immense mass, success, notwithstanding the entire possession of the resources of war by their antagonists, must have speedily been obtained by the Carlists, had it not been for three circumstances, which, from the outset, exercised a baneful, and in the end fatal, influence on their fortunes. The first of these was the personal character of the Prince, which, with many noble and upright qualities, was deficient in the vigour and unscrupulous decision, which in civil conflicts, if it does not deserve, so often commands success. He was by no means wanting in personal courage or resolution. On the contrary, he possessed both in a high degree, when matters had arrived at that pass when it was necessary to come to a decision. When Napoleon in 1808 had by treachery got both him and his brother Ferdinand into his possession, the latter, intimidated by the Emperor's threats, signed a renunciation of the throne of Spain; but the former, though the danger was instant, and the chance of succeeding to the throne remote, positively refused to do so, saying, "*I would die first.*" When driven out of Spain into Portugal by orders of the Queen, after Ferdinand's death, he wrote to his brother in these terms:

"Nothing could be more agreeable to me than to be the first to recognise your daughter, and save you all the trouble and embarrassment my refusal must occasion; but my conscience and my honour forbid it. The rights I possess are so sacred that I cannot put them aside; rights which I derived from God, when He caused me to be born in my present station, and of which He only can deprive me by giving you a son—an event I desire even more than you do yourself." This was accompanied by a solemn declaration of his right to the crown, which was forthwith transmitted to the King.* This took place on 29th April 1833, and the King died on the 29th September following. In this interval he was anxiously besought by all the Carlist chiefs to take some steps to procure the acknowledgment of his rights on the approaching demise of the sovereign, the more especially, as the Queen party were indefatigable in their efforts to secure the succession to the infant Queen, by conferring every place, civil and military, in the kingdom, on their adherents, which, before his death, they had entirely accomplished. But that upright and conscientious Prince constantly refused to take, or sanction in others, any such step; alleging that, during his brother's life, such a proceeding would be at variance with his duty to his sovereign, and that when the proper time came he would not be slow in asserting his rights. Had he done it at an earlier period, he would, beyond all doubt, have been at once successful, and ascended the throne without bloodshed; for it was the total want of preparation of the Carlists, and the thorough preparation of the Christinos, which alone gave the latter their early advantage. It was his virtuous feelings, and this sense of honour, which on this occasion marred

his cause, and ultimately cast him down from the throne; and history must confess with a sigh, that, like Louis XVI., if he had been a worse man he would have been a more successful prince.

6. The next circumstance which, in the outset, and throughout the whole struggle, exercised a baneful influence on the Royalist fortunes, was the extraordinary inefficiency and want of energy on the part of the greater part of the nobles on the Legitimist side. This peculiarity, the fatal bequest of centuries of despotic and debasing government, and perhaps also of long-established wealth and civilisation, had already been observed in the war with Napoleon. During the six years that it lasted, and all the varieties of its fortunes, there was not one man, if we except Palafox, of ancient descent, who signalised himself in the ranks of Independence. On the contrary, a great proportion of these were to be found in those of the usurper. Matters in this respect had not improved in the interval which had since elapsed. Living at ease and amidst luxury at Madrid or Seville, spending the whole revenue of their ample estates in selfish indulgence or frivolous pursuits, they were still the same feeble profligate set which has been portrayed by the pencil of Le Sage. Of combination among each other to attain any common end, or submitting to personal or private sacrifices for the public good, they had not a conception; and rather than bestir themselves, or disturb the *dolce far niente*, they were willing to allow the whole situations of trust in the kingdom to be engrossed by their Liberal rivals. The unexampled success they had met with, on the other hand, in securing all these offices to themselves, redoubled the activity and zeal of that party, who, composed chiefly of men of business and mercantile habits from the great towns, were incomparably more capable of turning their advantages to good account than their indolent and superstitious opponents. Thus, by a remarkable combination of circumstances, the great bulk both of the property and numbers of

* "I, Carlos Maria Isidore de Borbon-y-Borbon, Infant of Spain, fully convinced of my legitimate right to the throne of Spain if I survive your Majesty, you leaving no male issue, do declare that my conscience and my honour forbid me to acknowledge any other rights than my own.—THE INFANT DON CARLOS DE BORBON-Y-BORBON.—April 29, 1833."

the country was on one side, but the capacity to wield them to any useful purpose in civil conflict was on the other; and Spain, to all appearance, was destined to add another to the many instances in which an active, ambitious, and unscrupulous minority gains the ascendancy over a majority both in weight of property and numbers, but lethargic and inefficient.

7. The third circumstance which, from the very outset, operated as a clog on the efforts of the Carlists, was the powerful moral and material support given by France and England to the party in possession of power. This consideration, indeed, had little influence on the great body of the peasantry, who were too uninformed to appreciate its importance, and joyfully took the field to combat a confederacy which Russia and Austria shrank from encountering. But upon the superior classes—upon those who, by birth, property, or education, were qualified to take the lead in such a contest, the effect was very different. *They* saw no prospect of succour in the formidable domestic struggle in which they were about to engage from any foreign powers. On the contrary, the only ones capable of yielding any effective assistance had already ranged themselves on the other side. The northern powers were known to be favourable to the cause of legitimacy from the terror which the Revolution of Paris in 1830 had occasioned; but they were too distant to be in a situation to render any material assistance. Small supplies of money, transmitted secretly, were all that could be expected, and these only at distant intervals. Land forces could be sent only through France, which its Government would not permit. All access by sea was prevented by the English cruisers. On the other hand, in both these respects the condition of the Queen's party was just the reverse. France could at will pour in any amount of land forces through the Pyrenees, and rigorously interdict, as she had engaged to do by the quadruple alliance, succours of any kind being sent in to the Carlists from the same quar-

ter; England could, by her command of the sea, make any harbour in the Peninsula the depôt from which troops, arms, and ammunition, to any extent, could be introduced at pleasure to support the Queen's party. In these circumstances the well-informed classes on the Carlist side soon came to despair of the ultimate success of their cause; and though their partisans outnumbered those of the Queen in the proportion of nearly ten to one, they were without leaders, and destitute of arms, ammunition, or any of the material resources necessary for carrying on war. Add to this, that the Christinos had a most powerful and energetic body of supporters in the Liberal press of France and England, which, entirely bought up or influenced by the capitalists who had adventured their money in loans to the revolutionary governments of Spain and Portugal, saw no prospect of obtaining payment, either of the principal or interest, but by the most vigorous support of the Liberal governments in both kingdoms. Incessant were the efforts which this branch of the press made to decry their opponents and extol their supporters; and these statements being repeated, true or false, day after day, and week after week, in both countries, soon came to form general opinion, and proved in the end the most formidable enemy with whom the Carlists had to contend.

8. The influence of these circumstances clearly appeared in the very outset of the civil war. On the one hand, the Queen was proclaimed without resistance in Madrid, Cadiz, Barcelona, and Valencia, and in the chief great towns in the south and east of Spain. On the other hand, risings against the Government took place in various parts of Andalusia, La Mancha, and Valencia; and at Morella, in particular, the King was proclaimed with extraordinary rejoicings. In the mountain districts of Catalonia and Aragon, as well as the Asturias and Old Castile, similar manifestations took place. But all these efforts being undertaken without concert or central direction, and without the support of the military, were suppressed with little dif-

faculty. In the northern provinces, however, the risings from the first assumed a more formidable character. The day after the gazette containing the notification of the death of Ferdinand VII. was received in Bilboa, the garrison of that place, the chief city of Biscay, consisting of a Royalist volunteer battalion and a company of artillery, declared for the King, in which they were enthusiastically joined by the citizens. This example was speedily followed at Orduna, a considerable town, also in Biscay, containing 4000 inhabitants, in which the military and people at the same time declared for Don Carlos. A similar declaration was only prevented at Vittoria, the capital of the province of Alava, by the presence of a large military force. But a Carlist leader, Verastegui, soon collected 1500 men in the neighbourhood, with which he returned to the city, took possession of the principal square, and obliged the Christinos to evacuate the town. The whole of Guipuscoa, with the exception of St Sebastian, followed the example, and the King's authority was proclaimed in the entire Basque provinces. But an attempt in the same interest made in the important fortress of Pampeluna, in Navarre, was defeated by the vigilance of the garrison. Troops, composed chiefly of the Royalist volunteers, soon formed respectable bodies of armed men, who spread over the whole of Asturias, Leon, and Old Castile. Before many days had elapsed, 40,000 men were in the field and in arms in Navarre, the Basque provinces, the Asturias, and Old Castile; while in the former the partisans of the Queen were shut up in the fortresses of St Sebastian and Pampeluna.

9. These efforts, however, were at first by no means generally successful, when the inexperienced bands, thus hastily brought together, were brought in contact with the regular battalions of the Queen. No sooner did the Government of the Queen receive intelligence of the serious rising against their authority which had taken place in the north, than they adopted the most vigorous measures to strengthen

their troops in that quarter. Four thousand men were despatched from Madrid to reinforce the garrisons of Pampeluna and St Sebastian; and the Christinos, thus strengthened, no longer confined themselves to the walls of that fortress, but, issuing forth, met the Royalist bands in many different places, whom they almost always defeated with severe loss. Great numbers of the prisoners taken, however, who were dismissed to their respective homes, took advantage of the first opportunity to rejoin the Carlist bands, so that the pacification of the country was more apparent than real. The first considerable chief of the insurgents who was taken was Santos-Ladron, a respectable proprietor, born six leagues from Pampeluna, who had served with distinction in the Royalist army after the liberation of Ferdinand VII. from the revolutionary yoke in 1823, but had been afterwards dismissed from the service by the Queen on account of his Royalist principles. He was treacherously wounded by the Christinos at a private conference between him and Lorenzo, a leader on the other side, near Los Arcos; and being there disabled, and having fallen from his horse in consequence, he was carried, with his escort of thirty-two men, to Pampeluna, where, without being admitted even to a hearing, he was subjected to the mockery of a court-martial, condemned, and executed, with the whole thirty-two of his followers. The sentence was appealed to the Queen, but she confirmed it. His wife set out for Madrid to throw herself at her feet; but at Burgos she was met by the intelligence that he was no more. To add to the indignity, he was shot in the back—a punishment appropriated in Spain to traitors. This atrocious cruelty, following on the perfidious seizure of a general at a solemn conference, made the deepest impression on the Carlists in every part of Spain, and essentially contributed to give that savage character to the war by which on both sides it was ever after distinguished. It of course caused immediate reprisals; and by showing the Carlists that they had

neither justice nor mercy to look for from their opponents, led everywhere to the most resolute and determined resistance.

10. The effects of this abominable and treacherous massacre were soon apparent. The remains of Santos-Ladron's corps dispersed, indeed, on hearing of his seizure; but on the very night of his execution three hundred young men of the best families in Pampeluna left the place, and joined the Carlist bands in the valley of Bastan and the far-famed pass of Roncesvalles. The insurrection spread the more in all the northern provinces, no longer among the peasantry, but the landed proprietors and better classes in the towns, and soon assumed a more formidable aspect. But it did so only from the courage and respectability of the persons engaged in it, not from any military consistency it had as yet acquired. Discouragement everywhere prevailed. The repeated defeats they had experienced when they came in contact with the regulars, and the constant accessions of strength which the military were receiving from Madrid, spread generally the belief that the cause was hopeless, and that the only course which remained was submission to the irresistible central authority. It is no wonder it was so regarded, for the only Carlist force which held together and had any pretensions to a military character to the north of the Ebro, was a corps of 800 infantry and 114 cavalry, with one artilleryman, and a treasury of £200. On the other hand, the force at the disposal of the Christinos consisted of 120,000 men, all well disciplined and equipped, of which 7000 were cavalry and 2000 horse guards, in the finest state of discipline and equipment. The hearts of the peasantry were all with the Carlists, but the whole advantages of discipline and equipment, as well as unity of direction, were on the other side. The contest would probably have terminated early, and, in the first instance at least, to their disadvantage, had it not been for three circumstances which tended to counterbalance these advantages on the Liberal side, and in the

end restored the forces of the contending parties to something approaching an equality.

11. The first of these was the personal character of the first and greatest leader which the Carlist cause had produced. This leader was TOMAS ZUMALACARREGUI, one of those men who appear only at times distant from each other, and seldom more than once in the same country, but whose character is such as to fascinate the general mind, and whose exploits so great as to secure a lasting place in human annals. Like the Cid in Spain, or Wallace in Scotland, the name of Zumalacarregui has become immortal. He was born of an ancient and respectable family in Guipuscoa, which had long been known for its Royalist principles. The future hero, however, was at first inclined to Liberal principles, and made his earliest essay in arms under their banners. He first obtained a company in the troops of Mina, then on the Liberal side; he became a lieutenant-colonel in the same ranks, after the democratic Revolution of 1824; and afterwards obtained the command of the regiment of Estremadura. Having become disgusted, however, with the selfishness and corruption which he witnessed on the democratic side, he gave vent to his feelings with too much freedom, and was in consequence deprived of his regiment in 1832. He then retired to Pampeluna, where he soon after married, and was apparently destined to a happy and obscure life. He resisted all overtures of the Carlist agents, like Don Carlos, as long as Ferdinand VII. lived; but when the civil war broke out, the sound of the trumpet recalled him to arms. He escaped with difficulty from Pampeluna, and at the head of 200 volunteers joined the Carlist bands near Los Arcos, by whom he was soon after elected commander. Thenceforward his name belongs to history. He exchanged peace, safety, and obscurity, for toil, danger, and immortality.

12. His character presented that mixture of grand and heroic with reckless and daring qualities, which so

often lays the foundation of the greatest military achievements. Like Napoleon and Wellington, he was grave and taciturn in early life, and passed with his friends and companions as a youth by no means of shining abilities. He was set on deeds, not words: he aimed at self-sacrifice at the call of duty, rather than the pleasures or distinctions of society. But under this unpromising exterior was concealed the heart of a patriot, the soul of a hero, the eye of a general. His character was simplicity itself, but it was the simplicity of a noble and disinterested mind. He was not led away by the phantom of military glory; he did not seek "the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth." Like Lord Clyde, whom in many respects he resembled, his ruling principle was a sense of duty; his instinctive action, loyalty and devotion to his sovereign. He was neither the slave of the priests nor the courtier of sovereigns; but, like the Scottish hero, he was the chief to whom they both looked "when the winds of adversity blew." His generosity knew no bounds. Whatever he had—and it was in general little—he freely bestowed upon his comrades: his liberality was such that he could not keep it to himself. He often bestowed gold in handfuls on the soldiers, leaving nothing to himself, even to pay for his daily meals. He used to say on these occasions, "Here, take, take; when you have got all you will leave me in peace." Aware of his inability to resist the tale of distress, his wife used to give him only a small sum in change when he went out in the morning, and it was always spent on the unfortunate when he returned in the evening. When remonstrated with by her on these occasions, he used to say, "We are more like God when we give; He can return us more than we give away. I shall be a millionaire some day." He sallied out of Pampeluna with £200 all in gold, which for long constituted the whole funds of the army. For two years that he combated at the head of the armies he levied large contributions, most of which passed through his hands; but when

he died he left only £48, and five horses.

13. His qualities as a partisan leader, and ultimately a general, were of a very high order. Simple and abstemious in his habits, with a soul of fire and a constitution of iron, no difficulties could appal, no dangers deter him. Sleeping on the ground wrapped in his cloak, he made the soldiers forget their fatigues, and cheerfully endure their hardships, from seeing that he shared them all with them. His physical constitution was strong, and he had an extraordinary power of enduring fatigue; and such was the ascendancy which he had acquired over his men, that he induced them to submit to it all without a murmur. The attachment which they bore towards him was something almost supernatural. It rivalled the devotion of the Tenth Legion to Cæsar, or the Old Guard to Napoleon. Even in the greatest straits, when perishing from hunger, or ready to drop down from fatigue, not a murmur ever was heard in their ranks, nor a desponding feeling visible among them, if Zumalacarreigui was with them. They would have followed him barefoot over the world. If the soldiers were giving way on the march, or failing in battle, the moment they caught a sight of "Il Tios's"* white charger, their fear and fatigues seemed to vanish. They could not conceive that he would ever be beaten. "I was once inquiring," says Captain Henningsen, "what force there was in Piedramillera, a village of the Borunda; and on being informed that there were only two battalions, I could not help exclaiming, 'Only two battalions!' 'Oh, but the General is with them!' said the Navarrese, who looked as satisfied as if all the forces we could then muster were encamped upon the spot." His system of warfare was to make long night-marches, beyond what it was thought human strength could accomplish, and surprise the enemy before daybreak. If defeated by the regular soldiers, which he often was in a stand-up fight, he directed his followers to disperse,

* Their name for the General.

assigning to them a new rallying-point at a considerable distance; and such was their fidelity to their cause, and confidence in his fortune, that they seldom failed to reappear at the appointed rendezvous, often with a considerable accession of force, which had joined them during their desultory flight. Thus repeated reverses failed in crushing the spirit of the men, or even seriously reducing their numbers; and the General, who began the contest with 800 men, and no cavalry or artillery, before his death had arrayed under the King's banners a powerful force of 50,000 soldiers, almost all armed with muskets of English manufacture which they had taken in battle from the enemy.

14. The mode of warfare which he adopted was that which in ancient times so long baffled the Romans, which enabled the Spaniards during eight centuries of war to contend with the Moors, and offered such extraordinary resistance to the legions of Napoleon. It was the system of GUERRILLA WARFARE, which, however unfit to contend with regular armies in pitched battles or in the open field, presents great, and often insurmountable, difficulties in the desolate rugged regions of which nearly the whole of northern Spain consists. The mountaineers in these savage districts are capable of enduring extraordinary fatigue, and can make marches without difficulty to which English or French soldiers would prove altogether unequal. The broken and rocky nature of the country, utterly impervious to artillery, and the extreme badness of the roads, or rather bridle-paths, by which it is traversed, afforded the Carlist guerillas great advantages in this warfare, for cavalry even were unable to keep pace with foot-soldiers among these thickets and precipices, and regular infantry were never able even to attempt it. Thus a reverse, however serious, could never be followed up, and the greatest victories led to no durable results. To improve the advantages which nature had given them in this respect, Zumalacarregui

was careful to lighten his men as much as possible; and to his inventive and practical mind many improvements, since generally adopted, and in particular in the English army, are to be ascribed. He first divided the heavy cartouche-box behind, and in its stead introduced the *canana*, or waist-belt, with two little leather pouches in front, now in general use, and so advantageous both in diminishing the soldier's burden and facilitating rapidity of firing. In a mountainous country this was an immense advantage, and powerfully contributed to that rapidity of movement to which so much of their success was owing. The soldiers were permitted to discard their knapsacks, and he substituted the national *boyna*, or cap, for the heavy shako. By this means the weight which they had to carry was reduced to the musket and ammunition; and this circumstance gave them such an advantage in moving, that no troops, heavily armed according to the fashion of regular armies, had a chance of competing with them on a march.

15. This system of reducing the burdens of the soldiers to a minimum could not possibly have succeeded with any other troops than those who were as kindly and hospitably received by the peasantry wherever they went as the Carlists always were. Everywhere these soldiers found a home and succour, while the Liberals met with nothing but the most determined hostility. Nor was this the case only in the provinces actually in a state of insurrection: it was the same in every part of Spain. "I would undertake to go," says Captain Henningsen, a fellow-soldier of Zumalacarregui, "representing myself as a Carlist, from cottage to cottage, to within a day's march of Madrid, aided and assisted by the peasantry at the expense of their own lives. The intelligence and the orders which the Carlists wish to have conveyed to any part or to any distance they can always depend on having carried more rapidly than the enemy could. Their means were superior to what he can possess—the sturdy

limbs of a mountaineer. The speed of a horse in a country like the greater part of the north of Spain can be but very limited, as, on account of the shortest roads being always so rough and irregular, the animal can but walk, and often rather creep along. A man unaccustomed to the country can never rival the celerity with which the inhabitants traverse the ground: they seldom keep to any path—they go almost as the crow flies. The enemy can never venture, except in considerable bodies, across the open country. In the ordinary routine of things, a Carlist officer has but to give a paper into the hands of an alcade, or even a verbal message, to be forwarded in any direction; he immediately pitches upon the householder nearest at hand, who must either go or furnish the messenger, each being liable to serve in their turn. On reaching the next village he may, if he finds himself fatigued, hand it over to another, but if the words ‘*Luego, luego, luego*’ (despatch), three times repeated, be upon it, he may, when tired, give it into the hands of the first individual he meets, who must instantly forward it. The herdsman must leave his flock, the labourer his plough, the bridegroom his bride, to carry it; and any man refusing or betraying such a trust would be denounced by his neighbours, his friends, and even his own family!

16. “Independent of the numerous regular spies kept up by Zumalacarregui, extending to Burgos and Saragossa, he had unbounded sources of accurate information from the universal attachment of the peasantry to his cause. Whenever he went into action they might be seen running on all sides, breathless, over the mountains, to give him gratuitously all the news of the movements which had taken place or were in progress, often at the imminent risk of being shot by the opposite forces. One, intrusted by the Royalists, would carry a letter twenty miles, at the greatest peril to himself, for 2s. 6d.; the Christinos could not obtain the same service for less than five times the sum. When a column of the Christinos entered a village, not

a peasant would enter a house in which they were quartered, for fear of being suspected by his neighbours to be a spy. Such was the ascendancy which Zumalacarregui had obtained over the population, that, when they were placed, as was often the case, by the Christinos, in the alternative of being shot or disobeying his orders, they in almost every instance preferred the former.” The Carlist general never failed to derive great advantages from this unbounded attachment of the peasantry. When Rodil, the ablest of the Liberal generals, and a stern republican, in the course of the war threw garrisons into some of the strongholds to bridle the inhabitants, Zumalacarregui stationed bodies of fifty or sixty men on opposite sides, at the distance of three or four miles, with strict orders to put to death any man who should attempt to enter, *and cut off the hair of any woman*. As the Spanish women of all ranks are very proud of this ornament of their person, this threat proved as effectual with them as the sterner menace was with their male companions; and as the strictest watch was kept, so that “not a cat could show itself without being discovered,” the garrisons were soon so much straitened for provisions that many of them had to be evacuated. It was in vain that the Queen’s troops came out of their strongholds in bodies of five or six hundred men, to drive off these unwelcome but vigilant parties. The *partidas*, as they were called, in parties of three or four dozen each, fired long shots at them as they approached, often from inaccessible rocky eminences or thickets which shut out the vision; and if the regular soldiers came, then they set off across the country at a pace which rendered it impossible for the heavy-armed infantry, or even the lightest cavalry, to overtake them.* By skilfully availing himself of these advantages, and making the most of the broken nature of the country in which hostilities were carried on, Zumalacarregui succeeded in restoring the confidence of the Carlists, which had been almost de-

* Captain HENNINGSEN, i. 32, 35.

stroyed by the repeated disasters they had experienced in the commencement of the war, and at length inspired them with such self-reliance, and gave them such skill in their partisan warfare, as enabled them to meet the enemy in regular encounters in the open field.

17. One hideous feature, the sad accompaniment in almost every instance of civil warfare from opinion, and still more from a disputed succession, characterised this contest from the very outset, and will permanently weaken the interest it must ever excite in future times. This was the cruel and unrelenting way in which it was conducted on both sides, and the habitual massacre of the prisoners in cold blood which so often took place. Spain, since the return of Ferdinand VII. in 1814, had been almost always the theatre of local violence and insurrection, which had at length overturned the throne and rendered French interposition unavoidable. In the course of these protracted struggles each party had alternately suffered the last severities of military execution and inflicted them on its opponents. Nearly all the leading families had a brother, a father, or a son to lament, who had been cut off, often in cold blood, in the course of these fratricidal conflicts. The thirst for vengeance naturally arising out of these causes was much influenced by the cruel conduct of the Queen and her Ministers when the Carlist movement commenced. The massacre of Santos-Ladron and his thirty-two followers in cold blood, after their perfidious seizure, gave a too sure earnest of the nature of the contest which was approaching. Lorenzo, who had planned the disgraceful seizure, and with whom the conference was going on when it took place, instead of being broken for so unsoldierlike an act, was publicly thanked and made governor of Pampeluna. In vain the Carlist chiefs in the valley of Bastan issued the noble proclamation: "No vengeance; oblivion of the past and a religious observance of the decree of amnesty; let order, union, and valour be your motto, and success is certain."

The only answer which the Spanish Government made to this noble appeal was to give orders that every Carlist chieftain taken in arms should be shot, the same penalty inflicted on the insurgent peasantry, and the insurrection everywhere drowned in blood. The execution of this order, which was rigorously put in execution, compelled a similar order from ZumalacarreGUI; and thenceforward the war on both sides became one of extermination. So terrible and mournful were the scenes which in consequence ensued, that one would be almost tempted to believe that there was an inherent cruelty in the Spanish character beyond other men, did we not know that such is the invariable character that a war of opinion or of disputed succession assumes in all countries after it has become serious.* We have only to recollect that during the Wars of the Roses quarter was invariably refused, for years together, by Englishmen to each other, and the House of Peers was by cold-blooded massacres reduced to *six* members; and that in the Indian revolt of 1857 *no prisoners were made* on either side during the first year and a half of active hostilities,—to be convinced that we are no exception to the general rule. The only security against it is, for all nations and parties to adopt the principle that, in all wars of principle or disputed succession, *the ordinary rules of war as between nation and nation are to be observed*, and prisoners made and exchanged as in

* "The Spanish Government, foreseeing the crisis which was approaching, and which could be determined only by military force, had, during the last two years, spared no expense in raising and equipping a formidable force of soldiers. The arms and accoutrements were of the most substantial, those of the Guards and the corps d'élite, of the most splendid description. Several of the corps were armed with a peculiar kind of bayonet, long, four-edged, and about the thickness of a foil. About three inches from the point were several teeth like a saw. The wound it inflicted did not so quickly disable a man as that produced by an ordinary bayonet, but it was incurable; the wounded man lingered, and died a miserable death. This diabolical invention was in frequent use in the Queen's army; but ZumalacarreGUI absolutely forbade its adoption by the Carlist forces."—HENNINGSEN, i. 117.

foreign wars. To the honour of the Americans be it said, this rule was always acted upon by their generals on both sides during the terrible war between the Federals and the Confederates, though many measures of a very different character were adopted by the *Government* of Washington. It is to be hoped that other nations will, in similar circumstances, imitate the former and avoid the latter.

18. Another cause of the success of the Carlists was the physical nature of the country. The theatre of war may be roughly described as an irregular quadrilateral, lying in the north-eastern angle of Spain. One side of it was formed by the Pyrenees, another by the Bay of Biscay, a third by the Ebro from its source to its junction with the river Aragon, a fourth by the course of the Aragon to its origin in the Pyrenees. From the great chain of the Pyrenees, at the point where the large mountain valley of the Bastan or upper Bidassoa lies, a spinal ridge of considerable elevation shoots off to the west, and runs parallel to the sea along the whole north coast of Spain. This spine divides the theatre of war into two parts. To the north of it, sloping down to the sea, lie the provinces of Guiposcoa and Biscay; to the south, stretching down to the banks of the Ebro and the Aragon, those of Alava and Navarre. To the north of the spinal ridge, the two chief towns are Bilbao in Biscay and St Sebastian in Guiposcoa; to its south, Vittoria in Alava and Pampeluna in Navarre. These were all held by the Christinos, and formed so many bases for their operations. The latter is the strongest place in the north of Spain, and was the Spanish headquarters. It is situated in the plain at the angle where the Pyrenees throw off the spinal ridge close to the pass of Roncesvalles, and under the high hills encircling the Bastan. Two great military lines of communication traverse this country,—the great road from Madrid to Bayonne, and the direct road from the same capital to Pampeluna. The first, traversing Burgos, passes the Ebro at Miranda, and pro-

ceeds by Vittoria over the spinal ridge by Villafranca, Tolosa, Hernani, and Irun to the French frontier. The second, crossing the Ebro at Logrono, proceeds by Viana, Los Arcos, Estella, and Puente de la Reyna to Pampeluna. From Miranda, on the great road to Bayonne, a cross road branches off to the left over the mountains by Orduna to Bilbao. From Vittoria, on the same road, two cross roads branch off—one to the right by Salvatierra and Alsarua, through the deep Borunda pass, and along the foot of the spinal ridge, to Pampeluna; another to the left over the spinal ridge by Durango to Bilbao. From Hernani a road branches off to the left to St Sebastian.

19. Situated nearly in the centre of this quadrilateral, on the confines of Guipuscoa and Navarre, on the southern slope of the spinal ridge, and midway between the great road to Bayonne and the direct road to Pampeluna, lie the wild mountain districts of the Amescoas and the Borunda—for long the great stronghold of the Carlist power. This central position gave them an immense military advantage. They were able always to act from it on interior, against their adversaries moving on exterior, lines. Placed in the middle of the four great towns held, and the two main roads used, by the Christinos, they could at will either mass their whole force on any one point of their adversary's position, or descend upon either of his great lines of communication. Meanwhile, their own connection with the valley of the Bastan and the higher Pyrenees was preserved by the spinal ridge, and they hung directly over the important cross road leading from Vittoria to Pampeluna. It was to the skilful use of this central position in the mountains against his opponents, scattered round in the plains and valleys at their feet, that the wonderful successes of Zumalacarreui are in great measure to be ascribed.

20. The measures of the Madrid Government when the insurrection became so serious that it could no longer be ignored, were vigorous and well con-

ceived. Three corps were assembled and directed against Navarre, Biscay, and Guiposcoa, the principal seat of the Carlists; one, coming from Burgos, 9000 strong, was to move by Miranda on Vittoria, one of 6000 by Orduna upon Bilbao, and one from the north of Aragon of 5000 on Logrono. These different corps were all under the direction of General Sarsfield, an officer of experience and ability, and who was the more to be dreaded that he was inclined to a conciliatory policy, and by no means inclined to carry out the sanguinary measures so strongly urged upon their lieutenants by the Government of Madrid. The Carlist force in the mountains was not of equal strength; it consisted only of 5000 men opposed to Sarsfield in Alava, and two columns of 3000 each, one in Biscay, and one in the valleys of Navarre and adjoining districts. But they were all but half armed, without artillery, scantily supplied with ammunition, and hardly at all disciplined. In these circumstances they were incapable of opposing any serious resistance to the regular armies opposed to them, which were splendidly equipped and in a high state of discipline and efficiency. Sarsfield's operations, however, were for long impeded by the Carlist bands in his rear, who, under the Curate Merino, who was at the head of 3000 men at Aranda del Douro, and 2000 under Ibarola at Medina del Campo, still kept the field, and threatened his communications. At length, however, positive orders to act having come down from Madrid, a plan of operations was agreed on by the Liberal generals, and immediately carried into execution. Sarsfield broke up from Burgos on the 11th November, and after a fatiguing march of eight leagues came up with, and defeated, the Curate Merino at Belorado. Having thus cleared his rear, Sarsfield advanced toward Vittoria. The Carlists in his front did not await the shock. They withdrew from Briviesca, and abandoned, without firing a shot, the important pass of Pancorvo—a strategic point of the very last importance,

and which the French had held from 1808 to 1813. Crossing the Ebro, he reached Vittoria on the 19th, obliging his opponents to evacuate the place. Lorenzo took Logrono after an obstinate resistance, and spread out his detachments over lower Navarre. General Wall, with 3000 men and four guns, moved by Orduna towards Bilbao; while El Pastor, issuing from St Sebastian, advanced to Tolosa in the same direction. On the 26th, Bilbao was occupied by the Queen's troops, the Carlists withdrawing towards the valleys of the Amescuas, the Borunda, and the Bastan. Thus signal success had attended the operations of the Queen's troops, and the Carlists were everywhere compelled to fly to the mountains, where they found refuge in elevated valleys or woods of difficult access, and impassable for cavalry or artillery. In a word, the Carlist insurrection was now to all appearance effectually put down in the northern provinces, and the Queen's authority re-established, not only in the chief towns but in all the military lines of passage in the district.

21. The successes of the Christinos at this period had been such that, if the Government of the Queen had only acted with tolerable prudence and moderation, the insurrection would have been permanently extinguished. But its flames were again lighted and burnt up with redoubled fury in consequence of their atrocious cruelty. Not content with defeating and dispersing the Carlists, as they did with ease in every encounter where a stand was made, they pursued the isolated fugitives with relentless fury, and massacred them without mercy when no longer attempting any resistance. They boasted that during their invasion of Navarre they had slain twelve hundred men, the greater part of whom were unresisting fugitives massacred in cold blood. Nor was it only against the Carlists taken in arms that the sanguinary decrees of the Liberals were directed; the inhabitants of any village which either harboured or showed them any countenance were subjected to the most revolting ex-

cesses. This began, on their part, so early in the strife, that the whole guilt of the bloodshed which followed lies at their door. Retaliation, after the cruel system was first introduced, became unavoidable on the part of their opponents. On December 3d, in the very outset of the contest, and before any sanguinary measures had been resorted to by the Carlists, Castaños, a Liberal general, issued the following proclamation to the Navarrese: — "If any man is found in arms against the Queen, he shall be put to death within four hours. If after a lapse of eight days arms are found in any house, the master shall be subjected to a fine and other penalties, and should he have no means of payment, condemned to two years' hard labour at the hulks; any individual concealing ammunition, money, stock, or other effects belonging to an insurgent, shall be shot; the house of any person from which the Queen's troops have been fired upon shall be burnt; every peasant forming one of an assemblage of less than fifty men, and taken in arms at a quarter of a league from the high-road, shall be considered as a brigand, and shot; any one interrupting a Government courier shall be shot; every village that shall without opposition suffer the insurgents to obtain recruits shall be punished with a heavy contribution; all the property of absentees shall be confiscated; every peasant refusing to convey information from the municipalities to the headquarters shall be put in irons, and condemned to two years' hard labour in the fortress of St Sebastian; all women who, by word or deed, shall favour the rebellion, shall be closely confined; a court-martial shall be formed to try all cases brought before them, and every movable column shall have with it one member of this court, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this proclamation." Similiar proclamations were issued by all the other generals, and the whole *Fueros* of the Basque provinces were declared to be provisionally suspended.

22. These inhuman proclamations,

worthy of the worst days of Napoleonic military oppression, were carried into effect with a barbarity which, in a Christian land and in the nineteenth century, almost exceeds belief. One instance deserves to be recorded, as outdoing in wanton cruelty even the far-famed atrocity of Geisler, which has been immortalised in the story of William Tell. Zavala, a Carlist chief, having seized five noted Christinos, took them to his headquarters at Arteaga, a small town near the river Mundaca, where they were treated with respect. In retaliation the enemy despatched 600 men from Bilbao to Murguia, where Zavala's family were, whom they seized. *Having got the children, they put them in the front rank and advanced against the enemy.* Zavala, struck with horror at this savage expedient, and hesitating between his duty as a soldier and his feelings as a parent, withdrew to Guernica, where he was attacked next day, the children being again put in the front rank. On this occasion his patriotic feelings prevailed over his parental tenderness. Having placed his troops in an advantageous position under the tree of Guernica, a spot dear to the besieged by old recollections,* victory crowned their efforts; the greater part of the enemy being killed, and 120 made prisoners. The little children were saved. His men purposely fired high so as to go over the heads of the little innocents. The close fight was determined by the sword and the lance, as the Carlists were short of ammunition. The children escaped unhurt from the *mêlée*, and at the close of the action fell into the arms of their distracted parents.

23. It was not in human nature that such atrocities should not produce an inextinguishable desire for vengeance. There was not a house in the Basque provinces that had not its tale to tell of a father, a husband, a brother, or a lover slain, not in fair fight, but massacred in cold blood after the fight was over. Numberless

* It was here that they swore fidelity to their liege lord, and he bound himself to maintain their privileges inviolate.

families, driven from their burnt homesteads, were shivering amidst ice and snow in the forests or caves in the mountains. The Carlist leaders were forced by the loud cries of their followers into a stern system of reprisals. On the 18th December accordingly, a week after the proclamation above given, they issued a counter-proclamation, in which they distinctly forewarned reprisals, and denounced the same penalties against those who favoured the Christinos which they had denounced against the partisans of the Carlists. The Queen replied by a decree on 21st January 1834, ordering that all privates in the hands of the army belonging to the Carlists not already executed, should be sent to the condemned regiments in Ceuta, Porto Rico, and Cuba, and the officers shot. This savage decree was instantly put in execution; and such were the atrocities everywhere perpetrated by the Queen's troops, that great numbers of the Carlists who had laid down their arms and returned to their homes, again issued forth and formed new bands in the field, animated with a universal and inextinguishable thirst for vengeance. The hatred at the Government now spread through a superior class, which had hitherto kept aloof from the strife. Among the rest, the destined hero of the war, ZUMALACARREGUI, now resolved to join the insurgents, and on the night of November 1, 1833, as already mentioned, he made his escape from Pampeluna, where he lived with his wife, in disguise, and succeeded in joining a Carlist band at Los Arcos. His wife, who was left at home, and who shared his heroic sentiments, said to him at parting, "Do not distress yourself by useless lamentations; be not anxious on my account. Console yourself with the prospects of our children, who at least cannot experience injury even from their bitterest enemies." He contrived to pass the gates unobserved amidst a crowd of peasants, and, at once striking into byroads, reached the nearest Carlist band, after a dreary night's march on foot and alone, of nine leagues.

24. Some delay and difficulty arose when Zumalacarregui first joined the Carlists under Ituralde in the valleys of Navarre as to which should have the chief command, and opinions were at first divided on the subject. At length, however, the superior weight of a great and determined mind decided the matter, and he was unanimously chosen to command in chief. It was a situation of peril and anxiety rather than honour; for the Carlists, without leaders or any general plan of operations, were scattered in their respective valleys, and scarcely any order or discipline prevailed amongst them. They were full of zeal and burning with loyalty, but in all the other requisites for a campaign miserably deficient. Half armed, scarce familiar with the simplest discipline, they were destitute of artillery, and with hardly any ammunition. The first care of Zumalacarregui was to make the most strenuous efforts to remedy these woe-ful deficiencies. Though it was in the dark and tempestuous month of November, when the wind blew with terrific violence in the defiles of the Pyrenees, he had the men up at four in the morning, and, assuming the functions of a drill-sergeant, he himself instructed them in facing and wheeling, and the other elements of the soldier's art. Having in this way, by incredible diligence, communicated to his zealous partisans something like the consistency of soldiers, he at once led them to attack the Royal Foundry, situated about a league from the little town of Orbaizeta, near the French frontier, in a defile of the Pyrenees. The works had been destroyed during the French war, but were now rebuilt, and they furnished the principal supplies of arms and ammunition to the garrison of Pampeluna. On the 14th January 1834 the Carlist chief led his small band, 900 strong, into the valley, drew them up in front of the Foundry, and summoned the garrison to capitulate. The proposal was at first treated with derision; but the governor, Colonel Bayona, having learned that another Carlist band, 800 strong, was advancing from the Bas-

tan, he hoisted the white flag. By the terms of the capitulation the garrison was allowed to retire beyond the French frontiers with the honours of war, conditions which were religiously observed by the Carlists. By this happy and well-timed operation Zumalacarregui obtained a small supply of gunpowder and three hundred stand of arms, which were immediately distributed among the worst accoutred of his followers. He then moved into the wild pastoral valley of Roncal, situated in the very heart of the Pyrenees.

25. The greatest difficulty with which the Carlists had to contend in the desultory mountain-warfare which ensued was the want of ammunition, for the French maintained, such a rigorous blockade of the frontier that the passage of supplies of every sort from the north was absolutely stopped, and those which they had in the southern valleys before Sarsfield's advance had been buried, and the country where they had been deposited was in the hands of the enemy. Toward remedying this great deficiency the entire efforts of Zumalacarregui during the spring of 1834 were directed. He was so successful that a considerable quantity of arms were obtained from detached parties of the enemy which were surprised, and as volunteers never failed to present themselves when they could obtain arms, the Carlist force in the mountains rapidly increased. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, they established a Junta for the government of the insurgent provinces at Lumbier, an old walled town six leagues from Pampeluna, at the entrance of several of the mountain valleys, and near the French frontier. Desirous of rooting them out of this stronghold and the valleys in its rear, the Christino generals Lorenzo and Valdes arranged a combined attack on this town, with the design of making the Junta prisoners. Zumalacarregui, however, by a rapid march, forestalled them, for he reached Lumbier first, and, taking the Junta with him, retired to the upper valleys, from whence, as from

the centre of his power, he bade defiance to his opponents, by issuing bulletins detailing the progress of the war. During their abode, however, in these shivering eminences, the Carlists underwent the severest sufferings, for the cold was intense, the ground covered with snow, and so far from being provided with winter clothing, many of them had not even shoes to their feet. Their ardent spirit and inured constitutions brought them through all their difficulties; they stood their ground against the regular troops of the Liberals on more than one occasion, and especially at a defile on the Huesca road, with steadiness and success, and at length the Queen's troops, wearied with the hardships of a winter campaign in these desolate and inhospitable regions, retired to Pampeluna, leaving the Junta still in possession of their snow-environed eyrie in the mountains. Zumalacarregui now moved into the important valley of the Bastan, and established the Junta at Elizondo, its chief town.

26. When the weather became milder, and such as to admit of a resumption of military operations, Zumalacarregui executed a brilliant enterprise, which at once displayed the resources of his followers, and revealed the frightful character of the war which now desolated the country.* Deeming his troops sufficiently disciplined to admit of an expedition into the level country, he boldly advanced towards Vittoria, already the theatre of more than one glorious conflict which had determined the fate of the Peninsula, and suddenly appeared before the gates of that town, the centre of the Christinos' power in the north, at daybreak on the 18th March 1834. So complete was the surprise, and so entirely had the Carlist movements been concealed by the faithful peasantry, that, although the town was strongly garrisoned and barricaded at

* He had previously made trial of his men by an attack, upon the 14th March, on Estella, an important town on the road from Pampeluna by Logrono to Madrid. Though it failed, it yet showed such increased steadiness on their part, that he determined to resume the offensive.

all accessible points, very little resistance was made. It was attacked at three different sides, and the column, advancing by the Tolosa road, made its way into the great square, under the arcades of which the Christino garrison sought shelter, while the column on the right attacked and carried the old town. The victory was complete, when, as had been the case with the assault of Bergen-op-Zoom by the English in 1814, the advantage was lost by the indiscipline and fault of the victorious party. Deeming the town taken and themselves secure, they left their ranks and dispersed through the wine-shops, where great numbers of them became intoxicated. The Christinos saw their advantage, and, suddenly forming before the Carlists could be again collected, assailed the part of the town occupied by their opponents. Zumalacarregui, finding his opportunity lost, and being unable to re-form his men, sounded a retreat, and the whole of his men got off with 120 prisoners, a large supply of muskets and ammunition, and all the Carlist captives, whom they had delivered from the death which threatened them. A melancholy tragedy ensued. With inconceivable folly and equal cruelty, the Christinos immediately shot thirty Carlist stragglers, who were too much intoxicated to get away; and Zumalacarregui, on hearing of this barbarity, retaliated by shooting the whole Christino prisoners whom he had taken in this assault, though four times the number.

27. The orders from the Government at Madrid, under which these shocking barbarities were perpetrated and such terrible reprisals incurred, were so precise and peremptory that the Christino generals, in truth, had no alternative but to execute them. In vain Zumalacarregui and the other Carlist commanders issued proclamations stating that they were forced into a system of retaliation, but that such measures were as painful to their feelings as they were contrary to their principles.* Zumalacarregui

and Zavala, the two principal Carlist leaders, repeatedly endeavoured to soften the worst features of this terrible war, but they were always unsuccessful. With a mingled obstinacy and cruelty which seems inherent in the Spanish character, the Christino generals adhered to the sanguinary system enjoined by the Madrid Government, even when it had become evident that the Carlist generals had the means of retaliation in their hands, and that they themselves were to be the greatest sufferers by its continuance. The proof that this abominable system was entirely owing to the Liberal Government, and that the Carlists were driven into it only in self-defence, is decisive. The latter were reproached in the hostile proclamations with treason and rebellion, but never with cruelty. The Queen's generals felt, amidst all their exasperation, that they could not inveigh against severities which themselves had provoked, and which they could at any time have put an end to by terminating their own.

28. How unavoidable soever the system of retaliation by the Carlist generals may have been, it could not be carried on for any length of time without inducing many lamentable and tragic scenes, which none felt more strongly or regretted more deeply than the officers whom stern necessity drove into these deplorable proceedings. A mournful instance of this occurred in the Carlist corps commanded by Zumalacarregui himself. On the 22d April Quesada, who had succeeded Valdes in the chief command of the disturbed districts, moved forward from Vittoria to Salvatiera, intending to advance through the Borunda pass to Pampeluna, as that city had, from the vigilance of the Carlist

they observe towards us. I shudder at the acts we are compelled to adopt, so much opposed to the rights of war and that noble generosity with which those ought to be treated who surrender themselves up; but I feel compelled to proclaim to my army just reprisals. I have learned that Colonel A. Quevedo was shot on the 11th inst., not in an engagement, but four hours after he had been made prisoner."—ZAVALA'S *Proclamation*, Jan. 12, 1834; WALTON, ii. 226.

* "Our enemies ought not to complain of our treating them by the same rule as that

blockading parties, come to be straitened for provisions. Zumalacarregui, who had now established himself in the mountain district called the Amescoas, moved forward to obstruct the advance, and encountered him at Alsazua in the middle of the deep Borunda pass. Observing hesitation in the Christinos when they came near, he exclaimed, "They dare not face us ;" and instantly placing himself at their head, he rushed forward, exclaiming "*A la bayonetta!*" The charge was entirely successful : the Christinos broke and fled in every direction, and nothing but the want of cavalry prevented the Carlists from gaining a decisive victory. As it was they took a hundred prisoners, and such a quantity of arms and ammunition that in a few hours their whole army was equipped at the expense of the Queen. Among the prisoners taken was Col. Leopold O'Donnel—son of the Comde d'Abisbal, a noted general of Spain—a young officer distinguished by all the valour which was hereditary in his family, and who was shortly to celebrate his nuptials with a young and wealthy heiress. Anxious to put an end to the atrocious system of war which the Christino generals were pursuing, Zumalacarregui sent in to Pampeluna two of Quesada's men who had fallen into his hands, and intimated at the same time, that if the system of shooting the prisoners was continued, he would be compelled to sacrifice Col. O'Donnel, who was in his hands. The only answer which the Spanish general sent was the execution of a wounded Carlist volunteer taken in Huerto d'Araquil, and the alcalde of Atour, with several lesser persons suspected of leaning towards the Carlists. Upon learning this, Zumalacarregui informed the Colonel, who was sitting at his own table, and had been treated with the utmost kindness, that he must prepare for death, but that he should not be executed till the following morning, in order that he might have time to make all necessary arrangements. The young man burst into tears, and entreated that his life might be spared, offering, at the same time, a large sum by way of ransom.

Zumalacarregui, however, was inexorable ; and next morning O'Donnel, with six officers and as many privates, was shot. He died with the firmness of a Spaniard and a soldier. His father, who was at Montpellier in France, died of a broken heart on hearing of his son's fate ; and Zumalacarregui, who had been compelled to order it, was so deeply affected by the bloody tragedy in which he had been compelled to bear a part, that for some time after his sleep was broken, and his pale and haggard countenance bore evidence of the terrible mental struggle which he had undergone.

29. After these disasters Quesada retired across the mountains by Villafraanca to Tolosa, and formed a junction with two other Liberal generals, El Pastor and Butron. With this united force he again advanced through the pass of Lecumferri, upon Pampeluna, which he succeeded in reaching chiefly from the effect of his artillery, of which the Carlists had none, after a rude encounter near Areso, in which he sustained as great a loss as his opponents. After this success, El Pastor and Butron returned to their former quarters in Guipuscoa and Alava, where, during their absence, the insurrection had made great progress. The Carlists were also unsuccessful in Aragon, where Carnicer, a leader of courage and ability, had raised a band of 1500 men. But these distant reverses were more than compensated by the defeat of the Christinos at Guernica in Biscay, where Zavala routed Espartero with 3000 men, and entered that town in triumph. The Carlist cause in Navarre and Biscay was thus visibly gaining ground. Quesada remained closely observed in Pampeluna, Espartero in Bilbao ; while the whole open country between these towns fell into the hands of their opponents, who organised juntas and a regular government. The troops too, had now, by Zumalacarregui's efforts, aided by those of Zavala, become so improved in discipline and inured to war by experience, that the chiefs no longer remained in the mountains, but, descending into the plains, sought

the enemy wherever they could reach them. Wherever they went they were joined by crowds of volunteers, who came to offer their services in the ranks in such numbers that arms could not be provided for them. Nearly the whole open country in the northern provinces in this manner fell into their possession; and in Guipuscoa, from Irun to Tolosa, every town even was in their hands. By the middle of May the Carlists in Navarre and the Basque provinces had a force quite equal to that of their opponents, nearly as well disciplined, and greatly superior in energy and determination. Strange to say, it was almost entirely armed with English muskets bearing the Tower mark, although Great Britain was doing her utmost to prohibit the exportation of arms or muniments of war to the Carlist corps. They were composed entirely of the weapons taken from the Christinos in fair fight, or thrown away to facilitate their escape after defeat.

30. Another defeat, attended with still more serious losses, was sustained by the Christinos on the 18th June. Desirous of achieving something which might restore his damaged reputation, Quesada left Pampeluna at the head of 4500 men, and entered the valley of the Bastan, driving the Carlist junta from their seat at Elizondo in that valley into the mountains. From thence he moved into Guipuscoa, and on by the great road to Vittoria. Finding his force inadequate to effect anything in that quarter, he determined to return by the direct road through Salvatiera and the Borunda pass to Pampeluna. Meanwhile Zumalacarreghi had taken a position in the defiles by which that fortress could alone be approached from that side, so as to obstruct his attempt to re-enter. To aid Quesada's movement, Lorenzo issued from Pampeluna with 4500 men, who had lately come up from the Ebro, and this brought him into collision with Zumalacarreghi, who advanced to the encounter. The conflict took place at the defile of Gulina, and was very severe—much more so than any which had yet taken place in the war. The

Christinos made a gallant resistance, but were driven at the point of the bayonet from one position which they took up to another, till they were obliged to seek shelter within the walls of Pampeluna. Learning, however, that Quesada was rapidly approaching his rear, through the Borunda, with 5000 fresh troops, the wary Carlist general drew off to the hills, and Quesada gained the fortress. In this affair the Christinos had 200 men killed on the spot, and they lost 500 muskets and a large quantity of ammunition, which proved of the most essential service to their opponents. This was the second time that the Queen's troops had felt the weight of the Carlist bayonets when wielded by the sturdy hands of the mountaineers, and they never forgot it. So overjoyed was Zumalacarreghi, who led all the charges, at the conduct of his men on this occasion, that he literally shed tears of joy when he beheld the impetuosity with which they rushed in loose order on the compact and disciplined masses of the enemy.

31. Seriously alarmed by the repeated disasters which their troops had experienced, and the evident spread of the Carlist bands, the Queen's Government at Madrid resolved on an entire change both of generals and forces. They determined to increase the forces at the Ebro who were to be employed in the campaign to 40,000 men, who were put under the command of General Rodil, the most able and determined of the Liberal generals, who brought with him 10,000 excellent troops from the Portuguese frontier, where he had just concluded a bloodless but successful campaign against Don Miguel, which will be immediately recounted. With forces so considerable, which were more than double any which at any one point the Carlists could bring against them, he had no doubt that he would in a few weeks drive the insurgents everywhere up against the French frontier, which they would be unable to cross, in consequence of the army of observation stationed there, and thus they would be destroyed or obliged to disperse. In

truth, the superiority of the Queen's troops, when Rodil, who was invested with the dignity and powers of viceroy, got the command was such, that resistance in the open country or on any of the great roads was out of the question. On the 6th July he entered Pampeluna at the head of 6000 fresh men, and immediately levied a heavy contribution on the inhabitants, accompanying it with a proclamation, in which, after extolling the quadrupartite treaty, which had brought the whole strength of France and England to the side of the Queen, and saying that the war in Portugal had been brought to a close by the capitulation of Don Miguel, and that Don Carlos had been driven off far from the peninsula, he concluded by declaring that he should be wanting in what he owed to God and to the sentiments of the Queen-Regent, if, at the moment of unsheathing "the sword to *smite inexorably* those who persevered in their rebellion, he did not raise his voice to save them from ruin and extermination." Having done this, Rodil immediately took the field, and posted his headquarters at Mendavia,* a place renowned in ancient times, in the centre of Navarre.

32. At the moment when Rodil issued this proclamation denouncing Don Carlos as a fugitive from his dominions, that prince was actually in Navarre, and, at the head of his faithful followers, was prepared to contend in person for the inheritance of his father. This prince, after he had been ordered to leave Spain, as already mentioned, by Ferdinand VII., shortly before his death, had sojourned in the eastern provinces of Portugal in order to be at hand to take advantage of any movement in his favour which might occur in the neighbouring kingdom. He remained there undisturbed till April following, but then the effects of the quadruple alliance deprived him of that asylum. It was one of the conditions of that aggressive treaty,

as already noticed, that the Liberal Governments of Spain and Portugal should mutually assist each other with all their forces, in order to effect the expulsion of the two claimants of the two thrones, Don Carlos and Don Miguel, from the entire peninsula. In pursuance of this agreement, a Spanish army 10,000 strong, under General Rodil, crossed the frontier, and entered Portugal on the 16th April, just four days after the treaty had been signed. Previous to this, the war had been maintained, since the evacuation of Lisbon, by the Miguelites in a desultory manner, but on the whole to the advantage of the Liberal forces in the provinces of Beira and the Alentejo, where Don Miguel had taken his ground. He was still, however, at the head of a gallant army of 11,000 men and 30 guns; but being for the most part composed of Royalist volunteers drawn from the rural districts, they were much inferior in equipments and discipline to the regular forces of Spain and Portugal, which in virtue of the quadruple treaty were brought against them. The knowledge that France and England were parties to that treaty, and were prepared, if necessary, to assist the Liberals in both kingdoms with all their forces, spread despondence among the Miguelites, and sensibly weakened their army in the field. Men were in no hurry to join a cause threatened by so prodigious a preponderance of force; those who were with it began to look out for an opportunity to desert. The very day after Rodil crossed the frontier, Almeida hoisted the colours of Don Pedro, and the example was soon followed by Vizeu, Coimbra, and other places of lesser note. At length, after a month spent in marches and undecisive operations, the Spanish army under Rodil, and the Portuguese Liberal forces under the Duke of Terceira, operating from different sides, and advancing respectively on Castello Branco and Thomar, pressed back the Miguelites to the Tagus. A concentric movement of the Spanish and Portuguese Liberal forces, numbering

* It was the spot where, in 1507, Cæsar Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI., was murdered by the soldiers of the Constable of Navarre.—WALTON, i. 254.

in all 20,000 men, on Abrantes, was now arranged, in the course of which the Portuguese column came up with the Miguelites at Asseiceira, a league and a half from Thomar. The chances were no longer equal. The Liberals had nearly 10,000 men—the Miguelites only 6000 infantry, 400 cavalry and 8 guns; nevertheless they made a stout resistance, and for some time the result was doubtful; but at length they were broken by the repeated attacks of the regular infantry, and dispersed with the loss of four standards, all their artillery, and the most of their ammunition.

33. This defeat was fatal to the cause of Don Miguel, and induced an entire change in the affairs of Don Carlos. The broken remains of the Miguelite forces retired across the Tagus to Évora, closely pursued, in three columns, by the united Spanish and Portuguese troops, mustering above 20,000 sabres and bayonets. The Miguelites, even when all their forces were assembled together, did not exceed 7000, with 28 guns, and they were shut in on all sides, without either a stronghold to defend or means of obtaining provisions. In these circumstances submission became a matter of necessity; and the vanquished obtained, from the wisdom or humanity of the Duke of Terceira, who commanded Don Pedro's forces, more favourable terms than could have been anticipated. The capitulation was concluded on the 26th May, and was to the following effect:—Don Pedro accorded a full and absolute amnesty to all the Miguelites, of whatever rank, who should submit themselves to the Queen's Government within forty-eight hours of the signature of the capitulation. Don Miguel engaged immediately to evacuate Portugal, and not return to any part of the Peninsula, upon being secured a revenue of 357,000 francs (£15,000) a year—a sum equal to nearly double that nominal amount in the British dominions. All questions arising out of the confiscations consequent on Don Pedro's decree of 31st August 1833 were remitted to the next Cortes. By the same treaty Don Carlos, who also

was at Évora at the time of the capitulation, agreed forthwith to leave the Peninsula; and, in pursuance of his engagement, he proceeded, with his family, suite, and three hundred officers who were faithful to him in his misfortunes, to Aldea-Gallega, where he embarked for England. The conditions of the treaty were honourably observed by Don Pedro's Government itself; but the Liberals in several towns, especially Sines, where Don Miguel embarked, broke out into violent excesses against the Miguelites, which were only repressed, after much bloodshed, by a formidable display of military forces.

34. By this capitulation the Liberal cause was rendered triumphant in Portugal, and the authors of the quadruple alliance might boast that they had trampled under foot the rights of an independent nation, an ancient ally of England, and defeated the people's choice in the election of the sovereign who was to rule them. But in its ultimate results this treaty prolonged for a great time the fearful contest which was raging in the north of Spain. It brought Don Carlos into the Basque provinces. That prince having been merely enjoined by the treaty to quit Portugal, did so under the protection of the agents of Don Pedro; but having embarked for England, he landed at Portsmouth on the 18th June, and immediately proceeded to London, where he was hospitably received by the leaders of the aristocratic party in this country. Relying on the promises he received both from them and the representatives of the northern powers of considerable assistance in money, he set out from London on the 5th, and reached Paris on the 6th July. From thence, without stopping an hour, he proceeded to Bordeaux, where he arrived on the 7th, and on the 9th he crossed the Pyrenees to Elizondo, and found himself in the midst of his faithful Basque mountaineers, by whom he was received with unbounded acclamations. He had been earnestly implored by Zumalacarreui to come among them, and received assurances of the most enthu-

siastic support.* Thus was the whole fruit of Rodil's expedition into Portugal, the main object of which was to chase Don Carlos from the Peninsula, lost, or rather turned to the advantage of the enemy; for instead of being on the Estremadura frontier, where the peasantry were less inclined to his cause than in any other part of Spain, he was transported into the heart of the Navarre and Basque provinces, where the inhabitants, one and all, were willing to peril life and property in his defence.

35. By the successive arrival of Rodil on the Ebro and Don Carlos in Navarre the war assumed larger proportions, and became subject on both sides to greater unity of direction. These events also demonstrated, in a way that could not be misunderstood,

* "Were you only to rely on the efforts of Navarre and the Basque provinces, believe me, Sire, that although limited, they will not be in vain. Come, Sire—dread nothing. Here, among us, your brow shall be adorned with the crown of Navarre. If not great in extent, its people are at least noble and heroic. All nations will respect you; you will be acknowledged, and a brave people to a man will perish rather than that you should receive harm. In fine, Sire, you will sustain your dignity, and be proclaimed and lauded by all as their king. Hence will your Majesty recover the throne of St Ferdinand.

"Our consciences and our honour, Sire, oblige us to beseech you to come among us; your presence alone will suffice. If you once tread the soil of Navarre or of Guipuscoa, rely upon it, Sire, you are safe; then we will all fly to receive you. Ten thousand bayonets, wielded by as many veteran soldiers, will you have at your side the moment you reach the Spanish territory; in a few days as many more. May the happy moment of your arrival come! Come it will, because your Majesty's virtues are rewarded by the visible protection of Providence.

"Your arms, Sire, on the 22d April, completely triumphed over the enemy, commanded by the rebel Quesada. The first battalion of Navarre sufficed to destroy the two thousand grenadiers of the Guard whom he had with him. On the 24th of the same month his army was again beaten. I would, Sire, be glad to enter into details, but it is impossible; and we are yet in the painful uncertainty whether my letter of last April, which I sent by the blanket contractor, reached your Majesty. God preserve the life of your Majesty, and safely bring you among us as the commencement of our happiness!—TOMAS ZUMALACARREGUI."—Huarde Araquil, *May 19, 1834.*—WALTON, ii. 219, 220.

the great step in advance which the Carlist cause had made since Zumalacarrégui had been tacitly and by general consent invested with the chief direction. It was no longer a Vendean warfare maintained in detached parties and under independent leaders, that was carried on rather from a feeling of despair than anything else, but a regular and organised contest, in which two competitors, each at the head of a powerful army, contended for the crown of Castile. When the Carlist chief drew the sword he was only at the head of 800 men, imperfectly armed, hardly disciplined, and without either money or ammunition stores. He was now the leader of 20,000 men who looked up to him with the respect of the soldier to his general and the love of children to their father, and the greater part of whom had become inured to military discipline in real service, and were admirably armed with English muskets taken on the field of battle from their enemies. Rodil, who bore the title and wielded the power of viceroy, was at the head of forty thousand men in the highest state of discipline and equipment, and master of the fortresses of Pampeluna, St Sebastian, and Bilbao, the value and strength of the two former of which had been so severely tested during the great war between Wellington and the French marshals. The only fortresses in the hands of Don Carlos were the mountains of his native land. Although the natural resources of the parties were thus unequal, yet when the strong and universal feeling of the peasantry, not only in the northern provinces but over all Spain, was taken into account, and the certainty of being cordially joined by them wherever Don Carlos went, the chances appeared more equal, and it was hard to say to which in the last result victory might incline.

36. Immediately on his arrival in Spain Don Carlos set out for Navarre, and on the 14th reached Alsazua in the Borunda, the scene of Quesada's recent defeat. Here he published a proclamation, in which he told the inhabitants of the northern provinces

that he came among them to fulfil the duties of gratitude, promising to neglect nothing that could procure for them the blessings of peace and the advantages of a government at once energetic and paternal, and pledging himself that he would at every hazard persevere in the attempt to conquer his inheritance. It was received by the soldiers with the most unbounded enthusiasm, which was increased by the affable and familiar manner in which he mingled in the groups of the men, listened to the tales of their exploits, and partook of their humble meals. He inquired minutely into their food and clothing, and dined on a drum-head on the food cooked by the soldiers, with a Navarrese flag waving over it. After this repast he went over the ground where the Navarrese peasants had routed the *corps d'élite* of the Queen's troops, and examined in detail the trees, for the most part pierced with shot, behind which the Carlist chief had sheltered his men, and led them on from trunk to trunk till they had driven back the guards of the Queen.

37. On the 26th July Don Carlos moved on to Santa Cruz de Campezo in the Amescosas, where he was brought almost in contact with Rodil and Espartero, who lay with 20,000 men close on his front and flank. Here he assumed the duties of King, named generals, ministers, and ambassadors, and, what was of the last importance, confirmed Zumalacarreghi in the supreme command. Although the Queen's troops had so enormous a superiority—amounting to above two to one, besides the immense advantage of the men being all disciplined soldiers, while their opponents were inexperienced volunteers—the Carlist chief chose his ground with such skill, and preserved so imposing a front, that for an entire fortnight after the arrival of Don Carlos they made no attempt to bring on an engagement. Rodil had massed the bulk of his forces at the foot of the mountains in lower Navarre, between Puente de la Reyna and Estella, along the line of the road from Pampeluna to Madrid. Espartero had advanced

with 4000 men from Biscay to Onate, and El Pastor had come up to Salvatierra; but though thus almost surrounding the Carlists, they made no forward movement. At length Zumalacarreghi, tired of this inactivity, moved his headquarters to Eulate in the upper valley of the Amescosas, and pushed a detachment to Piedramillera, so as to threaten Rodil's left flank. Upon this the viceroy concentrated his centre in the lower valley of the Amescosas, where he collected 7000 men; and the Carlist general, who occupied the defile of Artaza leading to the upper valley with six battalions whom he placed under cover, sent forward a few picked companies, who commenced a conflict with the Queen's tirailleurs. Thinking a general battle was coming on, Rodil brought out his whole force and moved in good order up the valley, the Carlist outposts retiring before them till they came to the defile and within range of the concealed battalions. Then so heavy a fire was opened upon them from invisible foes, that though Rodil three times urged on his troops to the attack they were always repulsed, and at length returned to their original position in the lower part of the valley.

38. This affair was of great moment to the Carlists, as they had come successfully out of their first encounter with Rodil's troops flushed with their recent victory in Portugal. At the earnest entreaty of Zumalacarreghi, Don Carlos now left the army and fixed himself at Elizondo in the valley of the Bastan. It was felt that his presence would be more serviceable with the population yet engaged in pacific pursuits than with the soldiers, who were already engaged heart and soul in the contest. The good effects of this were soon apparent. Whenever it was known that the King was approaching, the hills were crowded with thousands of spectators, who made the air resound with their acclamations, and his passage was always followed by a large accession of volunteers to the Carlist ranks. He traversed in this manner the whole road between Vittoria and Pampeluna unmolested—an extraordinary circum-

stance, considering that both these places were strongly garrisoned by the Queen's troops, and speaking volumes as to the feelings of the peasantry towards his cause. A project was meantime set on foot to assassinate the King by a man who requested a private interview; but the design was revealed, and the assassin was seized with the dagger in his bosom with which he was to have perpetrated the bloody deed. Meanwhile the wife of Zumalacarregui, who, as already mentioned, had been left at Pampeluna, in reliance, as he expressed it, "that they will not harm our children," having come to be alarmed for their safety, from the known sanguinary disposition of Rodil and the revengeful spirit of his proclamations, secretly withdrew with the two eldest from that fortress, and got safe into France. The youngest, however, a babe at nurse, six months old, could not be brought away, and was left behind. Hearing of this, Rodil seized the little infant and sent it to a foundling hospital, at the same time declaring he would keep it as a hostage for its parents.

39. Rodil, however, ere long found he had more formidable enemies to combat than infants in their nurses' arms. Finding that Don Carlos had fixed his headquarters at Elizondo, only eight leagues from Pampeluna, from whence he issued orders to the whole country, and dreading the influence which the King's name and the establishment of a sort of regular government by his followers might produce, the Queen's general resolved upon a great effort to drive him over the frontier into France. This appeared the more easy that the forces at his command were more than double those by whom they could be opposed, and that the Queen's Government had received an intimation from the Spanish ambassador in London of the Queen's speech, containing the assurance that the objects of the quadruple alliance had not as yet been fully attained, and consequently that it remained in full force, and applied precisely to the existing circumstances.*

* "The moment I became acquainted with the flight of the Pretender from London, I

Relying on this circumstance, and encouraged by the presence of the British envoy at his headquarters, the viceroy moved in force towards the valley of the Bastan, and took post at the pass of Velate, its entrance on the side of Navarre. Don Carlos and his suite were on this moved to the mountains, and Zumalacarregui, relieved of the serious responsibility arising from his presence, formed the bold design of letting the viceroy descend into the valley towards France, and entrapping him in its middle by occupying the passes, at both ends, with his active mountaineers. But Rodil was too wary a commander to fall into the snare; and on hearing that Don Carlos had left the valley and taken refuge in the mountains, he abandoned the design of going down the valley of the Bastan, and took a position along the heights extending from Velate to Lecumferri, while Zumalacarregui established himself at their base in the valley of Ulzama between him and Pampeluna.

40. Sensible now that the war in the north of Spain was likely to become very protracted, and that, from the hostility of the whole rural population to the Queen's Government, the latter did not possess the means of bringing it unaided to a termination, the Cabinets of London and Paris resolved on a still more active and effective intervention. With this view a new treaty, supplementary to that of the quadruple alliance, was signed in London on the 18th August 1834. By it France engaged to take the most effectual steps on the frontiers of Spain to prevent munitions of war or supplies of any kind being introduced, so as to succour the insurgents in the north of Spain; and England became

required from the English Government a declaration concerning the treaty of 22d April, and received for answer an assurance that the British and French Governments considered that the object of the quadruple alliance had not been accomplished—that consequently it remained in full force—and that its articles, worded for the state in which Portugal then was, should now be extended and applied to the new circumstances which had arisen."—MARQUIS MIRAFLORES to GENERAL RODIL, *July* 28, 1834; WATSON, ii. 265; *Ann. Hist.*, xvii. 498.

bound to furnish to the Queen of Spain all the assistance in arms and the munitions of war which might be required, and also to assist her with naval forces should such assistance become necessary. Portugal became bound to lend assistance by all means in her power, according to what might be agreed on between the Cabinets of Lisbon and Madrid. By this means it was hoped the Carlists would be utterly shut out from resources or aid of any kind—arms, provisions, or ammunition—as the French and Portuguese Governments excluded them from all succour by land, and the English navy from all assistance by sea. It was no wonder that the Allied Powers flattered themselves that such a combination of the great Western Powers would speedily hermetically seal Navarre and the Basque provinces, and force them into submission by starvation and the want of arms. They forgot that there was one way of getting weapons against which they had not provided, and that was, by taking them from their enemies. Ere long the whole Carlist bands were equipped with Tower guns, loaded with English ammunition!

41. Finding that the Christinos had abandoned their design of pushing their operations into the mountains to the north of Pampeluna, Zumalacarregui resolved himself to take the initiative, and carry the war into the enemy's quarters. With this view, while Rodil's attention was occupied with Zumalacarregui in front, who made movements as if to engage him on the heights of Lecunferri, and interposed between him and Pampeluna, another Carlist chief, Villareal, crossed the Ebro into Old Castile, entered Haro, a town containing 8000 inhabitants, disarmed all the urban militia, who gladly gave up their weapons, and recrossed the Ebro in safety laden with spoil. At the same time, Don Carlos in person crossed the mountain barrier of the Bastan valley on the west with Eraso's division, and drove Espartero, who occupied Onate with 3000 men, back to Segura. Don Carlos, pursuing his success, hastened to

the coast of Biscay, united with Zavala, who commanded the Carlist forces in that province, and reached Guernica, where he took the oath to maintain the *fueros* of the lordship according to ancient usage. Thence he proceeded to Lequeitio and Bermeo, on the coast, being everywhere hailed as their lawful sovereign by the overjoyed inhabitants, who fondly flattered themselves that the war was ended and their beloved King safe on the throne. To operate a diversion against this serious extension of the Carlists' power, Rodil descended from the heights of Lecunferri and moved his forces in front of Pampeluna against Zumalacarregui, who immediately abandoned his position on the Pampeluna road and retired into the Borunda. Unable to bring him to action in these mountain fastnesses, and alarmed at the advance of Don Carlos towards Bilbao, Rodil changed his line of march, and, wheeling to the right, moved with ten thousand men over the mountains in the direction of the Basque provinces. He left a garrison at Irurzun to form a link between his army and Pampeluna, and after doing the same at several other points in the Borunda valley, he joined El Pastor at Bergara, and advanced with a large force to Tolosa, which he reached on 18th August, the very day on which the new treaty was signed in London. From this he moved on Onate.

42. This advance of Rodil into the Basque provinces was attended by even greater circumstances of horror than any previous irruption had been. The whole inhabitants had fled from the villages on his approach, and he had little left but deserted houses, orchards, and crops whereon to wreak his vengeance. Upon them, however, the tempest fell with relentless fury. All the deserted houses were burnt, the barns and stackyards consumed, the fruit-trees cut down or mutilated, the vines trodden under foot or rooted up. The valley, late smiling and loaded with the riches of autumn, presented only a howling wilderness. Among the rest, the Convent of Aran-

zazu, one of the most beautiful edifices in Spain, noted for its charity and beneficence, was reduced to ashes, after the Queen's troops had shared in the hospitality of the friars the night before. Rodil's orders were peremptory, and he was too ready to carry them into execution. "The bald-headed friars of the north," said he, "shall soon receive the reward of their contumacy." This wanton piece of barbarity awakened a unanimous feeling of horror in the whole north of Spain, and in none more than in the Queen's troops, by whom this convent was regarded as a place of peculiar sanctity. It was intended by Rodil to intimidate, by showing that none of the insurgents could hope for mercy; but it had the effect only of exasperating. When the peasants returned to their villages and found their hearths desolate, their walls roofless, their homesteads burnt to ashes, one only feeling, the thirst for vengeance, got possession of every bosom. Wherever the Queen's troops had been, the women, children, and aged were sent to the mountains, and the whole male population capable of bearing arms joined the Carlist bands. They had lost their all—all but the memory of injury and the thirst for vengeance. But their muskets and bayonets were still in sturdy hands, moved by resolute hearts.

43. An opportunity soon occurred for putting these feelings to the test. Perceiving that the barbarities perpetrated by Rodil at Onate and Aranzazu had made a great impression on his troops, Zumalacarregui prepared for a surprise of a detachment of the enemy. Taking with him twelve picked companies, he placed them in ambush in a defile in the Upper Amescos, through which he knew that a column of the Christinos in charge of a convoy was to pass. The Carlists lay concealed till the enemy were engaged in the defile, when, on a signal from Zumalacarregui, who called out, "Forward, my boys!" the mountaineers rushed down with fixed bayonets, and instantly pierced the enemy's centre through and through. Wheeling

immediately to the right and left, they separated the wings entirely from each other, and, driving them off in opposite directions, at once dispersed the armed men, and made themselves masters of the entire convoy. Seven hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry were destroyed by this attack, and the whole carts taken, which contained a great quantity of arms, clothing, and ammunition which were moving from Estella to Pampe-luna. The victory was complete, and most advantageous to the Carlists, who got by it the arms and supplies of every sort of which they stood so much in need; and it contributed much to the success of their future operations.

44. This success led to a tragic scene, which illustrated in the most painful manner the horrors which the savage system of war adopted by the Queen's generals forced not only upon themselves but on their antagonists. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion was Count de Via Manuel, a grandee of Spain, who held the rank of colonel. As soon as the action was over, Zumalacarregui personally examined the prisoners, and in particular the young Count, with whose soldierlike and manly bearing he was much pleased. He immediately took him into his own family, invited him to table, and treated him with the greatest consideration, at the same time writing to Rodil proposing an exchange of prisoners, in which the Count's rank should be waived. The answer did not arrive for some days, and when it came the Count was seated at table. The Carlist general handed the Count the letter, which announced that the prisoners for whom it was proposed to make an exchange *had been already shot*. "Here, Count," said Zumalacarregui, "take the letter of your Queen's commander; read it yourself, and judge of the position in which I am placed." The unfortunate Count turned pale; the repast was at an end; a dead silence prevailed. Zumalacarregui, then addressing the weeping Count, said, "I wished to

have spared you, and such, I also know, was my sovereign's wish; but with such enemies forbearance is impossible. From the first I looked upon you as a deluded youth of an ardent mind, and I should have rejoiced in being the instrument of the royal mercy; but Rodil's outrages are beyond endurance. This must and shall be checked. Were I to be considerate towards you, our enemies, as they have done before, would ascribe my conduct to weakness. This triumph they shall not obtain. The widows' weeds worn in the provinces will tell you the state of the war better than all you heard in Madrid. Count, you are no longer under my protection: all the hospitality my own situation afforded has been extended towards you and your fellow-prisoners, but I can do no more. This last indignity neither the King nor my troops will submit to. Count, choose your confessor: farewell;" and so saying he left the room. At an early hour on the following morning the grandee was shot, the melancholy victim of the barbarous system of war adopted by his party in the state.

45. This mournful tragedy imposed no check on Rodil's sanguinary system of warfare, by whom quarter was systematically refused. He flattered himself at this time that, having interposed between the King and Zumalacarrégui, the former was so surrounded that escape was impossible; and, trusting to his early prepossessions, he wrote to General Harispe, the governor of Bayonne, to prepare quarters for the Pretender in that fortress, to which he thought it inevitable the fugitive monarch would be driven. Such, however, was the advantage which Don Carlos derived from the fidelity and information afforded by the peasantry, that he escaped all the toils laid for him. El Pastor, a noted guerrilla chief in the Queen's army, with a large force descended into the valley of Bastan, while large bodies of troops scoured the Basque provinces, and Rodil himself watched the passes leading into Navarre. But, meanwhile, the object of their search, on

August 25, traversed, with two companies of guides, the mountain wilderness of Egue, and reached in safety the monastery of Roncesvalles, in Upper Navarre, immortalised in romance and poetry, where his arrival excited unbounded astonishment and enthusiasm among the monks, who, amidst snow and rocks, there held their solitary abode. They were at matins when he arrived, attended only by a single friend; but being known to some of the brethren, the cry of "El Rey! El Rey!" arose on all sides; the service ceased, and they crowded round him in transport. Thither he was followed by Rodil, at the head of seven thousand men, who was burning with desire to secure his brilliant prize, and already saw a ducal coronet in imagination descending on his brow. But Don Carlos foiled all his efforts, doubled back through his columns, and proceeding by Lusureta to Esain, three leagues north of Pampeluna, passed his pursuers, and rested secure in a quarter where his presence was not even suspected. Enraged at finding himself thus disappointed, Rodil wreaked his vengeance on the convent, which the licentiousness even of the French soldiery had hitherto spared, but which was now delivered over to pillage and profanation, and the monks all burned out. By his orders the convent and hospital of Vera, another station of charity in these lonely wildernesses, was sacked and burned; and every possible outrage perpetrated on the defenceless peasants, whose dwellings, wherever the soldiers could reach them, were sacked and burned. The brutality of the soldiery was wreaked even on unoffending persons, who had taken no part whatever in the struggle, or whose age or sex precluded it. Among the rest they seized upon the mother of Colonel Segastebelza, a widow ninety years old, whom they dragged from her house at three o'clock in the morning, stripped naked on the streets, and subjected to every possible indignity, for no other reason but that her son commanded a Carlist battalion.

46. By the result of these move-

ments the Carlists and Christinos were placed in a novel and very singular position. They had mutually passed each other, and now faced about in opposite directions. Rodil, who had pursued the former up to the French frontier, finding that the King had escaped him, now turned about, with his face towards Madrid; while Zumalacarregui, with his back to that city, faced to the northward, to keep an eye on his royal master, who was hunted through the rocks and forests of the intermediate mountains. For above a month the two chiefs kept their forces in these respective positions, and all the efforts on both sides were directed to obtaining or retaining possession of the person of the King. But for the fidelity and enthusiastic attachment of the peasantry, the Christinos must have made him prisoner on many occasions; and as it was, his escapes were so frequent and narrow as to appear to partake rather of the romantic and marvellous than of real life. For a week together he was never in bed or took off his boots. More than once he reposed at night in a sheepfold, nestled among the fleecy inmates, and protected by their faithful dogs. On one occasion he owed his life to a very ingenious stratagem. Don Carlos had taken refuge in a valley of the Amescoas, attended only by Eraso with fifty men, when the sole outlets of the valley were seized by the Christinos with four hundred men. Escape seemed hopeless, when they were saved in the following manner:—Don Carlos, at the urgent request of Eraso, assumed the disguise of a peasant, and his chamberlain did the same. Two servants then mounted the horses, and put on the dress and cloaks of the King and his attendant, while they took refuge in a wood adjacent. The others then fell sword in hand on one of the enemy's posts, and, forcing their way out, made straight for a neighbouring village, where they set the bells a-ringing, as if for the King's escape. The Christinos fell into the snare, and, hastening in the direction of the bells, left the passes open, while Eraso, by a circuitous route, returned to the val-

ley, joined the King in his hiding, and carried him clear off.

47. An attempt on the life of Don Carlos was made about this time, which, though happily frustrated, caused a great noise at the moment, from the names of certain persons high in the Queen's service being, however unconsciously, mixed up with it. On 11th July 1834, a man named Vincent Ponce de Leon, formerly an advocate in the royal chancery at Granada, arrived in London, and addressed a memorial to one of the King's agents in that capital, in which he professed great zeal for the cause of legitimacy, and an anxious desire to serve the King. He imposed upon them, and received letters of recommendation to some of the Carlist chiefs in the northern provinces of Spain, with which he made his appearance at Elizondo, where the royal Junta was sitting, and received in confidence by them. Suspicions, however, were excited by his lavish expenditure of money, and he was ordered to be watched. These suspicions were much increased by his repeatedly expressing a wish to have a personal conference with Don Carlos. No objection was offered; and he was on the point of obtaining it when it was discovered that he had been trying the effect of a poison on a dog. He was immediately arrested, and on his person was found a considerable sum of money, a public passport, signed by the Marquis de Miraflores, the Spanish ambassador in London, and concealed in his boot a private pass or safe-conduct, to enable the bearer to traverse the Christino territory unmolested, signed by the same nobleman, and a recipe for the preparation of a poison. He was immediately tried, and his guilt being established beyond a doubt, was shot as a spy and assassin. This nefarious attempt made a great sensation in Spain and over Europe, from the circumstance of the name of the Spanish ambassador being mixed up with it; and it led to an indignant disclaimer of any participation in the nefarious attempt by that nobleman, though he did not deny that the assassin was a diplomatic agent in the

employment of the Queen's Government. It is proper to add, that there is no evidence that he was cognisant of the design of the person whom he had unfortunately employed in a subordinate diplomatic situation.

48. After a month spent in a useless and most fatiguing pursuit of Don Carlos in Navarre and Biscay, in the course of which he had learned that his troops, heavy armed and fully equipped, were no match in mountain expeditions for the light-clad and hardy peasantry of the mountains, Rodil resolved to make an entire change in his system of operations. He gave over the hopeless task of chasing the King over the mountains of Navarre; he applied himself to the more rational system of establishing fortified posts in the valleys in which the Carlists were wont to take refuge and find support, and round the district in which their King was known to be, by the gradual contraction of which he hoped either to drive Don Carlos out of the kingdom, or to make him a prisoner. He began with Elizondo, in the Bastan, the principal seat of the Carlist Government, where he established a post, and the entrances into which valley he fortified with block-houses, so as to shut out all passage; and he proposed to do the same with the principal valleys in Navarre. This was exactly the plan of operations which Napoleon adopted in the latter years of the Peninsular war, and by which he preserved his communications with France in the midst of the swarms of guerrillas with which the mountains on the frontier were overspread.

49. But it was a system better adapted to the mighty conqueror who had 300,000 men at his disposal than to Rodil, whose effective force was now reduced by fatigue, sickness, and the sword to less than 30,000. While Rodil was busied with the construction of blockhouses around the valley of the Bastan and the neighbouring cliffs, the Carlist chief took post in the Amescuas, and was intent on cutting off his detachments in rear. Having learned that a Christino force of 800 infantry and 600 horse, under

Carondelet, occupied Viana, near the Ebro, on the direct road from Madrid to Pampeluna, Zumalacarregui secretly set out from Santa Cruz de Campezo, where his force lay, with four battalions and a squadron of lancers, and by a rapid night-march arrived before Viana while the enemy imagined he was still slumbering in Biscay. So many of the Carlists were dressed in Christino uniforms that they were at first mistaken for friends, and the Queen's troops who were in the plain in front came on to meet them. Finding their mistake, they retired rapidly to the town; but before they could secure the bridge which guarded its chief entrance, the Carlists were upon them, and passing it and turning both their flanks, drove them headlong into the principal square. By a rapid movement of his lancers Zumalacarregui succeeded in separating a column of 500 from the remainder of the force. The former was speedily pierced through and broken by the lancers, 300 taken or killed, with 500 muskets and a large store of ammunition. By the time this was done, however, the main body of the Christinos had fortified themselves so strongly in the buildings adjoining the great square that it was found impracticable to dislodge them, and the Carlists retired, taking with them their ample military spoils and twenty-five prisoners.

50. The Cabinet of Madrid were so much disconcerted by these repeated defeats, and the spirit of the troops was so much depressed on both sides by the cholera, which set in at this time with great violence in both armies and carried off numbers of men, that no operations of moment were undertaken by either party during the month of September. When the disease had somewhat subsided, and it became safe to resume active operations, the Madrid Government, dissatisfied with Rodil's conduct, made a new disposition of their troops, and gave the command to different officers. He was removed from the command of the Army of the North, which was divided into two corps, one of which,

under Mina of ancient fame, was to operate in Navarre; while another under Osma was to press the enemy in the Basque provinces, and the viceroyalty taken from Rodil was vested in Armildez de Toledo. As Mina's ill-health, however, prevented him from immediately assuming the supreme direction, Rodil was in the mean time continued in the command on the Ebro, though in a subordinate capacity, so that he had still an opportunity of retrieving his character as a soldier and earning his dukedom. Strange to say, the chief ground of complaint against him by the Madrid Government was that he was *over-indulgent*—a fact which speaks volumes as to the *over-severity* of that sanguinary Cabinet.

51. This change in the command diffused increased vigour in the Christiano commanders, and they were soon disposed in such a manner, and in such strength, as to render the cause of the Carlists apparently hopeless. Lorenzo was at Pampeluna at the head of thirteen battalions, mustering full 8000 bayonets; Osma was at Vittoria with six battalions, four squadrons, and a siege-train; Iriarte was on the confines of Biscay and Old Castile with 5000 men; Amor in La Rioja, and El Pastor in Guipuscoa, each with a larger force than the Carlist chief could bring against them. Add to this, Oraa had reached Tafalla with ample supplies of every sort; O'Doyle had conducted a convoy of arms and ammunition from Vittoria to Pampeluna; and Espartero, who had just revictualled Borneo, had found *the only piece of artillery* which the Carlists possessed, which they had buried near the seashore with a view to battering the fortified posts held on the coast. Surrounded by so many enemies in all directions, Zumalacarregui's position seemed to be hopeless, and the preponderance of the enemy was so evident that it had come to depress the spirits of the soldiers, who were rapidly leaving what they deemed a desperate cause. In truth it was within a hair's-breadth of being lost, and unquestionably would have been so in any other hands than those of Zumalacarregui.

But he never despaired, and possessed so great an ascendancy over his men that he was able to stem the progress of despondency, and lead them again to unlooked-for and glorious victories, which, but for English interference, beyond all doubt, would have placed Don Carlos on the throne of his fathers.

52. Wisely judging that the most effectual way of dealing with this depression was to keep the troops in motion, Zumalacarregui, though inferior in numbers to his opponents at all points, resolved to resume the offensive. He trusted, and, as the event proved, not without reason, to compensating his inferiority of force by secrecy and rapidity of movement, and by making the most of his central position in the Amescoas and the Borunda, among the mountains, in the midst of his enemies. This enabled him, by concentrating his forces first against one and then against the other, to succeed in engaging them alternately with something approaching to an equality of numbers. His great object was to collect arms from the enemy, and interrupt those coming up from the capital for their use; and in these enterprises he was generally successful. On 11th October he crossed the Ebro at the ford of Tronco Negro with six battalions and all his cavalry, and, making a sweep round the north bank, he returned safe by Bastida with a large supply of arms, after defeating several detachments sent to intercept him. Don Carlos at this time went himself to Biscay to take the command of the troops there, between whose officers and those in command in Navarre a jealousy had arisen; and although this difficulty was removed by his paramount authority, which all obeyed, yet this dissension proved very hurtful to the common cause by preventing the joint operations which otherwise might have been undertaken by them. After a variety of lesser operations—including a second expedition across the Ebro, near Logrono, where he secured a large convoy of arms—in which he was almost always successful, and which effectually restored the

spirits of his troops, the Carlist chief, hearing that a large body of the enemy was approaching the theatre of war from the south, resolved to stand firm. Advancing to Salvatierra, on the road from Vittoria to Pampeluna, he formed his men at the foot of the heights of Chinchetru. Soon the Christinos appeared in force, their splendid arms glittering in the morning sun. Seeing the Carlists in their front, whom they imagined to be still in Castile, they fell back and took a position on an eminence, from whence their artillery played advantageously on their opponents. Zumalacarregui, who had not a single piece of cannon, seeing his men impatient under a fire which they had not the means of returning, though they were inferior in number, gave his usual word of command, "A ellos, muchachos!" (At them, my boys!); and the whole line, at the double and with loud shouts, advanced to the attack. At the same time, Ituralde, who had been detached to and concealed in a wood on their flank with two battalions, rushed out and fell on their right. The double attack proved irresistible; the Christinos broke and fled, closely pursued by the cavalry of the Carlists, who cut them down on the highroad, while those who rushed into the thickets fell beneath the bayonets of the infantry. The victory was complete; the commander of the column, O'Doyle, and several other officers, with 400 men, fell into the hands of the conquerors, with two field-pieces and an immense quantity of ammunition and stores. The killed on the Queen's side amounted to 600.

53. This brilliant action led immediately to a more important success. Four hundred fugitives had sought shelter in the little town of Arieta, to the right of the road, and below the Castle of Guevara, where they intrenched themselves, and awaited during the night the powerful succours which they knew were coming up from the rear. There they were quickly beset by the Carlists. At daybreak, however, a large body of Christinos were discovered advancing along the Vittoria road to relieve the blockaded

force. Zumalacarregui immediately drew off his troops, except a few to mark the barricaded houses, to meet this new enemy. It proved to be Osma, one of the best of the Christino generals, who was advancing at the head of 3000 men, the very *élite* of the Queen's forces. Zumalacarregui advanced with four battalions to meet the enemy, who were coming up from the great road, while his cavalry, by a circuitous march, fell on their flanks. The artillery of Osma played heavily on the advancing Carlists, but nothing could restrain their impetuosity. At the well-known word of their chief, "A ellos, a ellos!" (At them, at them!) they rushed forward to the charge, and in an instant the enemy's column broke and fled in irretrievable confusion towards Vittoria. The Carlist horse hotly pursued them over the wide flat plain of Alava to the very gates of that town, into which such of the fugitives as survived fled, abandoning their guns, ammunition, and convoy. The carnage was dreadful; five hundred were found dead on the field, and four hundred and fifty additional prisoners taken. Three thousand muskets and four guns were taken in the two days, and nearly three thousand of the victors were clothed in the uniforms taken from the vanquished. Nothing but the vicinity of Vittoria, in which they found refuge, saved the Queen's troops from total destruction.

54. General O'Donnell and his brother, who had been made prisoners, were shot by order of Zumalacarregui, in retaliation for the wholesale massacres which had so long been perpetrated by the Queen's army. But, with the death of these brave and unhappy men, severity was at an end on the part of the Carlists. Don Carlos was no sooner apprised of this success than he granted a general amnesty to the remaining prisoners, above a thousand in number, who were in the hands of the Carlists; and such was the effect of this well-timed humanity that above six hundred of them immediately entered his ranks. On the faith of the King's word one hun-

dred privates and seven officers came over after voluntarily from the Queen's ranks. Zumalacarregui immediately went to Oñate to lay his trophies at his master's feet, by whom he was appointed lieutenant-general, and decorated by Don Carlos's own hand with the order of St Ferdinand. Even more gratifying than these distinguished marks of the royal favour was the unbounded enthusiasm with which he was greeted by his troops and countrymen. His recent victory had a great effect on the royal cause. From every quarter volunteers hastened to join the Carlist ranks, and, armed and clothed with the spoils of the enemy, with which the road to Vittoria was strewed, soon were so equipped as to form a most important addition to the numerical strength of their army. Above all, the spirit of the men was entirely changed by this great success. All symptoms of despondency speedily disappeared among them; and that confidence in their general and themselves became universal, which is so often the prelude, when prudently directed, to the most decisive successes.

55. This great victory resounded through all Spain, and gave rise to various insurrectionary movements in Catalonia, Castile, and Andalusia. Although they were speedily suppressed by the Queen's troops, who were in possession of the whole fortified posts in the country, for the most part amply garrisoned by regulars, yet they gave unequivocal proof of the feeling of the great body of the people, and the certainty that any great victory in the open country in Castile or Aragon would at once rouse the whole rural population in open arms against the Government. In some places, however, the insurrections were attended by partial success. In Catalonia the Curate Cabrera, at the end of the year, was blockading Tortosa with a considerable force; D'Erolles was in the field in the vicinity of the Seo d'Urgel; and the Col de Balaguer was held by Casadevall, a noted chief. Don Carlos, from his central position in Navarre, was in easy communication with the partidas in Upper

Aragon and Catalonia; while Lopez had raised a band in Galicia which was daily increasing in numbers and boldness; and in the Eastern Pyrenees the hardy mountaineers were everywhere rising, and had already got possession of all the passes into France. In a word, the hearts of the entire rural population in all parts of Spain were with the Government of the King; and they were already in arms, in addition to Navarre and the Basque provinces, in many different places where the want of roads or the mountainous nature of the country rendered the operations of the regular troops difficult or impossible.

56. It was in these discouraging circumstances that General Mina assumed the command in chief in Navarre, and communicated to the troops in the northern provinces the lustre of his name, and the benefit of his experience. His first step was to issue a proclamation, in which he stated that, "in conformity with the maternal sentiments of the Queen Regent, who was desirous that order should be re-established in Navarre without any further effusion of blood among brothers whom she regarded alike as her sons, and obeying the impulse of her natural disposition, she offered peace to the insurgents. But he warned them that if they neglected this offer, and forced him to draw the sword, all the enemies of the country *should be pursued without mercy*, and that he and his soldiers would be as terrible in the vengeance they would take for the smallest evil inflicted on them, as indulgent to those who from henceforward should be reconciled to her, and repentant of their crimes." In a second proclamation, specially addressed to the peasants, he denounced "the punishment of *death without mercy* to all persons who, without lawful excuse, should be found *apart from the great road*, between the rising and setting of the sun." On his side Zumalacarregui replied by a proclamation, issued from Lecumferri on his return from visiting Don Carlos after the victory near Vittoria, in which, after recounting the efforts

he had made in vain to establish a more humane system of warfare, he declared his resolution to enforce sternly the melancholy system of reprisals thus forced upon him by the Queen's Government.*

57. These savage decrees threatened to render this melancholy and fratricidal contest more sanguinary than ever; and they illustrate the extreme wickedness and awful responsibility of those who *commence* the system of no quarter, and stamp upon civil contests a more savage character than in civilised times is ever experienced in the contests of nation with nation. But nothing could divert the Madrid Government from the sanguinary system which in an evil hour they had unfor-

tunately adopted. The first sufferer under the anxieties caused by this terrible war was Donna Maria Francisca, the wife of Don Carlos, a princess of uncommon strength and vigour of mind, who, on 4th September, fell a victim, at Alverstoke, near Gosport, in England, to a bilious fever, brought on by anxiety about her husband amidst the innumerable perils to which he was exposed in the Spanish territory. She was born on the 12th of April 1800, and was married to Don Carlos on 4th September 1816, when her sister was united to Ferdinand VII., King of Spain. Though born in Portugal, and for several years resident in Brazil, she was warmly attached to the Spaniards, with whom she became

* "At the moment the brave Navarrese raised the standard of glorious insurrection in defence of their legitimate sovereign, the rebel Don Manuel Lorenzo, proud and arrogant, stepped forward to repress it, and immediately evinced his barbarity by sacrificing the immortal D. Santos de Ladron in the fosse of Pampeluna. For his atrocious conduct, the self-styled, from the rank of brevet-colonel, raised him to a vicerealty. The cruel Quesada and the incendiary Rodil were humane compared with the fratricidal Lorenzo. The mere proclamation which he issued on the 14th ultimo shows his bloody propensities and his wish to exterminate the innocent inhabitants by his ferocious despotism.

"How different is the conduct which the defenders of legitimacy have observed towards their enemies! Although they were masters of no fortified towns, and while incessantly pursued by a force four times as large as their own, they have everywhere respected the unfortunate prisoners; they have afforded surgical aid to the wounded, and taken every care of them. Instead of taking example from these acts of humanity, our obdurate enemies have disregarded the laws of war, and their boasted philanthropy has degenerated into the most detestable cruelty; for, like tigers thirsting after human blood, not only have they shot in cold blood persons fighting under my orders, but, with their daggers and encrimsoned bayonets, they have put to death the sick and wounded, heretofore respected by all civilised nations.

"These inhuman proceedings at length compelled me to resort to the rights of reprisals; and in order to restrain the effusion of blood, I accordingly ordered that for every Royalist murdered by them, five of their prisoners should be shot. This rigorous measure did not prevent them from shooting the Royalists who fell into their hands, and who in cold blood were immolated to their fero-

cious barbarity. Notwithstanding this, as the number of our prisoners so greatly exceeded theirs, I could not resist the cries of so many unfortunate beings; and I either restored them to liberty, or placed arms in their willing hands, which they urgently solicited, in order to fight against their former companions.

"This generous conduct has been equally disregarded by the rebels, who not only continue their wonted atrocities, but also recur to all possible means of devastating the disturbed provinces. The rebel Quesada has dictated savage proclamations; the perfidious Rodil, besides adhering to them, has published others breathing blood and desolation; and the traitor Lorenzo has just confirmed them by his atrocious circular, even complaining that the preceding orders have not been carried into execution. Wherefore, setting aside, as impelled by stern necessity, all scruples and humane considerations hitherto observed towards the enemy, and availing myself of the law of reprisals, I have decreed as follows:—

"1. All prisoners taken from the enemy, of whatsoever rank or class, shall be shot as traitors to their legitimate sovereign.

"2. In all the corps and battalions under my command, the words '*Victory or Death*' shall be adopted and acted upon till the enemy recall their order of not giving quarter.

"3. Having had many proofs that in the enemy's ranks are many devoted to our just cause, but who from distance or the vigilance of their oppressors are unable to present themselves and join us; in virtue of the power invested in me by our Sovereign, and in accordance with his beneficent intentions, I make known that I will not only receive those who may come over, but I will distinguish and reward them according to their respective merits.—TOMAS ZUMALACARRERI. Lecunferri, Nov. 1, 1834."—*Moniteur*, 10th Nov. 1834; and WALTON, ii. 317, 318.

quite identified in feeling and affection after her marriage. One day during their exile, while wandering with her sister, who was inspired with similar feelings, near Coimbra, among the rocks which overhang the Atlantic, they observed to each other that, if they thought they would never return to Spain, they would gladly throw themselves, locked in each other's arms, into the roaring surge.

58. The time for decisive operations had now arrived. Mina, who had assumed the chief command in Navarre, and taken post at Pampeluna, had resolved to signalise the commencement of his direction by important operations. The Carlists had now twenty-four battalions and six hundred horse, besides several detached and smaller corps. Don Carlos, quitting Onate, put himself at their head, and on the 7th November entered Viana, on the road from Logrono to Pampeluna, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, and approached Los Arcos as if to brave Cordova, who was in that fortified post at the head of a strong force. Finding that he would not come out and fight, he proceeded and did the same at Estella, the other stronghold held by the Christinos in Navarre, but he was equally unsuccessful there in alluring the enemy to a conflict. Finally he approached Pampeluna, where Mina lay with 7000 men. But the Queen's general would not move. In truth, Mina, being aware of the superiority of the Carlists in desultory combats, gave the strictest orders to his lieutenants to hazard nothing, and always shun an engagement in which they were not in great superiority of force. At length an opportunity occurred of doing so. On 12th December Cordova, who was advancing from Los Arcos at the head of 12,000 men to clear the Pampeluna road, defeated three battalions of Carlists whom Zumalacarregui had posted to cover a retrograde movement he was executing near Asarta. This obliged Zumalacarregui to abandon that place and retreat behind the Ega. The Carlist chief felt this check keenly, the more so that it was the

first he had suffered for a considerable time, and he burned with the desire to efface its recollection. He was not long in meeting with an opportunity. Three days after, the Christinos, elated with their success, made an attempt in three columns to cross the river Ega, partly by the bridge of Arquijas, partly by two fords, one farther down and another higher up. After a sanguinary conflict, they were defeated at all the three points by the Carlists, though they had only nine battalions mustering 7000 combatants in action. In these affairs the Christinos lost 1500 men, and the victorious Carlists became masters of 3000 muskets bearing the Tower mark, which speedily passed into the hands of as many sturdy volunteers from the neighbouring mountains.

59. This triple success greatly elevated the spirits of the Carlist troops, who conceived such a contempt for their enemies that they gave them in derision the name of *Nineros*, or supporters of a child. The deep snow which for some weeks after this covered the ground necessarily suspended military operations on any extensive scale; but though the Christinos were quiet, the Carlists continued desultory operations, and actively carried on the distant blockade of Bilbao and Elizondo, by interrupting convoys or detachments destined for those places. When the extreme rigour of the season had somewhat abated, Zumalacarregui became desirous of transferring the theatre of war from the wasted valleys of Navarre to the Basque provinces, and moved over the mountains to Villareal in Guipuscoa, on the great road from Madrid to Bayonne. This movement brought on an important action on the 2d January 1835. On the approach of his opponents in superior force, the Carlist commander drew back from the main road, and formed his men on the heights which lie between Ormaiztegui and Segura. The first day's combat was attended with no decisive success to either party; but on the second day the Christinos, disheartened by the loss they had experienced on the preceding day, broke

when they came under fire, and fled in confusion to the town of Vergara, where they had a garrison. The carnage in the pursuit was dreadful; for no quarter was either asked or given on either side. This battle took place in the immediate vicinity of the native town of Zumalacarreñi, who said he had now an additional reason to be proud of his birthplace.

60. Shortly after this disaster, a revolt broke out in Madrid in a battalion of the regiments of Arragon, which seized on the Post-Office, filled the neighbouring windows with musketeers, and set the Government at defiance. General Canterac, who was sent to parley with them, was shot dead on the spot; and though they capitulated next day, being without ammunition or provisions, it was only on condition that none of them should be punished, to which terms the Government was obliged to submit. Mina took advantage of this abortive movement to publish a stern proclamation, in which he said, "Whoever dares to encourage the least disturbance, no matter in what sense, shall be immediately shot, without distinction of persons or parties; and wherever public tranquillity is disturbed, all individuals found at a distance from their homes, excepting the authorities, shall be put to death." Meanwhile Zumalacarreñi, feeling the want of some fortified stronghold for a depot to his troops, laid siege to Maestu, a small fortified town in Navarre, four leagues from Vittoria; but his force was too small to command success, and he was obliged to retire before a superior body of Christinos under Lorenzo, who issued from Vittoria to raise the siege.

61. An event occurred at this time which proved on a melancholy occasion how little the British Government was able to abate the inhuman proceedings of the Liberals in the prosecution of the war. In pursuance of the obligation to tender assistance to the Spanish Government, the British steamer *Royal Tar* was fitted out as a vessel of war, and put under the command of a British naval officer, to aid in enforcing the blockade of the coasts

of Biscay. While engaged in this duty, he captured the British schooner *Isabella-Ann*, which was endeavouring to run the blockade, having on board twenty-seven Carlist officers, and some powder and lead. So far the proceeding was justifiable according to the laws of war, as the British Government had by the Quadruple Alliance rendered themselves a belligerent party, and the blockade attempted to be run was an effective one. But the subsequent proceedings were lamentable in the extreme, and illustrated the extreme impolicy of mingling in a contest in which the passions were so vehemently excited on both sides as they now were in the Spanish peninsula. On February 3d the prize was sent to Santander, and the prisoners delivered up to the Spanish authorities. Such was the exasperation of the people in that seaport at the sight, that the whole prisoners, who belonged to the best families in Spain, would have been massacred on the spot, if not protected by Lord John Hay and a party of British marines. Next day they would all have been shot, under the orders of the Spanish Government, had they not been protected by Lord John Hay, who succeeded with great difficulty in getting their case referred to Madrid. The Spanish Government, on the earnest entreaty of the British ambassador, consented to spare the lives of the prisoners; but they were reserved for a fate worse than death itself. They were first immured in a horrible dungeon in the Castle of St Anton at Corunna, where they remained above a year, after which they were conveyed to Cadiz, and thence to Porto Rico, where all but nine soon perished of famine and disease. This untoward event excited a great sensation on the Continent, as it seemed to implicate the British in the Liberal atrocities in Spain, seeing the prisoners had been taken on board an English schooner by an English Government's armed ship. Lord Londonderry, with the characteristic generosity of his nature, exerted himself in the most energetic way on their behalf, but in vain. The Bishop of Leon subsequently

addressed a letter to Lord Palmerston on their behalf, urging that they had never borne arms against the Spanish Government, and soliciting an exchange; but his Lordship replied, on October 3d, that he did not feel himself entitled to interfere.

62. The troops of Mina had suffered so severely under the fatigues and hardships of this exhausting winter campaign, that he was under the necessity of soliciting reinforcements from the Government of Madrid, which he obtained to the extent of five thousand infantry and a strong body of cavalry. Thus reinforced, and being pressed by peremptory orders from the capital instantly to bring the war to a conclusion, the Spanish general gave orders to his lieutenants at all hazards to force the passage of the upper Ega, and clear the road from Logrono to Pampeluna by driving the insurgents from the mountains on its flank. Lorenzo, in obedience to these orders, having collected 9000 men at Estella, in lower Navarre, on the 5th February, advanced to cross the river at five points, which were guarded by Zumalacarregui, Villareal, and Gomez, with 6500. The Carlists had the advantage in position, which compensated their great inferiority in force. Posted for the most part on high ground, behind trees, they took at leisure a deliberate aim at their assailants as they were crossing the stream or climbing up the opposite banks; and so murderous was their fire, that the Christinos were repulsed at all points with the loss of 700 men. Lorenzo retreated after the action to his fortified town, while Don Carlos, who, from a neighbouring height, had been a spectator of the fight, hastened to the field, now rendered memorable by a double victory, to return thanks to his troops for their valorous conduct.

63. While this success was being achieved on the banks of the Ega, a still more serious reverse was sustained by the Christinos in the valley of the Bastan, where a Carlist force of 3000 men was beleaguering Elizondo. In the attempt to raise the siege a corps of the Queen's troops, 2000 strong, under

Ocana, was repulsed with the loss of 700 men. Upon learning what was going on in that direction, Zumalacarregui left the banks of the Ega with five battalions; and, passing by Pampeluna, had the happiness of again embracing his infant daughter, whom Rodil had seized, but Mina, animated with better feelings, now offered to restore. He then passed on, and entered the Bastan, when he invested Ziga, where Ocana had taken refuge after his defeat, who soon after offered to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to retire into France. These terms being rejected, the Christino generals declared they would massacre all the women and children in the place if the Carlists renewed the attack; and, horror-struck with this announcement, Zumalacarregui allowed Ocana's men to retire to Elizondo, where they were immediately after blockaded. Mina, however, now seriously alarmed, speedily advanced by forced marches, at the head of 12,000 men, to raise the siege. Unable to resist so great a superiority of force, and at the same time maintain the blockade, Zumalacarregui raised the siege, and retired with two pieces of artillery, the only ones which he possessed, into the valley of Estevan, higher up in the mountains, and Mina entered Elizondo in triumph. Not thinking it possible the Carlists could have carried off their guns up the steep ascent leading to Estevan, he proclaimed that, if not produced in three days, every village should be burned to the ground; but this threat was powerless, as the activity of the peasants had got them beyond his reach.

64. Zumalacarregui, however, soon had his revenge for this disappointment. Returning rapidly to the Amescuas, he appeared, on the 23d February, before Los Arcos, a fortified town of some importance, on the road from Logrono to Pampeluna, strongly garrisoned by the Christinos. He had with him two mortars and one 12-pounder, with which he kept up so vigorous a fire that the enemy were driven to take refuge in the castle. There they were soon so hard pressed that the garrison, taking advantage of

a dark night, for the most part let themselves down from the ramparts and got off. Next morning the King entered the place amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. Amongst the booty taken were six hundred muskets and a large quantity of ammunition and provisions. In the hospital were found a number of Christinos, officers of the Guards, some of them of high rank, who were seized with consternation when they learned they had fallen into the hands of Zumalacarregui, whom they had been taught to regard as a savage, intent only on cruelty and devastation. Having heard of their terrors, the Carlist chief desired to be led to the hospital; and when the wounded inmates began to stammer out their supplications for life, he cut them short with the words, "No compliments; tell me what you want, and where you wish to go." He then directed that every attention should be paid to them, and having received the sanction of Don Carlos, had them put into carts, and sent to Lógrono. The unhurt privates upon this all entered the Carlist ranks; but the officers taken with arms in their hands were, in terms of the proclamation from Lecumferri, shot; though those in the hospital all had their lives spared.

65. The operations of both parties in this sanguinary war became more concentrated, and consequently the engagements were between larger forces, and with more material results. The Carlists had renewed the siege of Elizondo, a fortified town of much importance as the key to the valley of the Bastan, and commanding the principal road from Navarre into France. Mina prepared to protect the entry of his convoy into the beleaguered town, and raise the siege. Learning this, Zumalacarregui moved towards the Bastan, so as to be ready to take advantage of any opportunity that might present itself to intercept it. Hearing on his way that a convoy destined for Pampeluna were at Larraga, a town a short distance from the Arga, he proceeded to attack it; but the enemy were too strongly posted at the bridge over that river to be dislodged, and he

was repulsed with the loss of 300 men. Without being disconcerted by this check, he told his troops he was about to lead them against General Mina, the unworthy son of Navarre; and immediately, amidst loud cheers, took the road for the valley of Ulzama, by which that general required to pass to make good his access to Elizondo. A few hours after they had occupied the pass with five battalions and a corps of lancers, the Queen's generalissimo appeared at the head of 5000 men, including a fine regiment of cavalry. Zumalacarregui took up a flanking position near the village of Lizazo, overhanging the pass. A fierce combat, which soon became a hand-to-hand fight, ensued between the Christinos pushing in, and the Carlists, who occupied the overhanging woods. After a terrible conflict, in which success alternately favoured the one and the other party, Mina forced his way through, after having narrowly escaped being made prisoner, with his whole staff. If the whole troops could have reached the points assigned them by Zumalacarregui, he would infallibly have been taken, but they were impeded by the depth of the snow. The casualties on the two sides were nearly equal, being six hundred to each; but the Christinos sustained a serious loss in their cavalry, which was entirely destroyed. The Queen's general, unmindful of the example of humanity shown by the Carlists in Los Arcos, made a savage use of his victory, by burning all the villages round Elizondo, and massacring every fifth inhabitant, chosen by lot, in revenge for the joy they had previously manifested at the success of the Carlist arms. Mina, in his official account, claimed the victory on this occasion, and boasted that "he was accompanied by the British, French, and Portuguese colonels."

66. Seriously disconcerted by the protracted endurance and alternate success and disaster of the war, which on the whole was far more wasteful to them than to their opponents, the Government at Madrid, in compliance with the urgent entreaties of Mina, resolved to increase the forces in Navarre to

60,000 men. Valdez had been recently made Minister at War, and he signalised his entry to office by the most vigorous efforts to reinforce the army on the Ebro. Cordova, with 5000 good troops, was despatched thither early in March; and other detachments to a similar amount were directed to the seat of war. Far, however, from being disconcerted by these formidable preparations, the Carlists from Navarre, as a central point, directed guerrilla parties in all directions, which caused the greatest annoyance to the enemy, and afforded the most decisive proof how entirely the affections of the people were with them. In Catalonia the Carlist bands had now come to exceed 3000 men. Colonel Arroyo, with only 300 men, traversed the whole of Leon and Asturias without meeting with any opposition. Eraso in Biscay approached so near Bilbao that he succeeded in destroying the corn-mills of that town. Colonel Plaza, with 130 men, took the blockhouse of Legaza, with considerable stores of arms and ammunition. In a word, the Christinos nowhere in the north of Spain possessed more than the fortified towns, and the ground on which they stood; and it was evident that any considerable reverse to Mina's main army would at once cause the whole country to declare in favour of Don Carlos. Zumalacarregui, at the same time, having returned to the Borunda, gave proof both of his vigour and humanity by the capture of Echarri-Aranaz, which the Christinos had fortified. It was taken, with four guns and five companies of regular soldiers, whose lives were spared, and who immediately entered the Carlist ranks. This was the nearest approach to the possession of a *park of artillery* which the Carlists had yet made, while the Queen began the war with 3666 pieces of cannon and 845 mortars! So far was Mina from following this example of humanity, that he not only caused all Carlists, whether wounded or with arms in their hands, to be shot, but he extended the same penalty to all persons, whether man or woman, who had sheltered any Carlists in their district, or

shown them any kindness when suffering under sickness or the sword. Imitating his example, his lieutenant, Brigadier Barrera, caused forty wounded Carlists to be shot at one time, as well as several persons, women as well as men, into whose houses they had been received. And so far were the Queen's troops from imitating the humane example set them by their adversaries at Los Arcos, that soon after they went into the valley of Esteban, where the Carlists had a military hospital, and, dragging twenty-four wounded men from their beds, bayoneted them on the threshold of the door, and threw their bodies into the street.

67. Learning that Mina had formed several strong columns, with a view of covering the advance along the road from Logrono to Pampeluna, of the recruits hurriedly raised for him by the Government at Madrid, Zumalacarregui set out from the Amescoas on 29th March, in order, if possible, to intercept some of them. With this view, he moved by a rapid march, with eight battalions and five hundred cavalry, and posted them on the heights beyond Aroniz, to intercept the columns of the Christinos, six thousand strong, which were moving along from Estella towards Los Arcos. The action began by the Christinos, led by their commander Aldama, making a gallant charge up the ascent, which, after severe fighting, was carried, towards evening, with considerable loss to the Carlists, who, however, returned next morning, and reoccupied the heights, which their adversaries had abandoned in the night. The battle was then resumed with equal fury on both sides, but at length determined in favour of the Carlists, by a brilliant charge on the enemy's flank by the lancers and the second regiment of Navarre. Foiled in this manner in their attempt to penetrate to Los Arcos, the Christinos retreated to Lodoza, from whence they had started, with the loss of 350 killed and 600 wounded, among whom were General Aldama and most of his principal officers. Never did the courage and military talents of Zumalacarregui shine forth with

more lustre than on those two glorious days.

68. Thus, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Government at Madrid, the Carlist cause, amidst many reverses, had, on the whole, steadily advanced, and now assumed most formidable proportions. In Navarre were thirteen battalions and four squadrons, mustering 9500 bayonets and 450 sabres; in Biscay, seven battalions, and a few cavalry, containing 5690 combatants; in Alava, six battalions of infantry, and one squadron of cavalry, in all 3580 men; in Guipuscoa, four battalions of infantry, and one company of cavalry, 3200 strong; in all, 22,450 regular troops, besides guerillas and lesser bands. In Catalonia, there were besides 3928 Carlists; and in Castile, 1150 infantry and 500 horse, making a grand total of 28,000 men. The formidable nature of this force is not to be measured by its numerical amount, which was outnumbered by their opponents in the proportion of three to one. It depended much more on the strength of the country, and the perfect adaptation of the troops to the places in which the contest was carried on; the local knowledge and hardihood of the mountaineers; and the skill with which their officers of every grade availed themselves of their advantages to circumvent the enemy, and render unavailing his great superiority, especially in cavalry and artillery. In the latter arm the Carlists were beginning to lay the foundation of a force—they *had a park of four pieces*. But on the other hand, their great deficiency in cavalry and cannon augured ill for their operations if, leaving the shelter of their native hills, they were to adventure into the plains of Castile in presence of the numerous and well-appointed squadrons and artillery of the enemy.

69. No sooner had Zumalacarregui got quit of this enemy, and driven Aldama's division back to the Ebro from the Pampeluna road, than he suddenly retraced his steps towards his old haunts, and laid siege to Maestu in Alava adjoining the Amescos. As this was a post of much moment, which had been long

contested between the opposite parties, the Christinos came out from Vittoria and their strongholds in Lower Navarre, ten thousand strong, to raise the siege. Unable to face so large a force with his eleven battalions, the Carlist chief drew off his troops, and placing his artillery in safety, took a position at a better distance, where he awaited the attack of the enemy. The Queen's troops, however, having attained their object, declined the combat, and, separating into three corps, retired to Logrono, Viana, and Vittoria. Before Zumalacarregui could reach Maestu the place was evacuated, and the fortifications blown up. Thus the neighbourhood of the Amescos was finally delivered from its oppressors, and the war transferred to the plains near the Ebro. The retreat of the main body of the Christinos from Upper Navarre was followed by several successes by the Carlist bands in Guipuscoa and Biscay, and the capture of several hundred prisoners, whose lives were all spared.

70. Hitherto, no attempt had been made by the British Government to mitigate the horrors of this sanguinary contest. Although Mina boasted that he "had the British, French, and Portuguese colonels at his headquarters," it is impossible to suppose that they were aware of the savage way in which, from the cruelty of the Queen's troops, it had come to be conducted. The English people were so completely kept in the dark by the Liberal press, which was almost entirely under the influence of the capitalists who held the Cortes bonds, that they were entirely ignorant of the real nature of the contest, and believed that these heroic mountaineers, when maintaining a contest of such magnitude in defence of their King and rights, were nothing but a set of bloody brigands intent on massacre and pillage. Now, however, a change took place; and the British Government, though it could not recede from the engagements of the Quadruple Alliance, came to be exonerated from the heart-rending atrocities long perpetrated in carrying them into effect. The King of

England had dismissed the Whig Ministry, the Duke of Wellington had been sent for, and framed a Government, of which Sir R. Peel was to be the head, and he had entered upon his important duties in the end of the year 1834. One of his first cares was to inquire into the deplorable civil war raging in Spain; and the result was that commissioners were sent out, at the head of whom was Lord Elliot, to Navarre to endeavour to effect a modification in the mutual slaughter which was going on, and get the contest conducted according to the rules of civilized nations. They were courteously received by Don Carlos at Segura, who was no sooner informed of the humane object of their mission, than he said, "I am rejoiced to hear that such is your object, and only wish you had come sooner. I at once agree to the proposed cartel; the opposite system was begun by my enemies, not my adherents. They have sufficiently shown at Los Arcos and Echarrí that they wished to put an end to the sanguinary system." This led to a convention between the contending parties, which was signed on the 26th April, by which it was agreed that the lives of prisoners should be spared, and the manner in which they were to be exchanged defined. It was also provided by Art. 6 that "no person, civil or military, shall be deprived of life on account of his political opinions without a trial and condemnation according to the laws in force." So far all was well; but unfortunately the convention was so worded that it applied only to the contest in Navarre and the Basque provinces, without saying anything as to the war in other parts of Spain, or the twenty-seven Carlists captured in an English vessel on the coast of Biscay, who were left to their fate. This was not the fault either of Lord Elliot or his able coadjutors, Colonel Wylde and Colonel Gurwood, who were most strenuous in their endeavours to get the agreement extended to hostilities in every quarter, and get an article to that effect minuted in the convention. This, however, the Spanish generals positively refused to accede

to, and thus the convention remained applicable only to the northern provinces, as the Queen's general's authority, strictly speaking, extended no farther, and the Government was no party to the compact. It will appear in the sequel what a cruel use the Spanish Liberals made of this limitation, when in other places the fortune of war threw prisoners into their hands; and from the first the convention was very coldly regarded by the Government at Madrid.

71. Mina, as is generally the case in societies governed by democratic influences, was overwhelmed by the discomfitures he had experienced. There was no end of the public accusations against him, and his situation between the difficulties in front and the clamour in rear soon became such that he felt it insupportable, and tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and General Valdez appointed in his stead. The new generalissimo, seeing the fate of his predecessor, and aware of the extreme impatience which had now come to pervade not only the Government, but the whole clubs and inhabitants of Madrid, at the checkered fortune and inexplicable prolongation of the war, resolved on the most vigorous measures. Deeming the preceding disasters owing to the division of the Queen's forces, and the advantage which, in a war of posts, the mountaineers had in the defence of their valleys, he resolved to reverse the system, and rely on an attack with invincible forces in one direction. His plan was to concentrate his five divisions, comprising thirty battalions and above 20,000 combatants, in one mass on the Ebro, and, advancing with it through Navarre, clear the Amescuas, and sweep the whole Carlists before him, and, driving them up against the frontier, force them either to capitulate or take refuge in France, where they would immediately be disarmed and made prisoners. He arrived at Vittoria and assumed the command on the 17th April, and preceded his advance by a proclamation, in which he threatened, if resistance was persisted in, to surpass, if that were possible,

his predecessors in devastation and cruelty.*

72. No sooner did Zumalacarregui hear of this formidable invasion than, quitting Vergara, in Guipuscoa, which he had invested, he re-entered the Amescos with a chosen body of troops, and posted them in the most advantageous manner to make a stand in it, and shelter that last asylum of loyalty and freedom. Outposts were stationed on the road leading from Vittoria to Contrasta, the western entrance into the upper valley of the Amescos, to give notice of the enemy's approach, and retard his advance; but the bulk of the Carlist forces, consisting of ten battalions, mustering six thousand bayonets, were posted in advance of Eulate, midway in the valley, not so much to bar the enemy's advance, as to draw him on to ground on which he would combat to a disadvantage. Valdez, on the 21st, advanced along the heights on the Urbasa side of the valley, designing to turn and outflank the enemy, who were in the low grounds beneath. By daylight on 22d April the Christians were seen, sixteen thousand strong, painfully toiling over the rocks and scurs which had been chosen for their advance. It proved to be over ground which was so rugged and inhospitable that they were in a miserable condition before they reached the pass of Gollano, at the upper end of the valley, where the Carlist forces were now strongly posted near a castellated mansion. This they abandoned on the approach of the enemy, hoping to induce Valdez to follow them into the wild country be-

yond. This, however, he declined to do; and, worn out with this harassing warfare, where he could never bring his opponents to action except on ground of their own choosing, he resolved to force his way out of the Amescos by the pass leading down to Estella, on the Pampeluna road. Wheeling round to his right, therefore, he concentrated his troops, and poured rapidly down on the defile of Artaza. There the Carlists received them with a heavy fire from tirailleurs posted on the rocks and behind the trees, near the bottom of the pass. After a fierce conflict, attended with alternate success, the Queen's troops, fighting with the courage of despair, forced the passage, and, leaving the strait almost choked with bodies, hurried on towards Estella. While they were pushing on in disorder they were assailed in flank and rear by fresh bodies of Zumalacarregui's men. This completed their defeat. Ere they reached Estella they had lost fully 3000 men, and 4000 muskets were taken by the Carlists, almost all of English manufacture. On this occasion some Congreve rockets, supplied by the British, were captured by the mountaineers, being the first made use of in this war. They are still preserved in those secluded valleys as curiosities and trophies of their victory over the haughty islanders, who had thus exemplified their adherence to their boasted principles of non-intervention by bringing fire and sword into their peaceful valleys.

73. This great success was shortly after followed by an important advantage in Biscay. Dissatisfied with the conduct of Espartero there, who had been unable, as already mentioned, to prevent the burning of the mills and granaries outside the town of Bilbao, though he had a garrison of 4000 men in it, Valdez, immediately after his own appointment, deprived him of the command, which he bestowed on Iriarte, an old emigrant. Desirous of signalling his accession to the command by some brilliant exploit, the new general issued from his walls on 29th April, intending to relieve

* "If within fifteen days you do not make your submission, I declare, in the most positive terms, that *I will give up to the flames, without mercy, the whole population of those valleys which usually afford a refuge to the rebels, and where they meet with a criminal reception and fresh resources.* The measure is a painful one, but all humane feelings must be hushed when the good of the country requires it. The conflagration of Moscow saved Russia. I bring you pardon and peace, or persecution and extermination. The option is with you. I shall be inflexible in my duty, and omit no means of fulfilling it, however rigorous they may be."—*Proclamation of Valdez, 16th April 1835; WALTON, ii. 391.*

Lequeito, which had been long blockaded, and to make a tour along the coast. The first town he had to pass through was Guernica, in which an ambush was placed in the houses by the Carlists, who allowed the enemy to reach the great square without opposition. Suddenly a stream of fire issued from all the windows of the houses looking into the square, by which several hundreds of the Christinos were struck down. It was only after great slaughter and a violent struggle that they succeeded in forcing their way out by the road to Lequeito, whither they were pursued by the great body of the Carlists. They left four hundred of their number shut up in a blockhouse, who were not relieved until Espartero came up with a large column, which, with great difficulty, got them off and back to Bilbao, after abandoning the whole objects of the expedition. Espartero burned the town before leaving it, and, imitating Mina's barbarous policy, put an inscription on the scorched ruins, "Here stood Guernica!" In Navarre, after their great defeat in the Amescosas, the main body of the Queen's troops retired behind the Ebro to Logrono. On the 5th May they abandoned the fortified post of Estella, on the road from that point to Pampeluna, and on the same day Valdez arrived at the latter fortress, and assumed the command from Mina.

74. These repeated misfortunes, to which no one could see an end, shook the Government of the Queen to its foundations in every part of Spain. A Carlist conspiracy was formed at Seville in the end of April, which, however, was discovered, and proved abortive, the leaders having been shot on June 10. But more serious disturbances soon after broke out in Madrid, which continued with great violence on the 16th of May and two following days. The assumed cause of these riots was the Elliot convention, to which the Liberals persisted in assigning the disasters which had been experienced, though, as it was by Zumalacarregui signed on 17th April, and the battles of the Amescosas were fought five days

after, it was too soon for it to have had any effect on the military operations. And, in point of fact, it had not come into operation when the worst of them was sustained; for Valdez's signature was only affixed to it at Logrono on the 25th April, when a fugitive from the battles in the Amescosas. The prime minister, M. Martinez de la Rosa, defended the measure on the ground that it was intended to put an end to the horrors of war; and that, when the Queen's allies pressed such a measure upon her generals, they could not refuse their consent. The populace of Madrid, however, irritated by defeat, and thirsting after blood, were not to be so appeased. Serious riots broke out in many parts of the town, in which the cry was, "Viva la libertad, mueran los pastileros, muera la rosita!" and the Minister narrowly escaped with his life when stepping into his carriage. As it was, the riots were not put down till strong coercive measures had been adopted, and military quartered in various parts of the town. Still more alarming were the symptoms on the part of the soldiery; for mutiny broke out in the 2d battalion of urban guards, the whole officers of which resigned.

75. Matters had now come to such a pass in the northern provinces of Spain, that without the aid of foreign intervention the cause of the Queen was lost in every part of the country. This is proved by the most conclusive of all evidence, the official and solemn representations of the Christino generals, assembled to deliberate on the prospects of the war. The state of the army was submitted to them, and the discussion which followed was of the most stormy character. Two resolutions, however, were adopted by the meeting, with one only dissenting voice. The first was that it had become indispensable to evacuate the fortified outposts, and concentrate the troops in a few central points. The second was "that the report should be sent to Government, to the effect that the means put at the disposal of the commander-in-chief were not sufficient to put down the insurrection, and that

as there was not time to organise fresh troops, the intervention of foreign powers has become indispensable." The report was immediately drawn out and signed by all the officers present except one, who declined to affix his signature, not from dissenting as to the state of the army, but from an aversion, under any circumstances, to have recourse to foreign intervention. The report so signed was intrusted to General Cordova, who set out without delay for Madrid, and travelled by the very relay of horses which had been stationed along the road to bring intelligence of the expected victory of Valdez.

76. Zumalacarregui's next move was to drive the Christino General El Pastor, into St Sebastian, where he left him blockaded by six thousand men. He himself, returning to Alava, advanced with eleven battalions and six hundred horse to Vittoria, under the walls of which he drew up his forces, offering battle to the enemy. Finding, however, that they declined the encounter, he drew off and appeared before Trevino, an old Moorish town, surmounted by a ruined castle on the northern or left bank of the Ebro. He had only one gun, named by his followers Boca Negra (black mouth); but such good use was made of it, that in a few days the garrison, consisting of 500 men, capitulated, all of whom immediately entered the Carlist ranks. The superiority of the Carlists in the field was now very apparent. Immediately after this success he crossed the mountains and invested Villafranca, a fortified town in Guipuscoa, on the great road to Bayonne, and as it contained a garrison of 2000 men, Valdez issued from Pampeluna, on 28th May, to attempt its relief, at the same time sending orders to Oraa to march from Lecumberri to co-operate in the movement. Oraa, however, fell into an ambuscade in doing so, in which he lost 300 killed, 580 prisoners, and his entire brigade of mountain guns. Discouraged by this disaster, Valdez returned to Pampeluna. But as the

fall of Villafranca was imminent, Espartero in Biscay drew together reinforcements from all quarters, and as a last effort set forth at the head of 7000 men, taking the great road to Villafranca, which was by this time hard pressed by the Carlists. This led to the most important action which had yet occurred in the war, and which, but for foreign intervention, would have decided the contest in favour of Don Carlos.

77. Learning the approach of the enemy to raise the siege, Zumalacarregui concerted a plan with Eraso and his nephew, a young farmer in the neighbourhood, who was acquainted with every crag and path it contained, and disposed his men so as to surprise them. Eraso was to lead with a few picked battalions, Zumalacarregui to follow with the main body. The Queen's troops during the night, when they had come near the Carlists, were bivouacking in two valleys on either side of a low range of undulating hills called the Descarga or Vergara heights, which separated the contiguous valleys from each other. The Christinos flattered themselves that they were secure from a surprise on these eminences, each division of their forces having its flank supported by steep heights. On this very circumstance the Carlist General founded his plan of a nocturnal surprise. Setting out as the evening bell was tolling with his whole force, he entered at nightfall the intermediate range of hills, and stole along them unperceived till he had reached the centre of the now separated Christino force. Then suddenly halting, he formed his men into two divisions, each of which poured down with irresistible vigour on the unsuspecting enemy beneath. The Queen's troops, worn out with fatigue, were almost all buried in sleep, and, fearing nothing, had placed few outposts on their flanks, and scarce any in the quarter from whence the attack was made. Never was surprise more complete, or more skilfully managed. Scarce any resistance was anywhere attempted; where it was, defeat immediately ensued. The Carlists had

assured their enemies in this attack that they would give quarter, and they were as good as their word. Fifteen hundred prisoners of all ranks were made, whose lives were all spared, while the killed and wounded on the part of the vanquished did not exceed a hundred. Several thousand muskets fell into the hands of the Carlists, with which were immediately armed fourteen hundred prisoners, who prayed to be admitted into their ranks. They were quickly formed into two battalions, which behaved with great gallantry during the remainder of the war. The remains of Espartero's troops fled back in disorder along the main road. Villafranca capitulated next day with its whole garrison, and Don Carlos entered it in triumph amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. Soon after the whole fortified posts in possession of the enemy in Guipuscoa and Upper Navarre, Elisondo, San Esteban, Urdax, Engue, in the Bastan, Tolosa, and Vergara, on the great road to Bayonne, fell into the hands of the victors.

78. The Carlist chiefs now resolved in a council of war, contrary to the opinion of Zumalacarregui, to undertake the siege of Bilbao, and that general accordingly sat down before the place with seventeen battalions; while Castor, to aid the operations, established himself in Portugalete.* The siege was commenced with two mortars and eleven guns, the heaviest of which were eighteen-pounders, all of which had been wrested from the enemy in fair fight. Two circumstances have given a melancholy interest to this memorable siege. It was the first occasion on which the provisions of the Quadruple Alliance were put into practical operation, and the English forces were brought into collision with the defenders of Spanish independence. Lord John Hay of the Castor and Captain Lapidge of the Ringdove reached Bilbao on the 6th, and, after recommending some

* Zumalacarregui strongly urged the expediency of investing Vittoria at once, and, as soon as that place was reduced, of marching with the whole Carlist force direct on Madrid.

alterations in the scheme of defence, which were adopted by the governor, suggested the landing from the Royal Tar of a party of British gunners, which was at once acceded to. Two English guns were also landed and placed on a new fortification thrown up for the occasion, and manned by British gunners. Still keeping up the appearance of neutrality, the British officers landed and waited on Zumalacarregui, who received them courteously, and assured them of every protection to the subjects or property of Great Britain. Meanwhile, Valdez, alarmed at the prospect of losing Bilbao with its powerful garrison, assembled fifteen thousand men at Vittoria for its relief, and set out to accomplish it. But such was the activity of the Carlists, and the discouragement of his own men, that he was unable to approach the scene of danger. Ochandiano, a fortified town lying on the direct road to Bilbao, Salvatierra, a town of the utmost moment in a strategical point of view, as commanding the road from Vittoria to Pampeluna, and Eybar on the Ega, were evacuated by the discouraged Christinos, and the proposed march prevented. Meanwhile, the siege was vigorously pressed; a breach had been effected, and a storming party told off, when Zumalacarregui, when viewing the operations from a distance, was accidentally wounded by a stray shot from the ramparts in the calf of the leg.

79. This was a grievous, and, as it proved in the end, a fatal blow to the cause of the Carlists. The wound of the chief was not in itself dangerous, and if his ardent disposition and surrounding circumstances would have admitted of its being properly treated, in all probability it would have led to no serious consequences. But this proved impossible. From the place where he was wounded he was carried in a rude litter to Durango, over a rough road, which brought on a slight fever, and that malady, in itself also trifling, was speedily aggravated by his excessive anxiety about the issue of the contest in which he was engaged, and over which he well

knew his loss would throw a dark cloud. The King immediately hastened to visit him, but, from the first, the suffering hero seemed to have a presentiment that his wound would prove mortal, and his whole anxiety was, before his departure, to make such arrangements as might insure its ultimate success. When asked by Don Carlos, who was bathed in tears, who should command the army in his absence, he replied, "Your majesty." He evinced the greatest desire to be taken to Ormaiztegui, his birthplace, which was ten leagues distant, and thither he was carried during two long days, the peasants turning out in speechless sorrow along the whole road to see the mournful procession pass. "They beheld in him the defender of their sovereign's throne, the guardian of their own *fueros*, the conqueror of Quesada, Rodil, Mina, and Valdez." On reaching the place of his nativity, he was lodged in the house of his brother, who was the curate of the place; his affectionate wife was in Bordeaux, whither she had been sent by the French police. Soon after his arrival, the personal physician of Don Carlos recommended that the ball should instantly be extracted. "Set to work, then," said Zumalacarregui, "at once; I am ready; there is my leg." The operation was successfully performed, and the ball got out; but it was too great a strain on his exhausted frame. Immediately after, he was seized with a violent fever, which soon led to delirium. In his raving, he spoke incessantly of battles and sieges, of Vittoria, Madrid, and Bilbao, and it was evident that some mournful presentiment had got possession of his mind. He was constantly attended by his two faithful aides-de-camp, Colonels Reyna and Lacy, and by his brother the curate. At length he fell into a soft slumber, in the course of which he breathed his last on the 23d June 1835. He was buried in the first instance in the neighbouring church, beside the remains of his ancestors; but he was afterwards disinterred, and conveyed to a secret asylum, known only to the

King and the brother of the deceased; it being feared that, should the chances of war again change and the Liberals get possession of the country, even the ashes of the dead would not be secure from profanation in that ruthless contest.

80. Zumalacarregui was undoubtedly one of the noblest characters who have done honour to the human race, or of whose exploits history has made mention. He was alike superior to the love of money, the first desire of ordinary, and the thirst for praise, the last infirmity of noble minds. Heart and soul he was heroic. Profoundly moved by the feelings of loyalty, wrapped up in his duty to his king and country, no difficulties could arrest, no dangers appal him. Accompanied with the impulse of this lofty sense of duty, obstacles the most threatening, reverses the most disheartening, were but as dust in the balance. "*Fais ce que dois, advienne ce qui pourra,*" was his maxim, and his life was a ceaseless obedience to it. He never had a thought for himself. He gave everything away to others except his own honour, which he preserved religiously in his own keeping. He never bought command or honours from his sovereign, any more than he thought of enriching himself by the fruit of his victories. Greatness was forced upon him, because he was the most deserving; not obtained because he was the most ambitious. He was entirely destitute of selfish feelings. He began the contest, and perilled his life on the issue, when to all appearance it was utterly hopeless, when nothing but the dungeon or the scaffold was to be anticipated from engaging in it. When he raised his standard in the valley of Bastan, and amidst the wilds of the Amescuas, he could rely only on the support of a few hundred half-armed mountaineers, and he confronted the military strength of Spain and Portugal, of France and England. Often worsted, as was unavoidable in the circumstances, he was never subdued; and after a contest of two years' duration, by the confession of his enemies he had obtained the

mastery over all his domestic foes, and nothing but foreign intervention could have prevented him from placing his lawful sovereign on the throne. He had defeated all the generals whom the Queen's Government had sent against him. Quesada, Rodil, Mina, Valdez, armed with the whole military strength of Spain, had fled before his mountaineers. He had inspired such love and enthusiasm among his followers, that one and all would have died in his cause. In his own country he has already taken a place beside the Paladins of the olden time, and his exploits are celebrated with those of the Cid in the national songs of Spain. But history must award him a wider mausoleum, and assign him a place beside Leonidas and Epaminondas, Fabius and Scipio, John Hunniades and John Sobieski, Robert Bruce and William Tell, in the glorious pantheon which is the common patrimony of the human race.

81. As a general, his merits were hardly less conspicuous, and he only required to have lived longer, and exerted his talents on a wider theatre, to have taken his place beside the most renowned commanders. But magnitude of force wielded is not always the test of military virtue, nor ultimate success of great generalship. The Prince of Condé and the Admiral Coligni displayed as great ability in manœuvring a few thousand men in the neighbourhood of Paris in the French religious wars, as Napoleon did in the direction of as many hundred thousand in the campaigns of Russia or Germany. If we compare the force which Zumalacarregrui ever had under his orders, and the resources on which he could rely, with those which his antagonists had under their command, the victories which he won, and the steady rise of the side which he espoused, his merit must appear truly astonishing. He had a few hundred unarmed mountaineers to begin with, scarce any ammunition, and not a single piece of cannon; and when he died, nearly 50,000 disciplined and gallant soldiers obeyed the orders of Don Carlos. Arms and

supplies of every sort were shut out by the vigilance of the French douaniers on the Pyrenees, and of the English cruisers on the coast of Biscay; he had no clothes for his men, and neither hospitals nor magazines. The muskets and bayonets with which he won his victories all bore the Tower mark, and had been wrested from their opponents by his half-armed and undisciplined bands. Without doubt, such astonishing achievements could not have been the work only of one man: unquestionably he was powerfully aided by the courage and energy of his officers, the unbounded attachment and heroic spirit of the peasantry, and the strength of the country in which the contest lay, which was in great part fit only for the movements of foot soldiers. But foot soldiers can move on one side as well as the other. The Queen's troops were always greatly superior in numbers, and incomparably so in discipline and equipment. The great merit of the Carlist chieftain was, that he was so careful in his movements and so wary in his strategy, that, while he often gained great advantages, he never suffered a reverse which was not in a few days repaired; and thus his career, though much checkered, was, on the whole, one of progressive success, and at length rendered him victorious over all his opponents.

82. It was the system of warfare which he adopted, and which brought into play all the advantages of his situation, and neutralised those of his enemies, which was the main cause of this success. He knew well both his men and the ground on which they were to act; and he was careful not to engage in a serious encounter except in situations where they were suited to each other. He had no artillery, and scarce any cavalry, and his foot-soldiers were far from having the solidity of the Castilian battalions. They would have made a very poor figure beside the battalions of the Guards in reserve at Madrid. But though they were, at first at least, for these reasons, unable to combat the Queen's troops in the open field, they were only on that account the

more formidable in conflicts among the rocks, trees, and brushwood, with which the valleys of Navarre and Biscay were beset. His men, though not initiated in the art of moving in solid bodies, were admirably adapted for this desultory warfare, in which the combatants could not be arrayed in compact masses from the obstacles of the ground, but where they fought singly often under cover of trees and rocks after the manner of sharpshooters, and everything came to depend on the activity, presence of mind, and courage of the individual men. For long Zumalacarreui never allowed his men to be drawn into a conflict except on such ground, and on it their agility and local knowledge of the mountains gave them a decided advantage over the heavy-armed phalanxes of the enemy. This was his great merit, hence his astonishing success. He was a little man, and had a remarkable stoop with his shoulders; but his eye was piercing, and he was endowed with uncommon personal strength. In powers of endurance, whether of fatigue or hunger, he was surpassed by none of his followers; and he never required them to submit to privations which he was not the first to undergo himself. He was

always affable and often jocular with his soldiers, and in this way, like Napoleon, acquired their unbounded attachment. But he was a steady disciplinarian, and admitted of no excuse for the non-performance of duty. Naturally gentle and humane, he underwent the utmost agony when obliged to order the reprisals which the barbarous system of war introduced by the Christinos often rendered necessary. But, strong as this feeling was, and strenuously as he laboured to introduce a more humane practice, his sense of justice was still stronger; and when he saw that, despite all his efforts to the contrary, the Liberals went on shooting the wounded and prisoners without mercy, he was stern and relentless in his retaliation. He was utterly indifferent to money, and never came home in the evening without having emptied his pockets to the sick or wounded whom he had met by the way; and though large sums, in the way of contributions and otherwise, passed through his hands, he never kept a dollar, and died as poor as the humblest of his followers. Altogether he seemed cast in the antique mould, yet with an element of Christian charity in his breast. He realised what Paoli said of Napoleon—he resembled the heroes of Plutarch.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SPAIN, FROM THE DEATH OF ZUMALACARREGUI IN 1835, TO THE TERMINATION OF THE CARLIST WAR IN 1840.

1. So great was the reputation which Zumalacarreui had acquired, even during his brief career of two years, that it was generally believed in Europe that the cause of the Carlists depended on his single arm, and that after he was struck down it was no more. The Liberal journals of Eng-

land, which were nearly all in favour of the Queen, openly maintained this opinion; and Lord Palmerston did not hesitate, as will immediately appear, to express the same opinion in Parliament.* But these expectations were

* "The death of Zumalacarreui may be considered, we apprehend, as the signal for

not realised; the war continued eighteen months longer, and, beyond all doubt, but for the vigorous intervention of England, would have led to Don Carlos being placed on the throne. On the death of their renowned chief, Eraso was put in temporary charge of the troops before Bilbao, but General Villareal was ultimately appointed to the chief command—an able and active officer, five and-thirty years of age, who had been bred up in the school, and inherited many of the qualities, of Zumalacarregui. Don Carlos, however, as that lamented chief had recommended, nominally had the chief command, and was generally at headquarters, and often under fire, exposed to great personal danger. The want of their former leader's strategic talents, however, was soon felt. Cordova, who had now succeeded Voldez in the command of the Queen's troops, collected twenty thousand men, and with this imposing force, which was much more than the Carlists could oppose to them, since they had a considerable force detached towards Puente de la Reyna, his generals Espartero and Espalete succeeded, by following the circuitous route of Portugalete, in penetrating to Bilbao, and in consequence the siege of that town was raised—the Carlists retreating to the mountains in the neighbourhood, from whence, however, they still maintained a distant blockade of the place.

2. In pursuance of the representation, already mentioned, of the generals in Navarre of the impossibility of withstanding the Carlists without foreign intervention, the Queen's Government at Madrid, in the beginning of June, before Zumalacarregui's death, made a formal demand through General Alava for the immediate aid of an auxiliary force. The request was at first made to the French Government; and it was for some days a

the speedy retreat of Don Carlos from the Peninsula. The Basques have already refused, it is said, to act under the orders of the Count d'Espana; indeed, unless another Zumalacarregui be found among themselves, it is very probable that their whole army will soon cease to be.”—*Morning Chronicle*, June 30th, 1835.

matter of serious deliberation in the Cabinet of Louis Philippe whether they should not at once interpose with twenty thousand men. It was at length determined, however, not to appear on the theatre with the Royal forces for fear of the contagion of democracy spreading from the Peninsula to the French soldiers, but to permit troops to be levied in France by private adventurers. Application was next made to the English Government, in name of General Alava, who petitioned for an order in council authorising the raising of “ten thousand men in the United Kingdom, with the view of speedily terminating the unfortunate struggle which engages the attention of the Spanish Government in Navarre and the Basque provinces—a struggle which various local circumstances have so long protracted.” He expressed a “hope that the British Government would agree that it was of the greatest consequence to attain this object, even if it were only for the purpose of putting an end to the example, most pernicious to all nations, of an open resistance to legitimate government.” Lord Palmerston, on 8th June, returned an answer, “That an order in council should be immediately prepared for permitting British subjects to engage in the service of her Catholic Majesty.” Next day the order appeared in the London Gazette, and it was soon known in military circles that the command of the auxiliary legion was to be given to Lieut.-Col. Evans, since distinguished in the Crimean wars as Sir De Lacy Evans.

3. Although, however, the new legion was thus authorised by the British Government, yet they were not, properly speaking, national troops. They were mercenaries in the service of the Spanish Government, and paid by them. But the funds for their equipment and pay were in reality provided by the British committee, which consisted of the capitalists who had advanced money to the democratic Cortes before the restoration of the King's power in 1823, and who saw no other way of recovering payment of their debts but by keeping the Liberal Government on

the throne. The legionary soldiers wore the red uniform, in order that they might be surrounded with the halo of renown which the British troops had earned on the fields of Peninsular fame; but they were no other than mercenaries, raised and paid by foreign adventurers, though with the sanction of the Government of the country from which they came. Ample bounties, however, were offered, and the press in general warmly supported the soldiers, as it was said, of freedom. Although a good many veterans joined their ranks, yet they were, on the whole, a motley crew, almost entirely raised in London and the great commercial towns, and, being brought together and equipped in great haste, they were far from possessing the solidity of regular soldiers. They had neither the discipline of the Spanish infantry, nor the activity and powers of endurance of the Carlists, so that they were in neither point of view adapted to the country in which they were engaged. Thus, although ten thousand of the legion landed in the course of the summer on the Spanish coasts, and they were all individually brave as the Anglo-Saxons always are, and ably commanded, they were of little real service in the campaign which ensued, excepting by compelling an equal or superior body of Carlists to be always stationed to watch them—a distraction of force which, in the closely balanced state of the contending parties, without doubt much contributed to the ultimate success of the Queen's party.

4. Lord Palmerston said in the House of Commons on the 24th June, when the subject was brought forward, "It is now apparent that the Spanish people as a whole are with the Queen; the insurrection is confined to a few isolated provinces, the success of Don Carlos is an impossibility, and the Queen's triumph is in every respect an English interest." General Evans reiterated the same sentiments, observing that the proposed force was fully adequate to the object in view, and that ultimate success was certain, as it was preposterous to suppose that fif-

teen thousand mountaineers could successfully resist a hundred and twenty thousand Spanish troops, admirably drilled and equipped, and having the whole fortresses and military resources of the monarchy at their command, aided by ten thousand British soldiers. The necessity under which, according to the Spanish generals, the Liberal Government, though possessed of all these resources, lay of applying to the Cabinets of Paris and London for external aid to put down the insurrection, formed an instructive commentary on these words. And if any farther proof of their entire groundlessness were required, it would be found in the facts to be immediately noticed, that, through this country, thus held out as thoroughly attached to the Queen's Government, with the exception of the Basque provinces, a Carlist army of 7000 men marched from Biscay to Gibraltar without opposition, and that Don Carlos led a trifling force to the gates of Madrid.

5. The Christinos were not long of showing that they would set at nought the Elliot convention, which had been so religiously observed by their opponents in their great victories over Valdez. The Carlists had prosecuted, ever since the siege of Bilbao had been raised, an attack on Puente de la Reyna, on the Arga river, the only remaining fortified town on the road between Pampeluna and the Ebro, now in the hands of the Queen's troops. On the 14th July, Colonel Vicente Reyna, a gallant officer, and brother to one of the King's personal aides-de-camp, who commanded their artillery, was surprised and taken; he was immediately shot, with six of his followers. Cordova meanwhile assembled his forces at Lerin, consisting of 16,000 infantry, 900 cavalry, and a battery of cannon and Congreve rockets, with which he advanced to raise the siege. The covering Carlist army, consisting only of 8000 foot soldiers and 300 horse, under the immediate command of Don Carlos in person, was posted on a strong position on the left bank of the Arga. Its great disadvantage was, that, in the event of defeat, the sole line of retreat

of the Carlists to the Amescos lay over the bridge of Mendigorria, on their right rear. Trusting to his great superiority of force, which was above two to one, Cordova brought forward every arm—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—with which he commenced an impetuous attack on the hostile line. But, vigorous as was the attack, the resistance was not less stubborn; and as they had the advantage of the ground, the loss was much greater on the part of the assailants than the assailed. During the struggle, two Christino companies made a show of passing over to the Carlists, and, when received in their lines, treacherously fired to the right and left, and brought down great numbers—an act which was speedily avenged by their entire destruction. At length, after a fierce combat of seven hours' duration, in the course of which the Carlists had drawn off their whole siege artillery to a place of safety on the other side of the river, the King gave orders to retire. This could only be done by the bridge of Mendigorria, which was commanded by a Spanish battery, for the Carlists had been obliged to fight with the river in their rear. They got through, however, with Don Carlos at their head, without serious loss, though the stones of the bridge were all discoloured by the quantity of shot which had rained upon them. After this desperate shock both parties, equally exhausted, lay gazing at each other on the opposite sides of the Argastream.

6. Don Carlos now adventured upon a step which, although natural in the circumstances, was not morally justifiable, and has contributed more than any other circumstance to the unpopularity of his cause with the English people. Learning that the Queen's Government had applied to the French and English Cabinets for aid to put down the insurrection, he issued a decree from Durango to the effect that any foreigners who should engage in the service of the Queen should be excluded from the benefit of the Elliot convention, and left to the old Basque laws, which subjected such intruders to the punishment of death. The publication of this decree, which at once

brought the horrors of the contest they had so long encouraged to their own doors, excited the warmest feelings of resentment in the breasts of the people of Great Britain, and furnished the Liberal press with a fair ground for holding up the Government which had issued it to universal obloquy. Yet, while such feelings are not to be wondered at, and it is to be hoped will always prevail when such a cruel policy is announced, it must be recollected under what circumstances it was determined on. The Carlists were in the throes of a mortal conflict in which quarter had for long been refused by their opponents, and oceans of innocent blood had been shed in the attempt, by the organised power of a dominant party, to force an obnoxious Liberal Government on an unwilling people. When in the crisis of this sanguinary domestic contest they saw a fresh legion of foreign mercenaries ready to be let loose in support of those who had so long bathed their peaceful valleys with blood, it is not to be wondered at that *bellum ad internecionem* should be proclaimed against such intruders. And, if we would rightly appreciate the feelings of the Spanish people on this occasion, we have only to conceive what would have been ours if, immediately after the massacres of Delhi and Cawnpore, it had been announced that a corps of Cossack mercenaries had been collected by authority of the Russian Government in Central Asia, and was about to descend upon the plains of Hindostan to aid Nana Sahib in restoring the Asiatic Government in India, and exterminating the European intruders.

7. But all this notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that the Durango decree was not only a fault in political morality, but an error in political expedience. Admitting the whole force of the argument that the English legionaries were coming to assist a party in Spain which, in all save the Basque provinces, had proclaimed a war of extermination, where was the justice of proclaiming a similar retaliatory measure against the English legionaries in the Basque provinces themselves, to which the Elliot con-

vention applied, and where it was still observed on both sides? Was it justifiable to denounce the extreme penalty of death against the stranger before he had even landed on the Spanish shore, and when it was not as yet known whether he would not abide by the humane usages of civilised warfare? It point of expedience, was it wise, when already hard pressed by a domestic foe, to add another heart and soul to their enemies, and convert what would have been the cold and languid support of a lukewarm ally into the active and cordial co-operation of an impassioned principal? The people of England, penetrated by admiration at the heroic resistance of the Basque provinces, were beginning to hesitate about the policy of mixing themselves up with the Spanish civil wars, when the Durango decree for the time united all feelings against the Government which had issued it. Lord Palmerston never failed to bring it forward, and with triumphant effect, whenever the subject was introduced in the House of Commons. How much more politic, as well as noble, was the conduct of the Duke of York in 1793, who, in answer to a savage decree of the Convention ordering the Republican armies to give no quarter to their enemies, published a proclamation enjoining the soldiers to *give quarter* to their ruthless foes! *

8. But whatever may be thought on this point, on which the opinions of men will probably be divided to the end of time, one thing is very clear, and will admit of no doubt, and that is, that the extreme Revolutionists in Spain ere long showed the world in an unmistakable manner what was the species of warfare which they demanded from, and were resolved to force upon, the Government of Madrid. The outcry against the war administration, in consequence of the multiplied disasters which they had undergone, became so violent that the feeble barriers of Government were altogether unable to restrain the excesses to which it led. The multitude, as is ever the

case where power is practically vested in hands incapable of being influenced by reason, but perfectly sensitive to the impulses of passion, would tolerate no pause in the succession of victories which they had been taught to expect, and insisted for the immediate dismissal and punishment of every general who experienced a reverse. Not content with this, the infuriated mob in the great towns vented their rage on any Carlists or ministers of religion whom chance threw in their way, and massacred them without either trial, mercy, or discrimination. On the 4th July a vast crowd assembled in Saragossa, and, as no resistance was attempted by the authorities, speedily burned six convents and murdered thirteen persons found in them. This example was soon followed at Cordova, where several convents were set on fire; the same was done in Murcia on the night of the 30th, and at Caspe in Aragon four persons were massacred. In Valencia similar atrocities were threatened, but the thirst of the mob for blood was slaked by the base submission of the authorities, who delivered up to them six Carlists, who were immediately torn in pieces amidst frantic yells. Barcelona ere long became the theatre of still more frightful atrocities. On the afternoon of July 25, a mob got up under pretence of seeing a bull-fight, and soon began parading the streets in various bands, each headed by a leader in disguise. On a signal given the cry arose—"Away to the convents! Death to the friars!" and immediately the whole, in separate parties, proceeded to six of the principal convents of the city, viz., those of the Augustins, the Trinity, two of the Carmelites, the Minims, and the Dominicans. In the twinkling of an eye they were all in flames, while a savage multitude beset all the gates so as to prevent any of the wretched inmates escaping. Soon the whole buildings were a heap of smoking ruins, and of the friars *eighty* perished, either in the flames or beaten to death with clubs at the gates as they were striving to escape from the conflagration. Three

* See *Hist. of Europe*, chap. cxvi. § 56.

hundred ecclesiastics from other convents escaped into fort Monjuic, and as many more into the citadel, where they found refuge; but the military merely paraded the streets of the town without making any attempt to stop the massacres. The Captain-General of the province, Llauder, overwhelmed with consternation, fled into France, leaving the city in the uncontrolled possession of the mob.

9. So flagrant and abominable an outrage would, it was expected, open the eyes of the Government to the necessity of taking vigorous measures to arrest the disorders; but the attempt only led to fresh tumults, and the most painful demonstration of the weakness of the executive. On 4th August, General Basa, an officer of merit and resolution, was ordered to move on Barcelona at the head of two thousand men from Tortosa. So great was the ferment in the city on his approach, that he was advised by General Pastoriz, the governor of Monjuic, not to enter the walls, as, if he did so, he would be overpowered and massacred. But fear had no place in that dauntless breast, and the intelligence only made him the more resolute to advance and discharge his duty. He entered the gates accordingly, having preceded his entry by a proclamation that a gun would be fired at a certain hour, and whoever remained on the streets after it was discharged, should be deemed a rebel and treated as such. The gun was fired accordingly; but the mob instead of dispersing moved suddenly forward to the Government House where the General had his headquarters, caught him and threw him from the balcony on to the street, where his body was instantly seized by the insurgents, dragged by the heels through the streets, and thrown upon a burning pile, previously prepared for the purpose, where it was consumed. This barbarous murder was the more reprehensible that General Basa was an officer universally esteemed, who had been made Governor of Cadiz by the Liberal Government on account of his services in the Queen's cause, and had rendered important services to her,

especially in the important matter of disarming the Royalist volunteers.

10. This atrocious crime completed the destruction of the Queen's Government in Barcelona. After so awful an example of their power and determination, none of the authorities, civic or military, would undertake the responsibility of attempting even to coerce the populace. They contented themselves, accordingly, with closing the gates of Monjuic and the citadel so as to keep the troops in safety, and let the mob do whatever they liked in the city. Thus liberated from the semblance even of restraint, the assassins spread themselves over the town, wreaking their vengeance on all the Government offices and many of the greatest and most flourishing commercial establishments, which were soon reduced to ruins. Among the rest a newly established manufactory of steam-engines, which gave bread to several hundred persons, was reduced to ashes, as was the convent of St Sebastian, containing the whole archives of the province and the post-office, and the entire provincial administration of the country. As no one thought of resisting the mob, or asserting the Queen's authority, the disorders went on till the populace, wearied of plunder and devastation, elected a new municipality of their own creation, which, like all popularly chosen bodies, being supported by the majority, took vigorous measures to restore the public tranquillity. By their exertions the tumult was at length appeased, but nothing was done to vindicate the authority of the law except the shooting of four prisoners on the 9th charged with having set fire to some public buildings.

11. In all these commotions the cries of "Death to the priests," "Down with the convents," were mingled with "Long live liberty," "The Constitution of 1812." That was the watchword of the Revolutionists, as it had been ever since 1820; and its frequent use bespoke the action of secret societies, and more radical changes in society than the mere burning of convents or murdering of monks. This soon appeared in the most unmistak-

able manner. The capital itself was disturbed, and the revolutionists there revealed their real designs. On the 7th August a large mob assembled in the Place Mayor, or great square of Madrid, while the regulars were stationed under Espeleta in the Prado, and the urban guards mustered in their barracks. These two armed bodies of men were soon found to be at dagger-drawing with each other. Cries of "A bas les armées!" "Vive la liberté!" issued from the urban militia, while the regulars, drawn up in battle array, with their muskets loaded, remained inactive, and apparently uncertain which cause to espouse. Soon the object of the movement was declared. A deputation was sent from the urban militia to the Queen Regent, who was at her palace of La Granja with the little Queen Isabella, in the neighbourhood of the capital, with the following demands:—The instant reassembling of the Cortes, entire liberty to the press, a new electoral law in conformity with the constitution of 1812, the entire suppression of the regular clergy, the sale of the national property, the re-establishment of the national militia, the immediate levy of 200,000 men for the war in the north, and the instant appointment of a ministry upon whom the people could depend for the attainment of these objects.* Not content with this, being confident from the enthusiasm of the mob and the inactivity of the military, they took possession of the royal printing-office, where they printed a proclamation, in which their demands were reiterated, and the names of the radical ministry whom they designated given. At the same time an immense multitude, deeming the victory gained, and in the highest state of excitement, paraded the streets, exclaiming "Viva la libertad! Muoga Toreno y Espeleta!" at the same time dragging along a huge cord, with which

they proposed instantly to hang these functionaries.

12. The Royal Government of Spain now hung by a thread: the least appearance of weakness on the part of those around the Queen, and any additional vigour in the leaders of the insurgents, would have precipitated the throne of Charles V. in the dust, and a frantic bloody democracy would, for a time at least, have obtained the government of Spain. But in this extremity some of those gallant men arose who have so often, in circumstances equally desperate, shed a lustre on the history of Spain. The Queen acted skilfully and firmly, not altogether refusing the demands of the deputation, but requesting only time to consider them; and meanwhile Quesada, who was very popular with the military, contrived to make his way, in the disguise of a peasant, to the barracks of the urban militia, and, after a conference, persuaded them to return to their duty. The regular soldiers remained inactive on the Prado; but the mob, finding themselves not actively supported by either division of the armed force, gradually dispersed. Before the tumult had subsided, however, twenty-two persons had been massacred in the streets in open day, and forty-seven wounded, without any attempt being made to apprehend or punish them. The Government, to keep up appearances, made a show of vigour; warrants were issued for the apprehension of General Quiroga, M. Isturitz, M. Caballero, and some others, as concerned in the insurrection; and the deputation which had gone to La Granja was sent into Madrid under an escort; but no proceedings were adopted against any of them. Three battalions of the urban militia which had been most violent were disbanded, and thus ended the action of the law against a body of insurgents who had disgraced the capital, and all but overturned the throne. For his important services on this occasion Quesada was made chamberlain to the Queen; but his services to her were not forgotten by the Revolutionists, and they cost him his life at no distant period.

* The new ministry whom the insurgents tried to force upon the Queen on this occasion were—Arguelles, Foreign Affairs; Almodavar, War; Calatrava, Interior; Gil de la Quadra, Justice; Mendizabel, Finance. Las Navas, Isturitz, Caballero, not in the Cabinet.—WALTON, ii. 459.

13. Similar disorders, attended with still more fatal consequences, broke out in all the other great towns of Spain. Everywhere the demands were the same—the dismissal of the Ministry, the convocation of the Cortes, and the settlement of the constitution on a democratic basis. Juntas were appointed, as in the beginning of the war against France in 1808, in Valencia, Murcia, Alicant, Seville, Badajoz, Granada, and many other places, and serious bloodshed attended all these ebullitions of popular fervour. The military, as in France at the commencement of the Revolution, divided in opinion, and, often left without orders, were afraid to act, and did nothing. The urban militia was, for the most part, on the side of the populace, and authority resided for a time nowhere but in the lowest and most abandoned of the people. At Cadiz, on 21st August, a vast multitude assembled with cries of “Vive la Milice Urbaine de Madrid, Vive la Constitution de 1812.” A junta was quickly formed which published a declaration of the demands of the people, which were the immediate dismissal of the Ministry, and the convocation of the Cortes, to frame a Liberal constitution on the basis of that of 1812. This junta was a few days after displaced by another one, on the ground that the *whole people* had not concurred in its election; and the second, elected by universal suffrage, immediately sent, not only invitations to all the adjoining towns to join them, but troops to enable them to do so. Seville, Cordova, Malaga, were soon in a blaze, and the declaration of public opinion was so general and vehement that the Government at Madrid deemed it necessary to make a change in the Ministry to appease it. By three decrees, dated from St Ildefonso on 28th August, Admiral Sartorio was declared Minister of Marine; Torreno, Minister of War; and Don Manuel Herrera, of the Interior. These were considerable concessions to the extreme party, but they were far from satisfying them, and the advocates for the constitution of 1812 never ceased to agitate in all the great towns for its

restoration. On September 2d, the Government issued a proclamation in the name of the Queen herself, in which, after recounting the frightful disorders of which the provinces had been the theatre, she declared that—“Struck with the terror which such horrible excesses have inspired in the most faithful and powerful allies of Spain, the Queen had come to the resolution of at length breaking silence, to denounce loudly treason and disobedience, the crimes, the monstrous excesses of some individuals, and to point out anew to the nation the path which the Government had pointed out from the beginning, and by which alone the felicity of Spain can be secured by reconciling the rights of the Pope with the prerogatives of the Crown.”

14. These concessions and representations, however, were far from either meeting the wishes of the Radicals or appeasing the public mind. It was not a change of ministry, but such an entire alteration in the constitution as might give them the complete command of the country, which the populace of the great towns desired, and which they were determined *per fas aut nefas* to obtain. This soon appeared. The Junta of Valencia was, on 4th September, dismissed by the mob, and a new one chosen, composed entirely of determined Radicals. The new Junta immediately declared its sittings permanent, and commenced an active correspondence with those of Barcelona, Saragossa, Cadiz, Seville, Granada, and other great towns, in order to concert common measures, and impress a united action on the measures of the “*Progresistas*,” or the champions of progress, as they now began to be called. The same change took place on the same day at Barcelona and Saragossa. The demands of the new Juntas in all these places were the same; and not content with making them, they proceeded to legislative and administrative acts. The Junta of Barcelona, which took the lead as representing the greatest city, re-enacted two decrees, one of the Cortes of 1821, and another of that of 1823, the first of which devoted the half of the tithes

of the provinces to the support of the *Urban Guard*, while the second abolished all seigniorial rights. At the same time, in answer to the proclamation of the Queen, the Juntas of Barcelona and Saragossa issued a declaration containing a programme of their demands, which were "Progress, Liberty, a fundamental law, with a declaration of popular rights; a throne rendered legitimate by the public will; absolute liberty of the press, without a censor, war to the knife against revolt; no more truces; no more illusions; no more apathy; no more abuses; no more fatal compromises." Similar addresses were presented by the Juntas of Carthagena, Lorca, Granada, Malaga, Corunna, and Vigo.

15. The reformers of Spain proposed to open a sufficiently wide field of reform—one enough to have satisfied the most voracious revolutionary appetite of any country. But they forgot to petition for another reform, without which all the others would be of no good—they said nothing of the reform of the human heart. In other places the *Progresistas* did not confine themselves to addresses, but proceeded at once to usurpation of the royal and legislative authority, and to acts of high treason. The junta of Granada formally proclaimed the constitution of 1812, with such modifications as the constituent Cortes might deem expedient; the junta of Seville burnt the standards of the ex-volunteers by the hands of the common hangman; that of Cadiz declared the Count Toreno, the minister who had countersigned the proclamation of the Queen, guilty of high treason; that of Badajoz did the same; the junta of Andalusia decreed the formation at Andujar of a central committee of action, and the assembling of a corps at that point of 16,000 men. Finally, a corps of volunteers, impelled by the general fervour, set out for Madrid from Andalusia under the command of Count Las Navas. Alarmed at its approach, the Government sent a corps to stop its advance in La Mancha; but the troops despatched on that mission treacherously turned aside at Santa-

Cruz and let them pass, and the revolutionary column was soon only thirty leagues from Madrid.

16. It was not easy to determine in these critical circumstances whether the Government of the Queen had most to fear from the Carlists in front, or the revolutionists in rear. Its position very much resembled that of the Long Parliament in the last days of the contest with Charles I., when it was hard to say whether it had most to fear from the Royalists, headed by Montrose, or the independents and fifth-monarchy men, led by Cromwell. The Carlists were not slow in turning to the best advantage this unexpected tide of events in their favour. Everything for a season smiled upon them; and, but for the intervention of England, they would in all probability have achieved decisive success. The whole open country of Navarre and Biscay was in their undisturbed possession. No longer perched amidst ice and snow on almost inaccessible summits, they were comfortably located in the valleys, where their wants were supplied, their wounds dressed, their garments repaired by the peasants, who paid them the most unbounded attention. The enemy in these provinces, shut up in Pampeluna, Bilbao, Vittoria, St Sebastian, and a few other forts, were too happy to be left alone, and gave them no sort of disquiet. The strength of the central Government, weakened by the detachments required to overawe the revolutionists in the great towns in the south, was seriously diminished; and, at the same time, the atrocious cruelties with which their successes had been attended, had raised an ardent and implacable spirit of revenge in the rural population. The insurrection was soon no longer confined to the northern provinces; it extended far and wide over the whole rural population of Spain, and in some provinces led to great additions to the Carlist ranks, and the organisation of powerful disciplined battalions for their support. Don Carlos felt himself now so strong in Navarre and the Basque provinces, that he was able to detach, in August, General Guergue with seven

battalions and a large supply of muskets into Catalonia. This led to a general insurrection in the mountain districts of that province, and before the end of the year there were nearly 15,000 Catalonians in arms on the side of the Royalists within its bounds. The Christinos, however, intrenched in the numerous and powerful fortresses with which it abounds, were most formidable antagonists, and succeeded in preventing the Carlist bands being formed into a united army capable of co-operating with those of Navarre and Biscay in the open country. They neutralised, however, the garrison of the Catalonian fortresses, which was a great matter. In Aragon, as the country was comparatively free of fortresses, the Carlists rose and got the almost entire command of the open plains up to the gates of Saragossa. They were under the command of Cabrera, an able and enthusiastic Royalist, who was inspired with fresh ardour by the barbarous murder of his mother, an old woman of seventy years of age, by the Queen's troops, in revenge for the defeat her son had inflicted upon them. He was ere long joined by Carnicer's band, which had long been in arms in that province, and their united force amounted to 5000 foot and 500 horse. With this imposing force, Cabrera roamed not only over Aragon and Old Castile without molestation, but passed into part of Valencia, and sometimes approached Madrid itself. Altogether, in the end of the year, the Carlists had 57,000 men in arms, arranged in regular battalions, of whom 35,200 were in Navarre and the Basque provinces, and 22,363 in Catalonia and Aragon. The situation of the Carlists at this period was such that if the allies of the Queen had not intervened, beyond all doubt the rightful heir would have been restored to the throne, and even as it was, if Zumalacarregui had lived, he would in all probability have been restored to the inheritance of his fathers.

17. Meanwhile, however, the other powers, parties to the Quadruple Alliance, were not idle, and materially contributed to the ultimate issue of

the war. The French auxiliary force, which never reached 4000 men, and was at first in very bad order, gave little material aid to the Christinos. But the English Legion, 10,000 strong, under the command of General Evans, was much more efficient, and not only rendered on many occasions essential aid to the Queen's forces, but by their presence on the shores of Biscay neutralised an equal number of Carlists, which, in the evenly balanced state of the contending parties, was a great, and, as it proved in the end, decisive advantage to the Queen's troops. The Legion arrived in different detachments in the course of August, at St Sebastian, and various engagements took place between them and the Carlists with different success. It was of great consequence to dislodge the Carlists from their position at Hernani, on the great road from Vittoria to Bayonne. With this object, on the 30th August, part of the Legion sallied out of St Sebastian, where it was stationed with some Spanish troops under Alava, and threatened Hernani, in front of which a large body of Carlists was stationed; but after some severe fighting they were compelled by Gomez to retire with loss. Evans and Alava, however, two days after embarked from St Sebastian for Bilbao, which they reached with 3500 men, and where they found Espartero and Espeleta arrived with 9000 Queen's troops. As it was evident that so large a force could not long be maintained in Bilbao, already straitened for provisions by the Carlist blockade, and as Cordova wished to concentrate all his forces at Vittoria for a great effort to reopen the main road to Bayonne, Espartero, on the 11th September, marched out with the Spanish troops, and took the road to Orduna, intending to make the best of his way back to Vittoria. He was attacked, however, soon after leaving the walls of the fortress, at the village of Arrigorriaga, by Don Carlos in person, who had collected superior forces, and so roughly handled, that he was obliged to send to Bilbao for succour. The Spanish garrison, aided by the English Legion, marched out to his relief;

but the united force being attacked on both flanks in a narrow strait at a bridge by the Carlists, they were obliged to retreat with severe loss to Bilbao, the blockade of which was immediately resumed by the Carlist forces.

18. Early in October Cabrera with his Carlist band totally defeated a Christiano force sent against him from Saragossa. This so enraged the populace of that town that they rose in a mass and murdered twelve unarmed Carlists whom they found in the streets. The magistrates of that city, to appease the tumult, brought out successive Carlists from jail, and satiated their thirst for blood by massacring them in the open street. These atrocities, as might have been expected, only excited an additional thirst for vengeance in the rural population. The bands of Carlists which scoured the country in Aragon and Old Castile increased in numbers and audacity, and, crossing the frontier, made their appearance both in New Castile and as far as La Mancha.* The detached bands having now become so numerous, it was attempted by Don Carlos to give them something like a united action by appointing Eguia commander-in-chief; but the King, in pursuance of Zumalacarregui's dying counsel, still kept with the main army in Navarre. The most important action which took place under his immediate command was in the neighbourhood of Vittoria towards the end of October. On the 22d September, Espeleta had contrived, with the Spanish forces from Bilbao, to unite at Ona, on the upper Ebro, with Cordova, who now massed his army on Vittoria, where he lay inactive for a month. Desirous at length of effecting a junction of his whole troops on this point, by bringing up the British Legion from Bilbao, he detached Espartero by the Durango

road with a convoy to that place. That general would both reinforce Evans for the march and relieve it. He left Vittoria on the 26th October. On the 27th Cordova himself set out from Vittoria at the head of 12,000 men. Marching on Salvatiera at the entrance of the Borunda, he intended, by threatening Onate and the headquarters of the Carlists, to oblige them to concentrate against him, and leave the Durango road open to Espartero. His march lay wholly through a large wide valley, except at the pass of Guevara, about half-way, where the hills contract on each side, and an old castle overlooks the plain. Here the Carlists had a few battalions, who, on being threatened in flank, drew off, and Cordova passed on to Salvatiera. The next day he set out on his return to Vittoria. But meanwhile the Carlist commander was engaged in massing all his force on the rocky cliffs overhanging Guevara on the north, to intercept his return. Had Cordova been a few hours later in appearing, the whole Carlist army would have been on the spot. As it was, the divisions of Ituralde and Villareal were still in the rear when the head of the Queen's columns reached the mouth of the perilous strait. Don Carlos and Eguia held their men back on the summit of the rocks, while the Christians defiled through, out of musket range, beneath them and drew up on the plain in their front; but they did not venture to assail the King's position, and soon resumed their retreat towards Vittoria. No sooner were their columns in motion than the Carlists, descending from the heights, enveloped them in a cloud of tirailleurs, and plied their flanks and rear with a continuous stream of musketry. Ituralde and Villareal came up with their divisions, and Cordova re-entered Vittoria hard pressed and closely pursued; but, under cover of his movement, Espartero had been able to gain Durango and Bilbao without loss. Guevara had been the scene of two victories by Zumalacarregui in the preceding campaign.

* At this time the Carlist army was reorganised in two corps—one of operations, the other of reserve. Into the last all the married men were drafted. The first was formed into three divisions, commanded by Ituralde, Villareal, and Gomez; and each division was divided into three brigades. Eguia commanded in chief.

19. By the beginning of November, the English Legion having all arrived, and the Queen's troops on the Ebro been strongly reinforced, it was determined by the generals to commence offensive operations on a great scale, in order finally to crush the insurrection. In truth they had no alternative; for such was the discontent which existed in the capital and all the great towns at the slow progress of the war, that if something decisive was not immediately done, they might look with certainty to being overturned by their own supporters. The plan of operations concerted between the Minister-at-War and Cordova, was to concentrate 25,000 men at Vittoria, and with this imposing force to penetrate over the mountains to El Real de Onate, the present residence of Don Carlos, and there destroy the Carlist depots, and crush the insurrection by striking at its source. The English Legion, from which great things were expected, was to take a leading part in this movement; and with a view to it was despatched to Vittoria, not by the Durango road, but by a circuitous route by Valmaseda, Villacayo, Ona, Briviesca, and Miranda, while the heavy artillery followed by the long circuit of Santander and Burgos. During this march, which was performed in the most rigorous season of the year, and during a winter of uncommon severity, the legionary soldiers met with no resistance from the enemy worth speaking of. But the sufferings of the men, in a country naturally sterile and mountainous, and now wasted by the triple curse of civil war, pestilence, and famine, were extremely severe, and felt peculiarly so by the English auxiliaries, who, accustomed to be well fed and lodged in their own country, felt as if starving on a fare which, to the hardy and abstemious Spanish mountaineers, appeared absolute plenty. The sufferings which the soldiers underwent on this painful march were at the time vividly painted in letters which appeared in the English newspapers, and contributed not a little to cool the ardour which had been at first felt for this crusade in favour of Lib-

eral principles, and against Spanish independence.

20. The long circuit which Evans was obliged to make in going from Bilbao to Vittoria to avoid the Carlists who lay between, was fatal to any joint operations of the allies at that time. He only arrived at Briviesca on the route to Vittoria on the 9th November; and before that time, Cordova had been obliged to turn his attention in the direction of Pampe-luna, in consequence of a movement of the Carlists in Navarre, for an expedition into Aragon, and the advance of Ituralde's division to cover its march. Cordova endeavoured to intercept their advance; but it was so skilfully conducted that they got safe past the column sent to check them, and effected their entrance into upper Aragon, where they distributed four thousand muskets, and then returned. Shortly before this, Guergue, at the head of the Carlist band, in the mountains of Catalonia, had defeated the French auxiliary force called the Alpine Legion. This success gave such an impulse to the Carlist cause in Catalonia, that Mina, the governor of the province, issued on 29th November a proclamation, in which he declared the whole principality in a state of siege, and carried his threats a few days after into execution, by shooting two Carlist chiefs. In the course of this winter, the Carlists for the first time got grey greatcoats similar to those worn by the French infantry, which proved extremely serviceable, both as giving them in a rude way the appearance of uniform, and as affording some covering during the winter operations in the Alpine heights, where the contest was carried on. On the last day of the year they carried the fort of Guetaria by assault, the Guipuscoans heading the storm, as the place lay in their province.

21. The proclamation of Mina, and the rapid progress which the Carlists were making in Catalonia, led, on 4th January 1836, to a frightful outbreak of the Liberals in Barcelona, which exceeded all their former atrocities

in deliberation and cruelty. It arose from some inhabitants of Barcelona having been slain in the recent storming of a castle by Mina, when the Carlists threw some men taken from the walls. About noon on that day a great crowd assembled in the main square of the town, and with loud cries demanded that all the Carlist prisoners who had been placed in the citadel should be put to death. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded in a body to that fortress, their leaders carrying in their hands the lists of those whose death was demanded. On their approach the drawbridge was let down, and the mob entering in, quickly made their way to the Carlists' place of confinement. The prisoners were then brought out; and with such formality was the massacre conducted, as proved it to have been the work of deliberate design, not a latent ebullition of public frenzy. The lists were read aloud, and the prisoners led forth and shot in the order in which their names stood on them. The first who suffered was Colonel O'Donnel, whose death gave unusual gratification to the multitude. His body and that of another person were dragged through the streets, their heads and hands cut off, and their corpses, after having been gashed in every direction by the multitude, cast upon a burning pile. O'Donnel's head, after having been kicked about the streets for hours like a football, was at length stuck upon a pole beside a fountain, while pieces of his flesh cut from the quivering body were *eaten* by depraved women. From the citadel, the mob, without meeting with the slightest opposition, proceeded to the great hospital, where three of the inmates were butchered in their beds, and from thence to the fort Atanzares, where fifteen Carlist peasants were massacred. Altogether on the first day of the riots eighty-eight persons perished. It was the massacres in Paris of 2d September, under circumstances of even greater deliberation and atrocity.

22. As neither the governor Alvarez nor any of the civil authorities took the slightest step to arrest these dis-

orders, but, on the contrary, publicly and officially applauded them, the next step of the Revolutionists was, to proclaim the constitution of 1812—the fitting sequel of these atrocities, as it had been the original cause of their introduction. But fortunately for the cause of humanity, the atrocities of the preceding day had roused those who had both the heart and the means of interfering to stop them. Captain Hyde Parker of the *Rodney* 74, who had some time before, by order of his Government, landed 15,000 muskets at Barcelona for the service of the Liberals, and thereby become popular with the inhabitants, landed, and offered the aid of his crew in appeasing the multitude and putting a stop to the massacres. This well-timed offer had the desired effect. The Revolutionists, conscience-stricken, seeing the *Rodney* standing into the harbour, saw the necessity of pausing in their career; and after a little parleying, agreed, on condition that none of their political leaders were to be punished, to embark on board the *Rodney* and leave the city, which was accordingly done. None of the assassins or cannibals of the preceding day who remained were so much as apprehended. In Saragossa, in imitation of Barcelona, a similar tumult took place on the approach of the Carlists; but the magistrates had recourse to a new and unheard-of expedient to appease the multitude who were crying out for blood. They brought out four officers, a priest, and two peasants, who were said to be Carlists, and strangled them in front of the mob. Thus they prevented the populace from becoming murderers by assuming that character themselves.

23. Cordova having at length succeeded in assembling 25,000 men at Vittoria, a larger force than had yet been brought to bear on the Carlists during the progress of the war, put his whole forces in motion on the 16th January. His design was, by a general attack, to overwhelm the Carlists in their central position of Onate, on the spinal ridge here called the Sierra de Arlaban, and thus with one

blow crush their main army, take their seat of government, and reopen the great road to Bayonne. His whole force advanced on the 16th June in three columns. The centre, under his own immediate command, along the great road, up the ridge of Arlaban on Salinas; the right, composed entirely of the British Legion, by the road to Salvatiera to threaten the Borunda; the left, consisting of Espartero's Spanish troops, on Villareal to cut the Carlists off from the direct road to Bilbao. The whole were ultimately to converge on Onate. Cordova assured them of certain victory in a proclamation, in which he said he was about to lead them "to battle—in other words, to victory." Evans, in communicating this proclamation to his men, accompanied it with an animated address, in which he reminded them of the immortal glory which their fathers had won on the plains of Vittoria, over which they were now advancing.* The Carlists were less numerous, not mustering at first more than 16,000 bayonets and scarcely any cavalry; but they had the advantage of being posted on high ground, and of thorough knowledge of the country. Evans with his legion moved towards Guevara, and first came into contact with the enemy in the village of Mendijur, which was obstinately contested, but at length remained in the hands of the British, the Carlists falling back to the ridge of Maturana, across the Zadora in the rear, where they stood firm. Evans did nothing farther that day, and

* "Soldiers of the British Legion! The above is the address of the General-in-chief to his army, every word of which I know will find an echo in your generous and enthusiastic spirit. The moment then, which you have so long desired, has at length arrived. You will rejoice in the intelligence. In Britain and Europe your conduct excites the deepest interest. The sacred cause you have come to support is at stake. You will, therefore, feel imperatively called upon to display the most noble and energetic efforts. I will add only one word more, and that is, to invite you, on approaching the enemy, to call to mind that every step you take will be on a sod already moistened with the blood, and illustrated by the imperishable glory, of our countrymen.—DE LACY EVANS."—WALTON, ii. 480.

passed the night in the village at the foot of the ridge, about two leagues in advance of Vittoria. Espartero with the left approached Villareal, but made no way up the heights. Cordova with the centre, which included the French Algerine Legion, attacked the defile of Arlaban, which was defended by two strong Navarrese battalions. After a stout resistance they fell back towards Salinas; and Eguia, calling up Villareal from Guevara, concentrated before the morning of the 17th eleven battalions at that important point, so strongly posted that Cordova did not venture to attack them. Seeing this hesitation, Eguia took the initiative himself, and attacked his leading columns with such vigour, that not only was the position lost on the preceding day regained, but the Spanish centre was compelled to fall back down the heights towards Vittoria. Meanwhile Evans on the right, having crossed the Zadora and ascended the heights to Murieta and Zuazo, got obscured in a thick mist among the mountains, which rendered any movements on his part on the 17th impossible; Villareal, in the centre, defeated the Algerine Legion, and completely routed Cordova's rear-guard; and Espartero, on the left, was repulsed by the Carlist right opposed to him. The result of the whole was, that on the 18th Cordova drew back his troops to Vittoria, and the Carlists quietly resumed the positions they had held before the operations commenced. In these affairs Cordova's Spaniards sustained a loss of 600 men, while the Carlists were not weakened by half the number. Evans's legion lost only twenty men—a sure proof that they had not been seriously engaged.

24. The bad success of this movement on the part of the Queen's troops, from which nothing less than the entire crushing of the insurrection had been anticipated, produced the utmost discontent both at Madrid and in the army. As usual, the allies began criminating each other; the Spaniards alleging that the English had done nothing, and merely sat shiver-

ing among the rocks; while the British openly accused the Spanish commanders of treachery in not giving Evans orders when to act, and leaving him in utter uncertainty what to do, in order that they alone might enjoy the triumph from the anticipated victory. So confident had they been of success, that on the morning of the 16th the Minister-at-War, Almodovar, set out post-haste for Madrid to report a complete victory. Although the Carlist success was more a repulse than anything else, and it obviously arose from want of co-operation on the part of the allied corps, yet it had all the effects of a complete defeat. It entirely thwarted all the plans of the Queen's generals, and proportionally elevated the spirits and encouraged the efforts of the Carlists. The former, disheartened by their repeated defeats, ceased to attempt to penetrate into the enemy's country; but, trusting to the effect of a strict blockade to reduce it in time, directed all their efforts to shutting up the rebellion within the limits of the Pyrenees, the sea, the Ebro, and the Arga, and preventing its spread into the other provinces of the monarchy. The latter, it must be confessed, had some grounds for exultation, and good reason for presaging ulterior success. They had defeated the largest and best appointed army which the Queen's Government had ever sent against them, and that too when aided by the auxiliary forces of France and England! An astonishing achievement to have been effected by the unaided efforts of the mountaineers of four small provinces, not containing among them so many as a million of souls!

25. After this disaster Cordova made an attempt to penetrate with the Algerine Legion into the valleys of upper Navarre, by the circuitous route of Pampeluna; but he soon found his progress on that side stopped by the snow, which had fallen in great quantities in those elevated regions, and he was compelled, leaving the French Legion behind, to retrace his steps to Vittoria. The English Legion had

suffered little from the sword of the enemy; but the hardships it had undergone during this brief winter campaign were such as proved fatal to great numbers in its ranks. Meanwhile the Carlists, inured to the climate, put to the best use the period of constrained inactivity on the part of their opponents. Their efforts were directed against a line of fortified small towns which the Queen's troops held between Vittoria, Bilbao, and St Sebastian. The Carlists had long felt the want of some such fortified base for their operations to secure their depots, and furnish a resting-place for their sick and wounded, and they were led to select this line of fortified posts, consisting of Balmaceda, Mercadillo, Plencia, and Lequeitio, for attack, as it afforded to them the means, if won, of directing their operations at pleasure from a fortified base, either against Bilbao or St Sebastian. Their attempt was entirely successful. After a vigorous resistance the whole of these towns fell into their hands, and with them what was really a novelty in the Carlist camps, and of no small service—considerable trains of artillery. In February they took Balmaceda with 5 guns and 600 prisoners, and Mercadillo with 2 guns and 96 men; in the beginning of April, Plencia with 400 men and 11 guns, and soon after Lequeitio with 700 men and 18 pieces of artillery. By these successes the communication by land from Bilbao to St Sebastian and Vittoria was effectually closed to the enemy, and the Carlists solidly established along the whole line. Meanwhile Cordova's army at Vittoria, so far from being able to arrest these disasters, was not in a condition to keep the field against the main army under Eguia which lay in his front. Evans with 15,000 men was at Vittoria; Espeleta with 10,000 on the extreme left, near Balmaceda; Espartero with 8000 at Espejo, to preserve the communication between the other two. But the whole open country between that and the sea was in the hands of the Carlists; and on the 19th March an indecisive action had been fought near Orduna, between Es-

partero and one of their columns.* Never since the commencement of the war had the insurrection worn so serious an aspect, or the cause of the Queen appeared in such jeopardy. So much was the British Government impressed with the danger, that in March they sent orders to Lord John Hay, who commanded the British squadron on the coast of Biscay, to give the Queen's troops "the actual and effectual co-operation of his squadron, for the purpose of protecting from capture those seaports which were held by the authorities of the Queen, and also with a view to assist in recovering from the rebels any places on the sea-coast which may have fallen into their hands." The squadron already had on board a large body of marines, a valuable amphibious force equally adapted for land and sea operations; and it was now strongly reinforced, and some war-steamers added, to aid in the projected operations on the sea-coast. At the same time, as the bad success of the operations near Vittoria had proved the difficulty of conducting military movements with a combined British and Spanish force, the greater part of the English Legion was separated from Cordova's army in the month of April, marched by a circuitous route to Santander, and thence brought by sea to St Sebastian, which, it was understood, was to be the first object of attack.

26. While these events were in progress in Biscay, where the Elliot convention was still in some degree a bridle on the furious passions with which this *bellum plusquam civile* was carried on, they broke out with unmitigated fury in those provinces to which the Christino generals had refused to extend it. More especially in Aragon and Catalonia, mutual butchery, like what obtains in savage nations, was the universal system. Several stragglers belonging to the English Legion were shot by the Carlists near

Vittoria, under the Durango decree, which denied quarter to foreigners. But soon an event occurred in Catalonia which threw all others into the shade, and made the deepest impression in Europe. Cabrera, the chief Carlist commander in Catalonia, had put to death two alcaides of villages in Lower Aragon, who had been taken in arms, and were without the Elliot convention. In revenge for this and the other exploits of the Carlist chief, Mina, the Liberal governor of the province, put to death, not Cabrera himself, *but his mother*, an old woman of seventy years of age, who had fallen into his hands in the neighbourhood of Tortosa! Nogueras, who commanded in the district, ordered the governor of Tortosa to seize the old woman and murder her in retaliation for the deeds of her son. The governor refused to obey so atrocious a mandate; upon which Nogueras appealed to Mina, the captain-general of the province, *who ordered it to be forthwith carried into execution*. She was shot in the great square of Tortosa, in presence of an immense crowd of spectators. He ordered the execution of several other persons related to the Carlists, who all suffered; and shut up Cabrera's three sisters, "in order," he said, "that these barbarians may be arrested in the course of their atrocities by the fate reserved for those who are dear to them." Cabrera was so exasperated at this wanton piece of barbarity that he immediately issued a proclamation, in which he declared that every person employed in the Queen's army should, when taken, be put to death—a threat unhappily soon put in force by the execution of the wives of four of the Queen's officers.

27. While these scenes of horror were passing in the interior, the British were giving the most effective support to the Queen's troops on the sea-coast, and that not only with the legion which had been first engaged, but with the national forces. A division of Carlists lay before St Sebastian, not so much to blockade the fortress, for the harbour was always open, as to neutralise and retain in inactivity a powerful division of the Queen's troops which

* Espartero was engaged in conveying reinforcements to Espeleta. The Carlists tried to intercept them; as they did not succeed in this, the real advantage lay with the Christinos.

occupied that important stronghold. The garrison having been strongly reinforced by the English Legion, it was resolved to make an attack, on the 5th May, on this body of Carlists, who had intrenched themselves strongly across the neck of land close to the sea-coast, on a line of heights, through the middle of which the road to Hernani ran. The force under Evans, intrusted with this duty, was divided into three columns, and consisted of 6000 men, of whom 1500 were Spaniards, and the rest English legionaries. The Carlists were covered by two lines, the first of which, by much the weakest, was quickly carried; but in advancing against the second, the head of the assaulting column, in the centre, were met with so heavy a fire, that after a severe conflict of five hours' duration, in the course of which the English showed great bravery, but suffered extremely, they were compelled to fall back. So resolute was the resistance of the Carlists that the English commander was beginning to despair of success, and preparing to draw off, when the aspect of affairs was suddenly changed by the arrival of Lord John Hay with the British squadron. He immediately landed two English legionary regiments, which had just come up from Santander, who were hurried to the front. At the same time the squadron, which approached within easy range, opened so heavy a fire on the inner line of intrenchments, so resolutely held by the Carlists, that in less than an hour it was broken through, and a practicable breach made, through which the troops, headed by Evans, immediately poured. This success rendered it impossible for the Carlists to retain their lines, and they retired to a new position some distance in the rear, where they were not farther molested. In this rude encounter, in which the English were, for the first time, brought seriously into conflict with their former allies of the Peninsular war, the Legion lost 800 men killed and wounded, and the Spaniards 150—a sure proof upon whom the weight of the contest had fallen, and to whom the honour of the

success with which it terminated belonged. The success, however, thus dearly bought, was but trifling; the Carlists took up a new position but little in the rear of the former, and still observing the fortress. The Queen's troops could not even advance as far as Hernani, the garrison of which was strengthened by two fresh Carlist battalions; and the Duke of Wellington said in Parliament, that "all we had gained by our interposition was to have driven the blockade of the fortress a mile or two farther back, and given the inhabitants a somewhat larger space for their evening walks."

28. This success was followed by an equally fortunate operation of the Queen's troops, aided by the English squadron, who gained possession, on the 28th May, of the small town of Passages, towards the frontier of France, on the opposite side of the Urumea from St Sebastian. About the same time the main Spanish army, under Cordova and Oraa, broke up from Vittoria, and advanced on the great road to Bayonne, and by that to Villareal, where they had sustained so many checks before. On this occasion they were more fortunate in the outset, but met with similar discomfiture in the end. On the 22d May, Cordova came in sight of the Carlist force strongly posted on the ridge of Arlaban, already memorable by their former victory. The ground was again obstinately disputed; but on the evening of the 23d the Queen's general succeeded in outflanking the enemy, and compelling them to fall back to the pass of Salinas, a little way in the rear. Here they were attacked by the Christinos, but without success; and after an entire day spent in fruitless efforts, the latter retired to their old ground at Vittoria, and did nothing more for some weeks to come. In effect, serious jealousies and discord, the usual fruit of bad success, had arisen between the Queen's generals, especially Cordova and Espartero, which rendered combined operations impossible, and brought the Government at Madrid to the very verge of destruction.

29. The Carlists turned to good account the breathing-time thus afforded them by the inactivity and divisions of their adversaries, and resolved to make a great effort to carry the war into the interior and south of Spain. They had several very sufficient reasons for adopting such a course. They were now in sufficient strength to repel every attack on the centre of their power in Navarre and the Basque provinces; and the Queen's troops, taught by repeated defeats, had ceased to molest them in that quarter. But possession of the mountains of Biscay and Navarre was not possession of Spain, and unless the sphere of their power was greatly extended, they could not hope to put Don Carlos on the throne of Madrid. How was it possible to suppose that the mountaineers of a few provinces, without either fortresses, magazines, or external aid, could maintain much longer a contest with the whole military force of Spain, aided by that of France, England, and Portugal? It was by little short of a miracle that they had done so for such a length of time. The whole rural population, indeed, were heart and soul with them, and they formed at least nine-tenths of the entire population. But what is the rural population, without leaders, fortresses, money, or soldiers, when the whole inhabitants of the great towns, the army, the Government, and foreign powers are on the other side? These considerations presented themselves forcibly to the minds of the King's advisers, and it became evident to all, that unless the insurrection could be extended over a much wider area, it must end by being worn out and subdued. To effect such an extension became, accordingly, their great object, and the present seemed to be a favourable time for commencing it, when the Queen's armies were overmatched on the Ebro and before St Sebastian, and revolutionary disorders in all the great towns, and even in the capital, had seriously weakened the strength of the executive. With this view Villareal was chosen to succeed Eguia as commander-in-chief of

the whole Carlist army; and under his direction an expedition was organised and put under the orders of GOMEZ, one of the most active and enterprising of the Carlists, which led to one of the most memorable marches recorded in military annals.

30. Gomez, at the head of 5000 men tried and experienced in the mountain warfare in which they had so long been engaged, broke up from Orduna in Biscay on the 26th June, and after forcing without difficulty the feeble cordon which the Portuguese auxiliaries had established to the westward of Biscay, marched direct to Reynosa, where 3000 of the Queen's troops were stationed. These he completely defeated on the 28th in less than half an hour. Continuing his march without interruption amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, he entered the Asturias, and reached Oviedo, the capital of that province, on the 7th July. Meanwhile Cordova, seriously alarmed at this unexpected movement, detached Espartero, with all the troops he could collect, after the Carlist chieftain; but, despite all that general's efforts, he was unable to overtake him. Espartero reached Oviedo the very day after Gomez had left it, taking the route for Galicia, and carrying with him a large contribution. Continuing his journey westward, almost in sight of his pursuers, the Carlist chieftain crossed the Minho in sight of Lugo, on the 15th July, and on the 18th entered Santiago, the capital of the province. His destruction was now thought to be certain, for Espartero, with a much superior force, occupied all the bridges over the Minho on the side of Lugo, and General Latre held all those lower down at Orense; and how could the Carlists get back, or avoid being driven up into the extremity of Galicia and forced to surrender! Nevertheless he succeeded in deceiving his pursuers, recrossed the Minho without any loss, and, passing through part of Leon, re-entered the Asturias in triumph, carrying with him all his spoil. The only serious loss he sustained was near Buron on the 9th August, where his

cavalry were overtaken by those of the Queen, and sustained a check. From thence he regained Biscay without further molestation. "This expedition," says the contemporary annalist, "whatever its military results may ultimately be, has already exhibited the deplorable episode of a small column of rebels traversing with impunity, to a distance of one hundred leagues, several provinces of Spain, entering great towns, chasing the authorities from them, levying contributions, inspiring everywhere contempt for the Government; and all this without either the central authority or the national guards opposing to it the least resistance, without the inhabitants trying to impede their progress, or either refusing them supplies or flying at their approach."

31. General Espartero boasted in his despatches to his Government, giving an account of his actions with the cavalry of Gomez, that he had utterly beaten that general and dispersed his forces. The only answer which the Carlist chief made was, a few days after, having rested his men, to proceed on a fresh expedition. In the middle of August the adventurous chieftain set out with 6000 men on his march to the south, and having crossed the frontier of Leon he advanced to the capital of that province, which he occupied without resistance. From thence, marching by Palencia, crossing the Douro, and moving by Penafiel and Sepulveda, he moved forward by mountain paths through Old Castile, and advanced over the Somo-Sierra range so far into that province as to strike terror into the capital itself. Rodil, who was now Minister-at-War, took post at Alcala to cover it from the eastward, General Manso was stationed at Almazan with 3000 men further to the north, while General Lopez left Madrid with two battalions of the Guards, a squadron of cuirassiers, and two guns, and marched towards Sigüenza to take up an intermediate position in order to be able to succour either of the corps which might require his assistance. All these arrangements were made on

the strength of Espartero's assurance that Gomez's force was irrecoverably broken, and that the great object was to prevent its remains from escaping. They were not long of learning their mistake. Lopez, on the 29th August, came up with the advanced-guard of Gomez, which consisted entirely of infantry, drove it back, and made some prisoners. On the morning of the 30th, as he was preparing to follow up his advantage, and after he had just despatched a messenger to Manso, who was only a few leagues distant, inviting him to hasten on as to a certain victory, he was suddenly assailed near Jadraque by Gomez with greatly superior numbers, and before Manso could get up he was so completely defeated that hardly a man of the Queen's troops escaped, Lopez himself with his whole officers being made prisoners.

32. After this victory, which inspired such respect in his enemies as to secure him from further molestation in that quarter, Gomez pursued his march across the Tagus, and through the province of Cuenca to the frontiers of Lower Aragon, continually receiving reinforcements from the corps of Cabrera, Quilez, and other partisans who had long maintained themselves in that quarter, and who now joined his ranks. Seriously alarmed at the progress they were making, Espartero, who had succeeded Cordova in the command on the Ebro, despatched his own division, one of the best in the army, under General Alaix, with orders to make the utmost efforts to overtake Gomez, and by every possible means to stop his advance. Meanwhile the Carlist chieftain occupied Utiel, on the 7th September, where he lay some days resting his men, and levying contributions in every direction. He made, on 13th September, an attack on the neighbouring town of Requena, which, however, failed from the want of heavy artillery; and then hearing that Alaix was approaching from the north, he boldly abandoned all reliance on, or communication with the Carlists in Navarre, and threw himself with his little army, now increased by reinforce-

ments to about 10,000 men, without either cavalry or artillery, into the country on the frontiers of Murcia and Andalusia. On the 16th September he reached Albacete, on the frontiers of Murcia. He remained there two days, when, on Alaix's approach, he re-entered New Castile at Roda, and on the 20th his rearguard was overtaken at Villa Robledo, in La Mancha, by Alaix's cavalry, an arm in which the Carlists were totally deficient, and defeated with heavy loss. This action was celebrated as a complete victory by the Queen's troops; but their triumph was of short duration. Gomez, instead of skulking in the mountains of La Mancha, as his antagonist represented, crossed the Sierra de Segura, traversed the province of Jaen, passed the Guadalquivir on the 27th at Andujar, and entered Cordova in triumph on the 1st October, where he fixed his headquarters for some days.

33. This extraordinary march of 6000 men from the extremity of Galicia to the heart of Andalusia created a prodigious sensation in the world. All Europe gazed with intense interest on the career of the Carlist chieftain, who had in this manner abandoned his resources, his base of operations, his supports, and thrown himself with a handful of men into the very centre of his enemy's country, passed his capital, traversed his whole dominions, and, without either cavalry or artillery, repeatedly defeated his opponents when amply provided with both. This extraordinary adventure was not only fascinating from its romantic features, but it threw a clear light on the nature of the contest, and the feelings of the people of Spain in regard to it. It was evident that Gomez could never have done all this unless the feelings of the people in the rural districts of the provinces which he traversed had been decidedly with him; unless voluntary supplies had made up for the want of magazines, gratuitous information kept him as well informed of his adversaries' movements as the latter was in the dark as to his, and the most devoted enthusiasm and power of endurance in his own men compensated the immense

superiority in numbers, discipline, and equipment on the part of his antagonists. The war, therefore, was now beyond all dispute divested of the colours in which political fanaticism and moneyed cupidity had hitherto invested it; and it stood naked in its true colours as a contest of right against might, loyalty against usurpation, and national independence against foreign subjugation.

34. After resting a few days in the rich and populous city of Cordova, from which he drew ample supplies, Gomez, hearing of the approach of Alaix, broke up from that city; but instead of moving, as was expected, to the north, he marched south, in the direction of Gibraltar. The Government of Madrid, in the utmost alarm, made the greatest exertions to stop his advance in any direction, and if possible bring him to action under such circumstances as might lead to his destruction. Rodil, with the whole disposable forces in Madrid, was stationed between that capital and La Mancha, in order to cover the former from attack by Gomez on his return to the north. Alaix, having crossed the Guadalquivir, hung upon his traces from the east. On the west Espinosa, captain-general of Andalusia, had taken post on the northern bank of the Guadalquivir, between Cordova and Seville, so as to bar the way towards the capital of that province; while Escalante, captain-general of Granada, was advancing with the whole National Guards of Granada and Malaga to complete the surrounding force from the southward. It seemed impossible that the Carlist chief could escape such a multitude of enemies, each with an army superior in number to his own, and occupying every avenue by which he could escape. So it was, however, that he not only did so, but again traversed the whole length of Spain, laden with booty, and brought back his force victorious and strengthened rather than weakened in numbers to the banks of the Ebro.

35. Skilfully concealing his real designs, Gomez still pursued his march towards the south; and, turning on his pursuers, fell upon Escalante at

Baena. The contest was of short duration. The National Guards, which formed the entire force of the Queen's troops, could not for a moment withstand the veterans of the Carlists, and were dispersed on the first fire. Having thus got quit of one pursuer, he continued his southerly course to near Lucena; then suddenly turning round, he moved towards the north, passing on his way so near Alaix that he interchanged a flag of truce with him, re-entered Cordova on the 13th October, and on the 14th moved towards the Sierra Morena, taking the road towards Estremadura. On entering Cordova his rearguard had been overtaken by Alaix's cavalry. Alaix, following close upon him, recrossed to the right bank of the Guadalquivir, and reached Baylen, already celebrated in the great Peninsular War. Gomez meanwhile advanced across the Sierra Morena to Almaden, celebrated for its mines of quicksilver, and a town of great wealth. He attacked it, on the 23d October, so vigorously that it was taken in an hour, and the whole garrison, 1500 strong, who had taken refuge in some fortified buildings, laid down their arms the next day. From thence he hastened to the Guadiana, laden with booty taken at Almazan, crossed it at Tallarubios on the 26th, before Rodil, who had taken post on the great road from Cordova to Madrid, could come up to intercept him; and on the 27th took Guadalupe, a small town to the eastward of Truxillo. These successes struck such terror into the people of Madrid that the newspapers called for the impeachment of both Rodil and Alaix; and the Government, in the utmost alarm, assembled a corps of 5000 men, the last reserve in the capital, which was put under the command of General Narvaez, and ordered to Estremadura, in order to stop the victorious advance of Gomez in that direction.

36. But while the Government and officials in Spain were in this manner seized with consternation at this marvellous march of Gomez, that general himself was reduced to the greatest straits by the movements of the officers

for whose impeachment the ignorant populace were loudly clamouring. He found it impossible to effect the passage of the Tagus in the face of Rodil, who, having marched straight for that river, now held the bridge of Almarez; and of Alaix, who, having at length got upon the Carlist traces, was slowly coming up in his rear. Gomez, therefore, halted in his march to the northward, and turned westward to Truxillo, which he reached on the 30th October. From thence he proceeded down the left bank of the Tagus towards the Portuguese frontier to Cáceres, where he remained for four days. He found, however, the whole bridges over the Tagus broken down; and being unable to get across, he adopted the only other alternative which remained to him, which was, to march in the direction of the Guadiana, cross that river, and re-enter Andalusia. He did so accordingly; set out from Cáceres on the 3d November, reached the Guadiana before any one knew of his having taken that direction, crossed that river and the Guadalquivir, and arrived at Ecija, midway between Seville and Cordova, on the 13th November; while Rodil, the most active of his pursuers, on the 9th was only crossing the Guadiana at Medellín. In his march to the south, Gomez drew after him the armies of Rodil, Alaix, and Narvaez, who followed each other at the interval of a few days, and numbered in all above 15,000 combatants.*

37. Having reposed his wearied men for two days, the Carlist chief marched towards Ronda, while the Government of Madrid, yielding to the loud clamour against Rodil, deprived him of the command, and bestowed it on General Ribero. The three armies of the Queen followed on the traces of Gomez, and all Europe thought that the destruction of the latter had now become unavoidable from his being

* At Berlanga, on the 7th November, Cabrera separated with his band from Gomez, and set out, through La Mancha, to return to his old ground in Lower Aragon. This division of force lightened Gomez's column, and reduced it in numbers to its original strength of 6000.

run into a corner of Spain, with his back to the sea, and no possible avenue to escape but through the hostile armies. Ribero pressed his rear, Alaix lay to the eastward, and Narvaez to the westward of his small force. But Gomez again foiled them by his superior address and the astonishing powers of endurance in his soldiers. Keeping close to the sea, he marched on the 19th November to St Roque, almost under the cannon of Gibraltar, from whence he moved on the 21st to Algesiraz, the bay of which part of his men crossed in vessels which he seized on his own side, while the rest hurried round it, and thus escaped from Ribero, who was now close in his rear. Having by this skilful movement succeeded in throwing one of his pursuers behind him, Gomez, turning northwards, marched with all imaginable expedition to Osuna. On his way to this place he was nearly cut off by Narvaez, the most active of his pursuers, who, moving from Algar to intercept him, came upon his rear-guard at Arcos and dispersed it on the 25th. So closely did the Christino general follow with his cavalry, that Gomez only evacuated Osuna a few hours before Narvaez entered it. But the Carlist chief had now broken through the net which enveloped him, and pushed on for Alcaudete.* On the 29th November he left Alcaudete; and although he sustained some loss in a skirmish with Alaix's cavalry, who was coming up from the eastward to intercept him, on that day he was able to continue his march, which was directed straight to the northward. On the 30th he reached Baylen, where he rested a day; and from thence continued his march across the Sierra Morena, and through La Mancha and Castile, by Guadalaxara, Atienza, and Osma, where he passed the Douro, having gone within a few leagues of Madrid. The dissensions between the Queen's generals, occasioned by their

* He would not have escaped so easily had not Alaix's men, when near Cabra, refused to advance when requested by Narvaez, although they were nearly quite fresh. Alaix's division subsequently mutinied when ordered to be incorporated with that of Narvaez.

ill success, had now become such that no combined operations against the Carlist chief were any longer practicable, and the concluding part of his marvellous march was effected without any opposition. His pursuers were all distanced or outwitted. On the 17th December he crossed the Ebro at Ona, and reached in safety the headquarters of Don Carlos. He brought with him a force nearly equal to that with which he had set out, and almost all his contributions and plunder; having in the course of his march crossed twice the whole of Spain, totally defeated the enemy in three encounters, and eluded the pursuit of three armies well furnished with cavalry, while he had none, each of which was numerically equal to his own, and taken together were triple the amount of his force. Between the 29th November, when he crossed the Guadalquivir, and the 17th December, when he crossed the Ebro and joined Don Carlos, being eighteen days, he had marched 520 miles, being on an average at the rate of 29 miles a-day; an expedition, considering the circumstances under which it was effected, at the close of a similar march in the opposite direction, loaded with baggage and without cavalry, which may safely be pronounced unparalleled in ancient or modern times.*

38. The consternation produced in Madrid by this double and triumphant march of Gomez over the whole length and breadth of Spain, had been much augmented about the middle of the year by the advance of another Car-

* The greatest march made by infantry during the war was that of General Crauford with the 43d, 52d, and 95th Rifles, who went 62 English miles in 26 hours immediately after the battle of Talavera, in their anxiety to get up to the scene of action; the greatest of cavalry was the march of the English horse under Lord Lake in the Doab in 1805, who marched 30 miles a-day for 20 days, and at their close went 65 miles in 24 hours to make up with Holkar. But neither of these will bear a comparison with that of Gomez on this occasion.—See *History of Europe*, chap. lxii. § 47, and xlix. § 84. The Russian Guards, immediately before the taking of Paris, marched 56 miles in 18 hours, a stretch unparalleled, for a short time. But it was for a short time only that the effort continued.—See *History of Europe*, chap. lxxviii. § 17, 18.

list force almost to the gates of the capital. On the 12th July Don Basilio Garcia crossed the Ebro with five battalions; penetrated into Old Castile, defeating several detachments of the Queen's troops that were sent to oppose him; and approached Madrid so nearly as to occasion the revolt at La Granja, to be immediately noticed, which prostrated the throne before the extreme Revolutionary party. On the 26th August he recrossed the Ebro in safety with 800 recruits and a large sum of money. On the 19th July Villareal defeated the Christinos in the valley of Mena, taking 300 prisoners. The French Legion was intrusted with the maintenance of the line from the Ebro to Pampeluna, which led to several actions with various success, but which effectually prevented the Queen's troops from collecting supplies in the fields. Enraged at this, Cordova gave orders to his officers "to burn and destroy all the harvest in the fields occupied by the troops under his orders." This led to an energetic remonstrance from Villareal to Cordova, in which he threatened stern reprisals on the Christiano prisoners in his hands if this devastating system of warfare was not stopped; a threat which in some degree arrested these atrocities. About the same time Cabrera, who had separated from Gomez on the 7th November in Estremadura, with a large force of guerrillas, drawn from Lower Aragon and Valencia, crossed La Mancha and Castile in safety, and approached the Ebro near Calehorra; but finding that point occupied he turned back towards Madrid and made himself master of the whole country between the former town, Soria, and Catalayud. In a word, the Carlists, no longer confined in their mountain strongholds, were now traversing the kingdom in every direction, and nowhere experiencing serious resistance except from the scattered bands of the Queen's troops.

39. Meanwhile the English Legion lay in a great measure inactive at St Sebastian, and achieved nothing commensurate to the martial fame of their

country; nevertheless it rendered the most essential service to the Queen's cause, and was in truth the main reason of its ultimate success. By simply remaining thus, even though it never fired a shot, it detained a large and the most experienced part of the Carlist forces before it. Twenty-two battalions were constantly occupied in watching or combating the British auxiliaries; a force amply sufficient, if added to the corps of either Gomez or Villareal, to have carried the standards of Don Carlos to Madrid, and finally overturned the Queen's Government. The English lines extended over about five miles. On the 6th June the Carlists, after a feint against their right, made a bold attempt to storm them, near Passages, on the left. At first they carried all before them, but reinforcements coming up, and the British steam-vessels having opened on their flank, they were ultimately driven back. A complete lull now ensued. Wearied, however, with inactivity, General Evans, on the 11th July, made an expedition from St Sebastian, and directed his attack against Fontarabia, a fortress once strong and celebrated in song, now much decayed, which had fallen into the hands of the Carlists in an early period of the war.* The fortress stands close on the Bidassoa, which there divides France from Spain; and when the redcoats were seen assembling on the opposite shores, and it was evident an assault was intended, the heights opposite were crowded by spectators anxious to see the fight between these redoubted antagonists. But it came to nothing. The British, strongly supported by the fire from their ships, advanced along the great chaussée, and carried the bridge of Fontarabia on the road to Irun, but they were speedily driven back again over it by the Carlists, who in their turn became the assailants. The attack, however, was re-

* "O for a blast of that dread horn,
On Fontarabian echoes borne,
That to King Charles did come,
When Roland brave, and Olivier,
And every paladin and peer,
On Roncesvalles died!"

pulsed by Evans's men, supported by a rocket brigade, which did great execution; but after a fruitless action of some hours, the English General, finding the fortress too strong to be carried by a coup-de-main, drew off his men, and retired under shelter of the guns of St Sebastian. Later in the season, on 1st October, another attempt was made by the Carlists under Guiberalde to dislodge the British from their cantonments in front of St Sebastian, which led to an action of ten hours' duration, attended with a great loss of life on both sides. The Carlists repeatedly advanced to the charge with the utmost bravery, but at the approach of night they drew off without making any durable impression on the British lines, after a contest in which both parties had to lament the loss of five hundred brave men.

40. Encouraged by the indecisive character of the war before St Sebastian, where the English Legion was held in check by a part only of their forces, the Carlists determined to make a second attempt to carry Bilbao, notwithstanding the failure of the attack in the former year. They were prompted to this, not only by the importance of taking a place so considerable and garrisoned by five thousand of the Queen's troops, but by the necessity which they felt of opening up some safe channel of communication with the external world for the entrance of supplies of arms, ammunition, and money, and a secure place of deposit for them when they did arrive. It was evident that the Queen's troops were not strong enough, with forces from the interior, to raise the siege of any town that might be beleaguered, and as the Carlists were masters of twenty siege guns taken in the forts along the coast, they were very sanguine of success. The command of the besieging force was given by Don Carlos to Villareal, who in the end of October sat down before the fortress with 9000 men. The garrison consisted of 5000 men, including a portion of the British Legion, which had been sent by sea from St Sebastian; and they had a powerful sup-

port in the English squadron, which furnished them in profusion with all the muniments of war, and added materially to their military means by supplying both engineers to direct the defence and experienced gunners to man their pieces. The town itself, which is situated on the right bank of the Nervion, and surrounded on all sides by heights, though not a regular fortress, was of considerable strength, and had a double line of fortifications, so that with the aid of such defenders it was very unlikely that it should fall before the comparatively trifling means of attack which the Carlists possessed. Yet such was the vigour of their operations that they were on the very verge of success, and but for the assistance of the English fleet, unquestionably would have attained it. The besieging batteries opened their fire on the 25th October, and a breach having been quickly effected in one of the external forts, an assault was made on the night of the 26th. But such was the vigour of the defence that although the assailants twice reached the summit of the breach, they were finally repulsed with heavy loss. On the following day Espartero, who had now succeeded Cordova in the command of the Queen's army, appeared at Balmaceda, in rear of the besiegers' works, in order to disturb the operations. Upon this Villareal instantly raised the siege, and, leaving four battalions to maintain the blockade, marched to encounter him. Satisfied with the advantage he had gained, however, Espartero, though superior in numbers, declined the combat and drew off, upon which Villareal returned to the trenches and resumed the attack. He intrusted the siege operations to Eguia, and took charge himself of the covering force.

41. During the absence of the main body of the besiegers, however, the besieged were reinforced by 800 good soldiers from Portugalete, and the inhabitants, dreading an indiscriminate massacre if the town were taken by assault, were indefatigable in their efforts to assist in the defence. Never-

theless the progress of the besiegers was steady, and promised ultimate success. The outer line of intrenchments was the first object of attack, and it very soon fell into the hands of the assailants. On the 9th November they stormed two forts in the outer circle, and made the garrisons, consisting of 250 men, prisoners; on the 10th they attacked and carried the fortified convent of St Mamez, with 300 men and six guns—this was a point of great importance, because, being below the town, it gave the besiegers the command of the river; and on the 12th a fortified position on one of the bridges was taken, with 150 prisoners and a large store of ammunition. The approaches were now pushed so near that the breaching of the rampart commenced. The fire began on the 18th November, and was directed chiefly against the convent of St Augustine. The besieged, however, returned it with spirit and effect, and it was not till the 22d that the breach in the rampart was declared practicable. The Carlists advanced to the assault with great intrepidity; but on arriving at the foot of the breach they found that an unbroken scarp, ten feet in height, intervened between the bottom of the breach and the debris from the wall. Having no scaling-ladders they could not surmount this obstacle, and were obliged to retreat, with the loss of 300 men. This was a severe check, but the besiegers persevered, and a heavy fire was kept up for some days, which did considerable damage on both sides. At length on the 27th the convent was carried by assault, notwithstanding a most gallant defence by the Queen's troops, supported by the English gunners. Upon this success the town was summoned; but the governor, who daily expected to be relieved, refused any terms of capitulation. It was very evident on what his confidence was founded, for Espartero's forces had begun to be felt in the rear of the Carlist lines, and great part of their artillery was obliged to be withdrawn from the breaching batteries in order to strengthen their

position on the outside against an enemy approaching to raise the siege.

42. In effect Espartero, pressed by the most peremptory orders from Madrid at all hazards to advance to raise the siege, and prevent the bulwark of the north from falling into the hands of the enemy, at length mustered up resolution to attempt it. The force under his command amounted to 12,000 men, and he had the assistance of the English fleet, under Lord John Hay, which was of the highest importance, as well from its aid in gunners and stores, as from its securing provisions to the besieged. The Queen's General, who marched by a circuitous route to Portugalete at the mouth of the Nervion river, approached Bilbao, by its left bank, on the 27th November; and on that and the succeeding day he made a vigorous attack on the Carlist position, at the bridge of Castrajana; but on both occasions he was repulsed with heavy loss, and obliged to retrace his steps to Portugalete. On the 4th December he threw a bridge over the Nervion at Desierto, near its mouth, and passing to the right bank, tried to approach the town from that side, but after a slight success was repulsed, and again fell back to Portugalete. After this check Espartero remained for nearly three weeks almost entirely inactive—unwilling to retire, dreading to advance. At last he was prevailed on to hazard an attack on the 24th December by the officers of the British fleet and marines, who promised him the most efficacious support. By a singular coincidence, Villareal had chosen the same day and hour for a sally from his lines to drive the Christinos from their advanced positions near it. The movement on both sides took place during a thick fall of snow which prevented the opposing hosts from seeing each other's motions, and the severity of which was such that it induced the Carlists to fall back to their own lines. Espartero's plan was to force the passage of the river at the broken bridge of Luchana, where the Carlist lines on the right bank ran down to the stream,

and assail them in flank from thence. The attack was led by a picked detachment of the Queen's troops, which were towed in launches up the river on which Bilbao stands by the English seamen, led by their own officers, and powerfully supported by the British marine artillery. This detachment, at four o'clock in the afternoon, carried a fort, the possession of which was necessary to enable the main body of the Queen's forces to pass the river. A bridge of boats was immediately formed by the seamen, and over it Espartero passed with the bulk of his troops before Villareal, whose men were blinded by the snow-storm blowing right in their faces, was so much as aware of their approach. The Christinos, having got across, instantly attacked the fort of Monte Cabra, which was quickly won, and then advanced in dense masses against the important works on the heights of Luchana and Banderas. These were carried in the darkness before a sufficient number of Carlists could be brought up for their defence. Villareal made a desperate effort to regain them, and was partially successful, and for five hours the battle swayed to and fro with various success; but during the night Espartero brought up fresh forces, and the British artillery, advantageously posted, did great execution on the Carlist columns, which at length were obliged to give way, abandon all their positions before the town, and retire upon Durango. In this gallant passage of arms nearly a thousand brave men were lost on both sides, but the advantage remained entirely with the Queen's troops, who were, however, the first to admit that, but for the assistance of the British seamen and artillery, they never would have prevented the Carlists planting their standards on the walls of Bilbao.

43. While these important operations, which took from the contest the character of guerilla warfare and gave to it the aspect of a national struggle, were going on in different parts of Spain, the Government of the Queen

was sustaining a rude shock at Madrid, and the new constitution was overturned by the passions and the violence of those who had established it. The *Estatuto Real*, which was the existing constitution, to be immediately more particularly noticed, had long been the object of jealousy to the extreme democrats, from its having deprived them of the entire government of the country, which had been placed in their hands by the constitution of 1812, re-established in the first burst of the revolution in the Isle of Leon in 1820. The capital was, and had long been, in the most dangerous state, being filled to overflowing by a crowd of extreme Revolutionists, for the most part insolvents, who, having nothing to lose, and being supported by a licentious press, were desirous to overturn everything in order to elevate themselves. This party carefully availed themselves of every incident which was calculated to inflame the passions or augment the terrors of the populace; and this advantage was furnished to them to a degree beyond all expectation by the unresisted march of Gomez from one end of Spain to the other, and the appearance, nearly at the same time, of the Carlist band of Basilio Garcia, already mentioned, which penetrated from the Ebro to St Ildefonso, at no great distance from Madrid. The explosion took place on the evening of the 3d August, just after the news of the march of Gomez to the southward had reached the city. Groups of agitators assembled in the great square, shouting for the "Constitution of 1812" and the overthrow of the Ministry. General Quesada, the governor of Madrid, a man of vigour and resolution, immediately put himself at the head of some infantry of the line, the cavalry of the garrison, and the artillery of the Royal Guard. Part of the infantry of the National Guard had united with the insurgents, and were joining in their seditious cries, upon which Quesada at once charged them with the Royal Guards, and seeing he was in earnest they retired. The cavalry of the National

Guard, which was also in a state of revolt, was next charged, and driven out of the square. But notwithstanding these successes the city still continued in a state of commotion, and next day a proclamation was issued declaring the capital in a state of siege, and a commission was appointed to try the offenders who had been taken on the preceding day. By another proclamation, published on the same day, the National Guard, 5000 strong, was dissolved and ordered to give up their arms.

44. It was at first apprehended that the latter part of this order would be disobeyed, and that the disarming would not be effected without a violent collision with the regular troops. It fell out, however, otherwise; the strength of the regular troops in the capital, and the known resolution of their commander, Quesada, overawed the malcontents, and the arms were given up without resistance. Blood, during the critical operation, was plentifully shed in private feuds, but the precautions taken by the General prevented any political or general outbreak; and an order by Quesada, forbidding any man to carry a bludgeon in the streets, was universally obeyed. It was hoped by the Government that the crisis was passed, but they were soon painfully undeceived. On the 12th August, the Queen-Regent, who was in the palace of La Granja, at St Ildefonso, at the time, was alarmed by the intelligence that a mutiny had broken out in one of the regiments of her guard at the palace, who had seized all their officers and put them under arrest, and were loudly calling out for the constitution of 1812. Hoping to avert the storm by a well-timed concession, and having no other regular force at hand to coerce the mutineers, the Queen-Regent, after some delay, agreed to admit a deputation of twelve from the insurgent soldiery to explain what they desired. This was agreed to, and the deputation was introduced. They insisted that the country would be ruined by the imbecility of the Government, and that no remedy could

be found but in the immediate proclamation of the Constitution of 1812. The Queen-Regent, who behaved with great spirit on this trying occasion, laboured to convince them that they did not know what they were asking, that neither their own condition nor that of the country would be improved by the establishment of a democratic government. They replied that they did not know much about it, but they were told it was an excellent thing—would secure their pay, *bring down the price of salt*, and work wonders. They insisted further for an immediate change of ministry, and the dismissal of Quesada and San Roman, the inspector-general of provincial militia. After five hours of useless altercation, the Queen was forced to submit, and pledge her royal word that a decree should immediately be issued, establishing the much-wished-for constitution. Next morning, accordingly, several decrees appeared giving token of the entire overthrow of the Government. By the first, the National Guard was reorganised, and their arms returned to two-thirds of their number, who could be relied on by the revolutionists. By the second, General Quesada was dismissed from the command of the garrison, and Antonio Seoane appointed in his place. By a third, a new ministry was appointed, of which Calatrava was the head, in place of Isturitz. Shortly afterwards, Rodil was appointed minister of war, and Mendizabel of finance.

45. The victory of the revolutionists was now complete, so far as the Queen and the Court were concerned. But Quesada and the former Ministry were at Madrid, and they were resolved not to submit without a struggle. The first intelligence of the events at St Ildefonso was received on the evening of the 13th, and immediately the National Guard, the leaders of which were in the secret, began to issue from their houses, many of them with their arms, so that, in many cases at least, the giving of them up had been mere sham. Tumultuous mobs assembled everywhere, loudly shouting "La Con-

stitution d' 1812 ! Viva le Libertad !” but the vigour of Quesada kept pace with the increasing tumult, and at the head of a chosen body of cavalry he succeeded in dispersing several of the most alarming of the assemblages. But on the 15th, when intelligence of the decrees inaugurating the revolution of St Ildefonso arrived, his staff was broken in his hand. He was no longer more than a private individual, while the new commander rode through the streets surrounded by a brilliant staff, in the midst of the glare of a general illumination. Quesada, seeing all authority taken from him, and well knowing that his life was endangered by the revolutionists, who openly threatened to drag his dead body through the streets, set out in disguise from the capital, and reached Hortal-ezza, at no great distance, in safety ; but he there was recognised and detained. A furious band immediately set out from the capital, and on arriving found him in charge of a party of officers. At this moment a squadron of cuirassiers was seen approaching, which had been sent by the new commander-in-chief to escort him out of danger, and the savage mob, fearing to be balked of their prey, broke into the room in which he had been placed, and murdered him in cold blood. General Cordova, hearing of this tragic event, left his command in Navarre, and took refuge in France ; but subsequently being threatened with the loss of his salary if he did not return and swear to the Constitution, he came back to Bayonne, and took the oath before the Spanish consul there.

46. The Queen-Regent, now entirely in the hands of the revolutionists, returned to Madrid on the 17th ; but its aspect gave a melancholy proof of the popular and military licence which, in the first instance at least, never fails to attend successful revolutions. The streets were filled with tumultuous mobs, singing Riego's hymns and the other revolutionary songs, and breaking into the wine-shops and other places of public entertainment, where they lived at free quarters on the terrified inhabitants. The magistrates

and military officers dared not interfere to curb these excesses, and in consequence the burghers armed themselves in their own defence, and for several days no man who had anything to lose ventured to appear in the streets without arms in his hands. This circumstance, joined to the universal excitement which prevailed, led to another consequence hardly less disastrous. Private feuds and quarrels took advantage of the general licence ; numbers of armed men appeared in the streets, to wreak their vengeance on their objects ; and, amidst the intoxication of revolutionary success, the thoroughfares of the capital were everywhere stained with blood shed in private quarrels. Meanwhile the new Ministry commenced their duties by dissolving the Cortes, which was held to have been illegally elected, as not in terms of the Constitution of 1812 ; writs were issued for the election of a new one, which was to be chosen according to that democratic regime, and to meet on the 24th October. The most vigorous measures were adopted without delay for the prosecution of the war ; a levy of 50,000 men to recruit the armies, and a forced loan of 200,000,000 reals (£20,000,000) being decreed to meet the pressing necessities of the exchequer.

47. The Queen's Government having been now overturned by military force, and a revolutionary one installed in its stead, though under the name of royal authority, the Neapolitan Minister and the *Chargés-d'affaires* of Russia, Prussia, and Austria demanded their passports and quitted Spain. The Ministers of England and France, however, remained at their posts : their Governments thinking, with justice, that to withdraw them in the present crisis of Liberal government in Spain would be equivalent to surrendering that state to military violence and anarchy. It was observed that the English Minister was much more cordial with the new Ministry, and had greatly more interest than the French, though Louis Philippe's Government stood on military usurpation as much as that of Queen Isabella. The

collection of the forced loan went on very slowly, and excited universal discontent. Not a fourth of it was paid up when the new Cortes, elected by universal suffrage under the Constitution of 1812, met on the 24th October. Such was the penury of the treasury, that before they assembled the Government was compelled to make a new declaration of insolvency by announcing their inability to pay the interest on the foreign debt which was to become due on 1st November. This, of course, rendered further loans from abroad impossible, and left Government no other resource but to enforce the payments under the forced loan with additional rigour, and to push forward by every possible means the revolutionary confiscations set on foot by preceding administrations. For this purpose the sale of the property of all the suppressed monasteries and convents was urged on; but they brought very little, owing to the impossibility of finding purchasers in the distracted state of the country. A commission was issued to consider the abolition or new modelling of tithes. On 10th October two decrees were issued, by the first of which the property of all persons who had quitted the country since 10th October 1830, or who might hereafter quit it, in order to serve the cause of the Pretender directly or indirectly, was sequestered: while by the second the like penalty was imposed on all ecclesiastics, without exception, who were then out of the kingdom, or might leave it without the consent of Government. But, rigorous as these measures were, and widespread the misery they spread through the country, they were very far from meeting the exigencies of the exchequer.

48. The new Cortes met, as decreed, on the 24th October, and, agreeably to the Constitution of 1812, in a single chamber, in which, of course, the democrats had a large majority. They were assembled professedly to frame a new constitution, containing several modifications on that of 1812; but important as this matter was, it yielded to the still more urgent claims of the Finance Minister, which required to be taken into immediate consideration,

as all departments of Government were in a state of insolvency. On 27th October, a report was brought forward by the Finance Minister, M. Mendizabel, from which it appeared that there were 200,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry in the Queen's service, for whose pay and charges scarcely any provision existed. Foreign loans were out of the question till the interest on the debt already contracted by the Cortes was paid, which was an impossibility; and all the efforts of the Liberals were inadequate to raise anything by internal contribution. In this extremity, the only resource which remained to Government was to impledge the duties payable in Cuba for payment of the interest on the new loan. But, as it soon became evident none of the creditors would agree to this, the plan was given up. Mendizabel next proposed that the interest on the debt due on 1st November should be discharged by bills, at six and twelve months, on the Treasury, bearing interest at 5 per cent. Though this was in reality proposing to a creditor to pay his debt by a renewed bill at a long date by the debtor himself, yet the known penury of the exchequer left the public creditors no alternative but to accept it. The Cortes, by a very large majority, conferred the Regency on the Queen-mother, which, indeed, was a politic measure on their part, as she was entirely in their hands, and bestowing on her the nominal direction of the reins of power, was in effect intrusting it without control to themselves. Great as was the power, however, which the extreme Liberals had acquired by the late revolution, it was far from satisfying the cravings of the most violent of their party, who were for a republic in form as well as reality. During November and December the capital was constantly kept in a state of tumult and alarm by attempts to establish such an order of things. On 29th November, these disturbances assumed a more alarming form by the military taking part in them. On that day, the 4th regiment broke into mutiny, and fired a volley at their own colonel when he was entering the barrack gate.

Issuing then into the street, they marched through the capital, followed by a disorderly mob, calling out for a republic and the dismissal of the Ministry. On the day following, two officers of the same regiment were shot dead by their own men at the gates of the palace where they were doing duty, and still more alarming processions took place through the streets, for several uniforms of the National Guard were seen among them. When the revolted soldiers returned to their barracks, they were summoned to surrender, and refused. Cannon were then brought up and the gates blown in, upon which they submitted. But although the regiments were ordered to be decimated, the Government did not venture to carry the sentence into execution except against three of their number. A few days after, the South American states were formally recognised by the Spanish Government, and a treaty of amity and commerce established between them; but the separation *de facto* had been so long in existence, that this formal recognition excited very little attention.

49. The first military operations of the succeeding year were directed by the Christinos to reopening the great road to Bayonne. As Alaix, who lay at Vittoria, did not conceive himself able to force the Arlaban ridge, Evans at St Sebastian was reinforced by 7000 Spaniards—so as to raise his force to 12,000 bayonets—and directed to assail the Carlist lines at Hernani, on the main road; while Espartero, to distract their attention, was to make a forward movement from Bilbao; and Sarsfield was to threaten the Lecumferri pass from Pampeluna. This led to a great and wellnigh decisive success on the part of the Carlists. On the 10th March, hostilities began by an attack in force by the Queen's troops on the Carlist posts in front of St Sebastian, and, as they had been weakened to reinforce the corps under the command of Don Carlos, which was destined to operate in the south, they were speedily carried. Evans halted for a day or two to give

time for the co-operation of Espartero and Sarsfield; but hearing nothing of them, he united his whole force on the 15th, and commenced a general attack on the Carlist works in front of Hernani. The most important of these was on the hill of Oriamendi. The right of his line was composed of the Spaniards, the artillery and marines were on the Hernani road in the centre, the Legion formed the left. After a furious contest of five hours, the Carlists were turned in flank and driven from the hill. The contest seemed now decided. But the next morning, when the victorious troops were preparing to seize the bridge of Astigarraga in front of their left, and to descend upon Hernani, which lay, apparently defenceless, beneath them, large masses of Carlists were seen formed in good order behind it. These were fresh troops, 6000 strong, which, by a skilful use of the interior line of communication of which they were masters, had been brought up from the pass of Lecumferri by Don Sebastian, the new Carlist commander-in-chief, who showed on this occasion the genius of a great general. Three of the Carlist battalions threw themselves with great fury into the village of Astigarraga, rushed over the bridge, and assailed the Legion on the allied left; while the remainder stretched out to their own left so as to outflank the Spaniards on the allied right. These, seeing themselves turned, wheeled about and fled. The panic soon communicated itself to the left where Evans was, and where the Carlists were rushing on from Astigarraga. These three battalions of the English Legion broke and fled in the wildest confusion. So complete was the rout, that the Spaniards and English intermingled rushed in the utmost disorder towards St Sebastian, abandoning all the ground they had gained on the preceding day, and their pursuers were on the point of taking a battery of guns behind the hill of Oriamendi, which commanded the high road, and would have cut off the retreat of a great part of the army. Seeing this, a body of marines from the British ships, 400 strong, who

were drawn up in reserve on the high road, advanced in the finest order to meet the victorious Carlists. The discipline and firmness of these admirable troops at once checked the pursuers, who were much disordered by success, and covered the retreat into St Sebastian of the remainder of the allied army. Thus terminated this disastrous affair, in which the English Legion lost 783 men, and the Spaniards a still greater number. The Carlist loss, from the accurate fire of the English artillery, was very severe. The promised demonstrations of Espartero and Sarsfield were so feebly undertaken, and so quickly desisted from, that they entirely failed to deliver Evans from the concentration of the Carlist forces. The consequences of this defeat were, in the end, fatal to the British Legion. Evans himself, disgusted with the little assistance he had got from the Queen's generals, soon after resigned the command, and returned home in the beginning of the June following. The remainder of the Legion, as their time of service, which was for a year, expired, followed his example, and ere long nearly all came back to Great Britain in the most miserable condition, alike discontented with their allies and their own exploits.

50. The warlike operations which now ensued gave token of the increased vigour which a successful military revolt never fails, for a time at least, to communicate to government. With the view of bringing the war to an early and decisive issue, nearly the whole of Espartero's forces were transported by sea from Santander and Bilbao to St Sebastian, which, being united to those of Evans, already there, formed a mass of 30,000 combatants with 40 pieces of cannon. They were destined to clear the great road from Irun to Vittoria, and to occupy the banks of the Bidassoa so as to cut off the Carlists from all connection with France. Espartero was the General-in-chief, although Evans alone commanded the English Legion; but General Seoane, an old and experienced officer, was at headquarters to

endeavour to preserve concord between those rival chiefs. A force of 12,000 men was to start from Vittoria, and meet this large body moving by the great road from Madrid to Irun; while General Irribaren, from Pampeluna, was to make a diversion by entering the valley of the Bastan; and sufficient garrisons were left in Bilbao and the other towns along the coast, both to secure them from surprise and overawe the adjoining districts. Altogether the forces destined to act in Biscay against the Carlists were upwards of 50,000 men, with 65 guns. Espartero arrived in St Sebastian in the beginning of May, and immediately published an animated address to his soldiers, whom he promised to lead to early and decisive victory. A few days after, the whole passed in review before him; and their admirable appearance as well as the spirit which they evinced in marching past, seemed to presage an entire accomplishment of his prediction.

51. The forces of the Carlists were much less considerable; and necessity, not less than a wise system of strategy, led them to change altogether their plan of operations. Notwithstanding all the ardour of the northern provinces, their military population had been so much exhausted by the *four* campaigns which they had maintained unaided against the united forces of England, Spain, and France, that they could not muster more than 36,000 men, and only a few guns, in the open field between the sea and the Ebro. With this force it was impossible that they could successfully withstand the 50,000 disciplined troops, with a powerful artillery, which the Christinos had at their disposal. In addition to this, Navarre and the Basque provinces had suffered so much during the war that it was impossible in them to find supplies even for that force; while the enemy, having the command of the sea, and the English fleet behind them to supply all their wants, were amply provided with food and necessaries of all sorts. It was determined, therefore, in a general council of officers, presided over by Don Carlos in person, that an

effort should be made to carry the war into the southern and central provinces of the kingdom, and even threaten the capital. The success which had attended the irruption of Gomez in the preceding year, and the impunity with which he had traversed the whole of Spain twice over, in opposite directions, inspired the hope that the present advance with a greater force, and commanded by the King in person, might be attended with decisive success. In pursuance of this design, the lines before St Sebastian were stripped of all their defenders who could possibly be spared, who were added to the army of Don Carlos, intended to operate on the Ebro; but orders were given to maintain such posts as were most tenable to the last extremity.

52. Thus each party was bent on offensive operations though in opposite quarters; and, by a singular coincidence, they began almost on the same day. At midnight on the 14th May, Espartero issued from St Sebastian in profound silence. Evans, with the remains of the English Legion, 5000 strong, formed the centre; Janreguy, with a Spanish division, the right; and Guerrea, with another division of Spaniards, the left. The surprise was complete. Evans met with very little resistance at Hernani; Janreguy carried Urnieta; and Guerrea the bridge of Astigarraga, almost without firing a shot. But Irun, which was Evans's next object, was not so easily won. It was garrisoned by a strong body of determined Carlists; and as they expected no quarter, after the Durango decree, from the English, who were the principal assailants, they were resolved to hold out to the last extremity. Evans, however, who was now at the head of 12,000 men, including the Spaniards, pushed his advances with such vigour that, by the night of the 16th, the whole outworks were carried. The troops being told off for an assault on the morning of the 17th, the besieged offered to capitulate on condition only of their lives being spared. While the parley was still going on, a party of English penetrated into the town; and, having blown

open a gate with a petard, a large body rushed in, and immediately commenced an indiscriminate slaughter; for the English soldiers were much exasperated at the mutilation of the bodies of some of their comrades by the Carlists, who had been slain on the preceding day. Happily Evans had, with much humanity, allowed all the women and children to leave the fortress on the preceding day; and three hundred of the garrison, who had taken refuge in the town-house, were defended by the English officers, who stood at the door with their drawn swords in their hands. The remainder of the garrison, however, which originally was 600 strong, perished in the defence, or in the town after it was taken; and the whole would have been slaughtered had it not been for the generous interposition of the British officers—a noble reply to the Durango decree, and a shining example to both the combatants in the frightful contest in which they had the misfortune to be involved. Fontarabia capitulated on the next day.

53. During these operations in the northern provinces, Don Carlos on his side was not idle. On the 14th May he set out at the head of all the disposable troops he could command from Estella, and issued a touching proclamation to the Navarrese, in which he recounted with gratitude their fidelity and affection to him, and promised to lead them to the liberation of fresh provinces of their country. On the 17th he passed the Arga at Echarry, and on the 19th the river Aragon at Galipienzo. On the 20th May he set forth another proclamation, in which he announced that he was about to resume his lawful inheritance, the throne of St Ferdinand. He commenced his march with 10,000 infantry, 600 horse, and 9 pieces of cannon—a trifling force wherewith to undertake the conquest of such a monarchy as Spain, but only the more formidable on account of its diminutive proportions from the reliance which it evinced on the affections and support of the great majority of the people. Much alarmed at this unexpected movement, the Government at Madrid made the most

vigorous efforts to guard against the danger. General Irribaren was put at the head of twelve battalions and 600 horse, hastily got together from Pampeluna and Navarre; but deeming himself not in sufficient strength to stop the Carlist army, he contented himself with following it at a day's march distance in order to cut off its supplies, and take advantage of any favourable opportunity that might present itself to harass its rear. The great object of the Carlists was to keep in the hilly country, and avoid the plains, in which the great superiority of the Queen's troops in cavalry might give them the advantage,—that of the Christinos, to draw the Carlists into the plains. With this view Irribaren attacked the Carlist rear at Huesca, just as their main body reached the town, which brought on a rude encounter, in which the Carlists were ultimately victorious, and held that town. But for the valour of the French auxiliary Legion the rout of the Queen's troops would have been complete. Its vigorous resistance, however, was dearly purchased by the loss of General Irribaren, and 400 of its bravest soldiers. From Huesca Don Carlos pursued his march, without further molestation, to Barbastro, on the banks of the Cinca. A fresh engagement took place there with the Queen's troops who were following him in rear on the 2d June, in which the French Legion was again warmly engaged; but the Spanish horse which covered their flanks having taken to flight, they were surrounded, and almost entirely cut to pieces or made prisoners. On the 5th the Carlists crossed the Cinca, the Baron de Meer with the Catalanian army falling back before them to Lerida. On the same day a Carlist band, 3000 strong, under Tristany, fell in with three battalions of the Queen's troops under Osorio, and totally defeated them, making 400 prisoners. After these advantages the Queen's generals became so circumspect that they avoided every encounter with the enemy, and Don Carlos continued his march slowly, with his whole baggage-train, through

the hilly country towards Solsona, in Upper Catalonia, without experiencing any molestation from his opponents.

54. The object of the Carlists in the march into Upper Catalonia was to mislead the enemy as to their true intentions, which were to draw the Queen's forces in that direction, and enable Don Carlos to pursue his real design, which was to cross the Ebro by some unobserved point, and march upon Madrid. In the course of his advance towards Barcelona a severe action took place at Guisona between a Carlist corps which was covering the flank of their main army, and the Queen's troops under the Baron de Meer, who were protecting the road to the Llobregat. After a hard struggle the Christinos remained masters of the field; but next day the Queen's general retreated, and Don Carlos advanced to Solsona, where he was received by the junta of the province, and Te Deum was sung with great solemnity by three bishops, who met for the occasion. Having done this, and made a feint of marching still farther towards Upper Catalonia, the Carlist leader suddenly wheeled round, and, taking possession of the great road between Barcelona and Lerida near Igualada, descended to the Ebro between Tortosa and Mequinenza, while the Queen's troops, 14,000 strong, under the Baron de Meer, were inactive, covering Barcelona from the attacks of an imaginary enemy. The real difficulties of the Carlist generals, however, only began when they reached the banks of the Ebro; for that river, swollen by all the mountain-streams of Lower Aragon and Catalonia, is at that season rarely fordable, and the whole bridges over it were in fortified towns in the hands of the enemy. And no sooner were advices received of the real direction which the Carlist army had taken, than the Queen's troops from all sides converged upon it. The Baron de Meer followed from the front of Barcelona, while Generals Oraa and Nogueras hastened from Lower Aragon, on the right bank of the river, with an equal force, to aid in the destruction of the Carlist army

and the capture of the Pretender. No situation could be imagined more critical than that of Don Carlos at this time; for it would require at least forty-eight hours to get his army, with its baggage, across the river, even if they did find a ford, and before that time elapsed the accumulated forces of the enemy would be upon them.

55. In these perilous circumstances, nothing could have saved Don Carlos but the coolness and courage which he displayed, and the extraordinary skill of the generals who conducted his operations. Without evincing either alarm or anxiety, he leisurely approached the Ebro, and without any extraordinary haste began preparations for passing it. Cabrera, meanwhile, with a large force drawn from the Carlists of Aragon and Valencia, manœuvred so ably in the hilly country on the right bank of the river, in the rear of the Queen's armies there, that their whole attention was directed to him; and, deeming the Ebro, which at that period was much swollen by the summer rains, altogether impassable, they made no attempt to interrupt his passage. It was effected, accordingly, in the best order during two entire days on the 19th and 20th July, without any molestation, near Xerta, on a bridge of boats provided by Cabrera. There was then no army in the field between Don Carlos and Madrid capable of opposing any effectual resistance to his advance to that capital, and great was the consternation which arose there when it was known he was across the Ebro. Had he possessed a thousand horse, so as to counterpoise the superiority of the enemy in that arm, and been master of supplies sufficient for an advance, he could have marched direct to Madrid, and terminated the war without any further contest. But his troops, who had as yet always clung to the mountains, had no supplies with them whereon to feed during their march to Madrid, and without horse they could not reckon on being able to obtain provisions in the vast solitudes of Castile by foraging on the flanks. He was constrained therefore, after uniting his forces to

those of Cabrera, to direct his steps to Valencia, where the riches of the soil promised adequate supplies of grain, and there was a chance of obtaining possession of the capital of the province, or some seaport town which might open up the means of procuring provisions by sea. He arrived before that city without opposition, and remained three days at its gates, expecting a movement from within in his favour, but the garrison was too powerful to admit of any such attempt; and hearing that General Oraa, with 10,000 men, was approaching in his rear, Don Carlos broke up, and, bearing to the right, directed his march northwards towards Cuenca and Madrid.

56. Disaster soon followed this lateral movement, and a fresh proof was afforded of the well-known maxim that, in a war of succession as with an invading army, a check in advance is a step to ruin. In the course of his march on the road to the capital, he was overtaken on the 15th July by Oraa, who was at the head of 9000 foot-soldiers and 600 horse. The Carlists occupied a strong position at Chiva, and they were nearly 12,000 strong, having been joined by Cabrera, and were superior to their opponents in infantry, but very inferior in cavalry, by which arm the battle was ultimately decided. As long as the fight was kept up by the foot-soldiers alone, the advantage lay with them; but the Queen's horse having made a flank attack upon them when their ranks were somewhat disordered, they were forced to retreat, which they did with considerable loss, and a still more ruinous dimming of the *prestige* of victory. After this action the King's troops, abandoning the movement on Madrid, retired to Cantal Viega in Lower Aragon, in the centre of that range of hills which separates Valencia from Lower Aragon and La Mancha, and which had for long been the refuge of Cabrera's bands, where they remained without being disquieted. The condition of the two armies united under the banners of Don Carlos now presented the most painful contrast. Cabrera's men, well appointed, clothed, and equipped, forming full

half of the entire force, presented a very favourable appearance; while the Navarrese army, exhausted by three fatiguing campaigns, without commissariat, equipment, or sufficient clothing, exhibited the most miserable spectacle. Such was the exhaustion of the troops of that part of the army, that it became indispensable, at all hazards, to give them some weeks' rest. Don Carlos accordingly fixed his headquarters at Cantal Viega, long the dépot of Cabrera; but as it was a small town only, situated on a rock perpendicular on three sides, surrounded by mountains, it soon became apparent that the united force could not be maintained long in that situation. Yet how was it possible to divide it, when two armies of the Queen's troops, headed by Espartero, who had now come up from Navarre, and Oraa, mustering among them 28,000 combatants, threatened them on every side?—Espartero from the north by the Calatayud road, Oraa from the south by that from Feruel. In this extremity the capture of Don Carlos and his whole army was confidently anticipated at Madrid; and, in fact, nothing prevented it but the ability of the Carlist generals, the resolution of the King, and the fidelity of the peasantry to their cause. Their little army was divided into three parts, of which one only, 4000 strong, was retained in Cantal Viega, the two other divisions being sent into the adjacent country to collect supplies. Meanwhile appearances were so well kept up in the Carlist camp, by doubling the sentries and making frequent displays of the troops in parades and exercise, that the dispersion of the force was never suspected. And though well known to all the peasantry around, such was their fidelity that the important information was never conveyed to the enemy.

57. What tended also powerfully to aid Don Carlos during this critical time was the bold expedition at the very time conducted by one of his lieutenants into the heart of Spain. A small body of Carlists, commanded by Zariategui, burst through the military cordon which surrounded Navarre, and,

skilfully avoiding the Portuguese auxiliaries stationed near Vittoria to stop them, marched rapidly towards the Ebro, which they crossed on the 22d July between Haro and Miranda, and, leaving their pursuers far behind, captured the town and castle of Segovia on the 4th and 5th August by a *coup de main*, and on the 11th advanced to within a few leagues of Madrid. Great was the consternation in the capital at this unexpected apparition: martial law was instantly proclaimed, and pressing orders were sent to Espartero to hasten with all his disposable forces to the protection of the Government. Strong detachments were at the same time stationed along the road by which it was expected Don Carlos would approach. Espartero accordingly hastened, by forced marches, with 10,000 men, to Madrid; but Zariategui, having succeeded in his object of drawing off a part of the troops which threatened Don Carlos, retired from the gates of the capital on Espartero's approach, first to Segovia, and after that, by Aranda, to the mountains of Soria, near the Ebro.

58. Thus relieved, Don Carlos, having rested his men and recruited them by the supplies brought in by his flying divisions in the country—one of which had traversed the whole of Valencia, and even attacked Grao, the seaport of its capital—drew them back to headquarters, and set out for Herrera on the real object of his expedition, which was an advance to Madrid, while Cabrera with his corps, to distract the enemy, still hung on the frontiers of Valencia. He was the more encouraged to take this decisive step by several important successes which, towards the end of July, General Urbesondo, his general-in-chief in Catalonia, obtained over the commander of the Queen's troops in that province. The approach of the Carlists to the capital revealed the weakness of the central government, which, threatened by a powerful and enterprising enemy from without, was the prey of military violence and civil discords within. Revolts of the troops took place at Hernani, Vittoria, Miranda, Pampeluna, and Madrid itself.

These disorders were not quelled without great difficulty, and in a great degree by the firmness of General Espartero. Matters came to a crisis on the 16th August, when that officer, who had arrived at Madrid on the 12th, gave orders to part of the garrison, among whom were two regiments of the Guards, to march to retake the castle of Segovia, still in the hands of the Carlists. Sixty officers of those regiments refused to march unless the Ministry was changed and Calatrava deposed. A vehement debate ensued on this subject in the Cortes, where General Seoane, captain-general of New Castile, endeavoured to recall the soldiers to a sense of their duty, and strongly inculcated the maxim of Carnot—"The armed force is essentially obedient; it acts, but never deliberates."* Influenced by his eloquence, and the evident scandals of these repeated military revolts against the Queen's Government, the Cortes, by a large majority, supported M. Seoane, and, in token of their approval, elected him President for a month. This step gave great umbrage to the army, and led to a duel between M. Seoane and an officer of the Guards, in which the former was wounded. But the revolted soldiery prevailed in the conflict; the Calatrava Ministry was dismissed *en*

masse, and a new one more agreeable to the soldiery appointed, in which Espartero was nominated Minister of War and Premier; M. Pizarro, Minister of Finance; and M. Alonzo of the Interior. As Espartero refused his appointment, it was conferred on General San Miguel. But this administration was but short-lived, and, after some changes, was finally succeeded in December by a stronger Cabinet, in which Count Ofalia was Premier, and Espartero War Minister. The transports of revolution in Spain, as everywhere else, had terminated in military government.

59. It would appear at first sight that no more favourable opportunity could have been obtained for the advance of Don Carlos to the capital than the present, when the Government was distracted with the divisions of its subjects, and probably more alarmed at its own Guard than the approaching columns of the enemy. But it fell out quite otherwise; and, in fact, it is not surprising that it was so. The parties at daggers-drawing between themselves in Madrid were united in hatred of the Carlists, and they had all been guilty of such acts of cruelty and injustice towards them, that it was hard to say which had most reason to dread their success. Brilliant advantages, in the first instance, attended the advance to the

* "I will now tell you," said General Seoane, "what was the cause of the scandalous occurrence of La Granja, and why the soldiers allowed themselves to be deluded. The officers did not concur openly in the events of La Granja, but they encouraged them underhand, because they did not wish to quit Madrid, or to be led against the enemy. Those officers, whom I must stigmatise as cowards, although they have given some proofs to the contrary, beheld their Captain-General (M. Seoane), with his breast open, entreating the rebels to fire upon him, and yet not a single one of them came forward to aid him in quelling the insurrection. I alone put an end to it. The officers silently approved of it. In the scenes of La Granja, when a brutal soldiery tumultuously surrounded the throne of our Queen, did a single officer make an offer to defend her? With respect to the late revolt of the officers, I can inform the House that the Count de Luchana mentioned to me in private that some agitation was observable among the troops, and inquired if the Ministry was popular. My reply was, with all the frankness of a father

addressing a son, that such questions were beyond my sphere, that all he had to do was to mount on horseback, repair to the quarters of the disaffected, and blow out the brains of the first man who uttered a seditious cry. The Count de Luchana (Espartero) has exhibited no energy whatever. Had I been in his place, I would rather have lost my life than permitted sixty officers to dictate to the country. The late Cabinet, to my personal knowledge, had repeatedly assured the Queen of their willingness to resign their functions to whomsoever she thought more worthy of filling them. But the pretext put forward by the revolvers was entirely groundless, as her Majesty had at all times been at liberty to call whom she pleased to her councils. No; such was not their real object. Their desire was to return to the Court, and to enjoy the pleasures of the capital. A year ago I said the same thing in presence of three battalions of the Guard, and they were silent, for they knew that I was speaking the truth."—*Speech of M. SEOANE, 17th August 1837; Annual Register, 1837, page 314.*

capital. A body of the Queen's troops, under General Buerens, consisting of 7000 infantry and 500 horse, came in contact with Don Carlos, who had only 6000 foot and 600 horse, at Villar, near Herrera, on the 25th August—Cabrera's division, of equal strength, not having yet come up with him from the Valencian frontier. A hard-fought action ensued, which terminated in the entire defeat of the Christinos, who lost 1500 men killed or taken, and all their guns, besides the remainder being entirely dispersed. On hearing of this defeat, Espartero hastened with his army from Madrid to join Oraa at Daroca, where the latter general had advanced to meet the fugitives of Buerens's division. The junction took place on the 1st September. Don Carlos now moved swiftly to his left, through the mountains of Albarazin by Frias to Campillo, on the highroad from Valencia to Madrid. By this rapid flank march he at once came into communication with Cabrera, and arrived on the highroad to Madrid before Espartero could reach it from Daroca. No direct obstacle now lay between him and the capital. Cabrera came up from the Valencian frontier with 6000 infantry and 1000 horse, and formed the advance. Don Carlos, with his own corps, followed with the utmost speed. The whole pushed rapidly on Madrid, unmolested, and followed at a respectful distance by the two armies of Espartero and Oraa, whose united force was double that of their opponents. On the 9th September one of Don Carlos's flanking columns appeared at Ocana, a town celebrated for a great defeat of the Spaniards in the war with Napoleon I., ten leagues to the south of Madrid, and on the 11th a decree was passed by the Cortes, declaring the capital again, as it had been a month before, in a state of siege. On the day following the Queen-Regent, accompanied by her young daughter, the present Queen, held a review of all the troops in the capital, who evinced the greatest enthusiasm in her cause. The hour of trial, however, was approaching. On the same day (12th September) Don Carlos,

having crossed the Tagus, advanced to Arganda, *within four leagues* of Madrid, with the bulk of his forces, while the Infant Don Sebastian and Cabrera pressed on still nearer, *to within two leagues*. A body of Carlist horse, pursuing the retreating Christinos from Balleas, actually got within sight of the gates, and only retired when the guns posted there to defend them were preparing to open upon them.

60. It then clearly appeared, however, that, as firmly as the rural population were everywhere attached to Don Carlos, the urban inhabitants were enamoured of the Liberal principles and popular rule of which they considered Queen Christina as the representative. The Carlists had been assured by their partisans in Madrid that a decisive demonstration in their favour would take place as soon as the standards of their chief approached the capital. Now they were there, and yet no movement took place. On the contrary, the popular disposition seemed to be chiefly the other way. The National Guard turned out with alacrity, and disputed with the regulars the post of danger, and the Guards strove by their zeal to efface the recollection of their late discreditable revolt. Twenty-four guns were posted on the important points of the street of Alcala, the gate of the Sun, the square Mayor, and the approaches of the palace, the cannon-eers, with their matches lighted, standing beside their pieces. A battalion of veterans beyond the years of service was formed, at their own request, to act as a reserve. The armed force in the city, excluding the National Guard, was 10,000 strong, amply provided with artillery; that of the Carlists was scarcely more numerous, with hardly a gun which could be considered serviceable. The armies of Espartero and Oraa, each 9000 strong, coming up on their rear, menaced their line of retreat to the Ebro. In his own camp and councils Don Carlos found the most distressing diversity of opinion. The *moderados* urged the necessity of a general amnesty, and the adoption of liberal and conciliatory measures; the *exaltados*,

with Cabrera at their head, insisted that terror only could prevail over their enemies, and that now was the time to avenge all the innocent blood which had been unnecessarily shed by the Christinos. It was evident that Don Carlos's difficulties would only be increased by the capture of Madrid, for success would produce instantly its usual effect of dividing the victors. In these circumstances, there was plainly no alternative but to retire; and after waiting for the greater part of two days, in hope of a movement in the capital, which never took place, orders were given, on the 13th, to retreat by the road to Guadalaxara.

61. Again it proved that, with one of the competitors in a war of succession, as with an invading army, a decided step in retreat is the commencement of ruin. Don Carlos was still at the head of a gallant army of 12,000 men, which had won numerous victories; but the *prestige* of his cause was gone. He had been at the gates of the capital, and failed in penetrating; his warmest partisans began, in consequence, in secret to despair of success. That he was possessed of the undivided affections of the rural population was indeed certain; but what could the peasants of the country do against the great towns, the army, the Government, supported by the moral influence and physical support of France and England? Don Carlos halted on his retreat from Madrid at Guadalaxara; and Espartero, thinking perhaps that the fury of the contending factions in the capital would be best appeased by the presence of the enemy of both within fifteen leagues, made no attempt at first to dispossess him. But ere long he was impelled forward by the clamour of the Liberal journals in Madrid, which raised a loud outcry at the disgrace of the Pretender's being allowed to rest in the capital of a province within forty miles of the seat of Government. Thus forced on, he moved, on the 17th, with 16,000 men, towards Guadalaxara; and as the Carlists were in no condition to oppose, in a pitched battle, forces so considerable, they retreated across the Douro

to the mountains between Burgos and Soria, in the direction of Navarre, while Cabrera separated from Don Carlos, and sought refuge once more in the hills of Lower Aragon. At Aranda, Don Carlos was joined by Zariategui. This enterprising officer, after his retreat from Madrid to the Soria mountains, had made a descent on Valladolid, which town he captured on the 18th; and though driven from it a few days after by a Christino division under Carondelet, he now joined Don Carlos in safety on the Douro. The retreat of the Carlist army to the Ebro was conducted with great skill by paths deemed impracticable over the mountains of Old Castile. They were actively followed by Espartero, who drew together all the forces at his disposal to strike a decisive blow at the Pretender, and if possible make him prisoner. From this danger the Carlists were delivered by the resolution of their leaders, who, concentrating their forces, fell with such vigour on a Christino division under General Lorenzo, at Retuerta, on the 5th October, that the Queen's troops were all but destroyed, and saved from total ruin only by Espartero hastening to the point of danger with nearly all his forces. But to do so required the drawing of these together from all quarters, which left the passage open in several directions to Don Carlos. He was thus, after making a feint of returning to the Douro, enabled to effect his retreat in two separate columns to the Ebro, which they crossed at Ravenga and Camero, between the 20th and 25th October; and by the beginning of November, the whole army was assembled in its old position at Durango, where headquarters were established. But it returned to its stronghold in the north in a very different plight from that in which it had set out in the beginning of the summer. They had left their homes rejoicing, fully expecting a military promenade to the capital, where they were to be received with open arms by the inhabitants, and replace their beloved prince on the throne of his fathers, amidst the universal acclamations of the people. They returned

sorely diminished in numbers, worn out with fatigue, covered only with rags, half starved, and venting their disappointment upon the officers by whom they had been conducted. These ill humours were not confined to the common men; ill success had produced its usual effect in fomenting divisions in higher quarters; and it was whispered that violent altercations prevailed at headquarters, and that Don Carlos and Don Sebastian made no secret of their dissatisfaction at the conduct of several of the officers in the latter part of the campaign, some of whom were put under arrest.

62. But dissatisfaction and recrimination were not confined to the Carlist ranks; they prevailed with still greater violence, and with more reason, in those of the Queen's party. True, the Pretender had failed in his advance upon Madrid, and been compelled to resume his old quarters in the mountains of Navarre; but what then? Was his army destroyed? had it ever been defeated in a general affair? was the war any nearer its termination? On the contrary, the Pretender had marched wherever he pleased through the kingdom; he had traversed Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and both Castiles; had crossed the Ebro to carry his arms into the heart of the kingdom; had been at the gates of the capital, and recrossed that river, laden with spoil, and without having once experienced a real defeat. Was this what might reasonably have been expected from a Government having 200,000 men at its disposal, supported by three adjoining monarchies, over an enemy who never had more than 60,000 bayonets on which it could rely? The Carlists were still unsubdued in their native provinces; so far from it, they had sensibly gained ground during the expedition of Don Carlos into Castile; Cabrera was in undiminished force in the mountains of Lower Aragon and Valencia, and had the entire command of the open country; great part of Catalonia was in the hands of the Carlists; and in the Basque provinces and Navarre they had taken advantage of the dissensions in the

Queen's troops, and the frequent mutinies among them, to drive their enemies from many points which they had garrisoned, and materially restrict the country which they held.* Not the least embarrassment of the Government at Madrid arose from the distressed state of the finances, and the impossibility of raising loans for the public service, in consequence of the interest on those raised in preceding years by the Cortes not having been paid.

63. Although, however, the retreat of Don Carlos from Madrid implied a failure in the principal object of the campaign, and could not fail to be attended, politically speaking, with a most serious injury to his fortunes; yet, in a purely military point of view, there could be no doubt that he had gained a very great advantage during the campaign. The English Legion, from which so much had been expected, was dissolved without having effected anything worthy of the national reputation. The French auxiliary Legion was destroyed; the Portuguese much diminished in numbers. The Carlists in the north had inflicted a serious defeat on the combined English and Spanish forces; Don Carlos had marched, almost without opposition, to Valencia and Madrid; the Queen's generals, so far from being able to stop his progress, seemed to be solicitous chiefly to get out of his way, so as to avoid defeat; and his authority was obeyed without resistance in Biscay, Guipuscoa, Navarre, and nearly all Catalonia and Aragon, while guerilla bands scoured Old and New Castile, and carried alarm and disquietude to the very gates of the capital. But if these circumstances were eminently favourable, and such as seemed to promise an early and complete triumph to his arms, there were others which were fearfully ominous on the other side. "Hope long deferred maketh the heart sick." The Carlists had now been engaged nearly five years in a sanguinary contest against

* The most important point won in this way by the Carlists was the fortified post of Penacerrada, half-way between Vittoria and Logrono, which surrendered to them with 4 guns and 400 men on the 26th August.

overwhelming odds, which they had commenced without any resources but such as were to be found in their own courage and perseverance, and since maintained with a tenacity which recalled their ancient wars with the Moors. But this strain could not be borne for ever; these efforts must ere long come to an end. Already their chief had experienced the difficulty so sorely felt by Montrose in the English, and Larochejaquelein in the French civil wars,—viz., the impossibility of keeping the peasants permanently attached to their colours. He had no adequate funds or credit to secure them a suitable pay, nor anything like a commissariat; and the mountaineers, finding that the march to Madrid had failed, fell rapidly off during the retreat, each hastening to his home with the little store of valuables or plunder he had amassed during his expedition. This is by far the most serious danger which always threatens the desultory efforts of mere patriotism and courage when engaged in a conflict with a regular government having the resources of taxation and a standing army at its command; and it is the one which, despite their heroic courage, in the end proved fatal to the Carlists.

64. But if the Carlists were reduced to great straits by these concurring circumstances, the Queen's Ministers did not repose on a bed of roses, and it was difficult to say whether their situation was not more deplorable than that of their opponents. They were torn in pieces by a frightful malady, to which the simple mountaineers of the north were strangers. Political passions distracted their followers; treason stalked about in their great cities; a half of the vast military force they were obliged to keep on foot was absorbed in quelling insurrections of the extreme democrats, or overawing the mutinies of the rebellious soldiery. So numerous were these disorders, both among the military and the citizens, that Spain could hardly be said to have a government; and if they had not been restrained by the common dread and hatred of the Carlists from the anticipated vengeance for their cruelties on

them, they would, in all probability, have broken out into a still more bloody warfare against each other. Not the least difficulty with which they had to contend arose from the extraordinary and daily increasing disorder of the finances. The credit of the Government being ruined by the failure to pay the dividends due on the Cortes bonds, the finance minister had no resource but in crushing direct taxation, which was felt as the more oppressive that it fell entirely on one part of the country. The estimated deficit for 1837 was 574,498,442 reals (£5,744,984), equal to at least double the sum in this country; and after exhausting all the resources from the sale of church property and other revolutionary expedients, it became indispensable to provide for this great chasm by the extraordinary direct war contribution of £5,000,000.

65. A considerable increase of vigour was communicated to the Government, as is generally the case, by the revolution of La Granja, and changes of ministry consequent on it. Espartero, who was nominated war minister by M. d'Ofalia in December, resigned that office, deeming that he would be of more use at the head of the armies on the Ebro, whither he accordingly repaired. His first effort in the ensuing campaign (1838) was directed, on January 30, against the Carlist army which was besieging Balmaceda, which was reduced to the last extremity. The Queen's troops were successful in the end, but at a very heavy cost, for they lost in two days' fighting 500 men killed and wounded, while that of the Carlists, who were covered by their works, was not a half of this amount. Balmaceda, however, was delivered, and the troops of Espartero immediately began destroying the besiegers' works, while the Carlists retired into the neighbouring mountains. Shortly after Espartero issued a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated that, such was the penury of his military chest, and so great the failure of the Government to furnish him with funds to discharge the large arrears due to them, he had been under the necessity of ar-

resting and conducting to his headquarters such of the intendants of provinces as had failed to furnish the supplies necessary for his troops.

66. After this, and during the remainder of this year, the war assumed a more desultory character, and instead of a concentrated effort on the mountains of Biscay and Navarre, exhibited a series of detached actions, attended with various and nearly balanced success, in every part of Spain. The Carlists compensated for their great inferiority in numbers by their superior activity, the thorough knowledge which they had of the country, and the universal attachment of the rural inhabitants to their cause. Hence it was that the Queen's troops were never able to prevent their opponents from making incursions and levying contributions in every part of the open country, while the Carlists were seldom able to take from them any of the considerable towns or strong fortresses, on the possession of which the ultimate fate of the contest was every day more coming to depend. Dissension prevailed in both camps and at both headquarters, but this disunion had no tendency to weaken their strength, or lessen their animosity in combating each other. The blows struck on both sides had been too serious, the blood shed in vengeance too great, to render pacification possible, or an approach even to a reconciliation in the smallest degree feasible. The chief causes of complaint of the *exaltados* at Madrid against the Ministry of M. d'Ofalia, which was composed of the moderate party, was, that they were feeble in their measures for the support of the war, and *did not shed enough of blood*. The cry of the discontented in the camp of Don Carlos was, that their ruthless enemies, with their hands stained with the blood of their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters, were exchanged, like regular soldiers, without suffering the punishment justly due to their cruelty. The contest could only be terminated by the utter prostration and exhaustion of one or other or both parties; but, in the mean time, the war assumed a charac-

ter which, from the numerous details which it involves, it is hardly possible to make interesting, and which the author himself has no small difficulty in understanding. The Carlists made incursions with impunity through the two Castiles, Leon, Valencia, Andalusia, Murcia, and Estremadura; but they were unable, from want of resources and heavy artillery, to dispossess the enemy of the strongholds of St Sebastian, Bilbao, and Pampeluna in their own country, and Lerida in Catalonia, though these were environed in every direction by their armed bands. And although the Queen's troops were successful against their opponents in many encounters, and from their superiority in cavalry were generally victorious in the open country, yet they were never able to give them a crushing defeat; and from the attachment of the peasantry to the Legitimist colours, disaster seldom led to serious consequences, and the beaten army was generally as formidable as ever within a few weeks after its overthrow. Hence wars similar to those which the Spaniards so long maintained against the Romans and Moors were again, and in like manner, maintained for national independence against foreign aggression.

67. CABRERA, in his stronghold amidst the mountains which lie between Lower Aragon and Valencia, was the life and soul of this the last phase of the Carlist war; and he was too remarkable and energetic a character to be passed over without special notice. He was essentially national in his character, and that alike in his virtues and his failings. He was not less brave and loyal than Zumalacarreui, and not inferior to him in genius for that species of war which was suited to the desultory strife which he had to maintain. But these brilliant qualities were clouded by prejudices and passions which belonged peculiarly to the Spanish character. Fanatical in his religion, devout in his loyalty, unsparing of blood, implacable in revenge, he belonged not to the nineteenth but the fourteenth century. He was like one of the stalwart knights who com-

bated the Moors during the long contest of five centuries in the Peninsula, transplanted into the midst of the political fanaticism of the nineteenth century. His disposition was by nature stern, vindictive, and unrelenting, and these qualities were worked up to a perfect climax by the thirst of vengeance with which he was animated against the Liberals, on account of the atrocious murder of his mother, in revenge for his great deeds against themselves. Thenceforward his heart was steeled against pity, and ruthless extermination became his ruling passion, not less than it had been of the crusading warriors who followed the standard of Godfrey of Bouillon to the Holy Land. He deemed the Christinos slaughtered in his wars, whether in fair fight or cold blood, so many titles to eternal salvation, as his ancestors had done of the Moors or Vandals cut off by the revengeful sabres of the Cid or Pelayo. The existence of such a character amidst the liberal ideas and humane aspirations of other countries at this time, is the strongest proof of the indelible nature of national character, and the extent to which in the Spanish peninsula it was still formed by the combined vengeful spirit of Castilian and Moorish blood.

68. The successes of the Carlists and the Christinos were so nearly balanced during the campaign of 1838, and their operations were conducted over so wide a surface, that it was difficult to say with which in the end the advantage lay. On the one hand, the hopes of the Christinos were seriously damped by Espartero, immediately after he had raised the siege of Balmaceda in Biscay, suddenly evacuating that stronghold and retiring to the neighbourhood of Bilbao, with his troops so disorganised that they seemed to have undergone a retreat rather than achieved a triumph. This disappointment was rendered still more cutting by intelligence of the surprise and capture of Morella, the most important stronghold in Valencia, by a skilful stratagem of Cabrera. At the same time Basilio Garcia, a Carlist chieftain at the head of 5000 men, who had issued from Bis-

cay and crossed all Spain, made a successful irruption into the province of Toledo, where he arrived in the middle of January, and was received with open arms by the rural inhabitants, and largely recruited his forces. Soon after Saragossa was taken by a Carlist band under the orders of Cabanero. On the other hand the Carlists were, after a murderous conflict in its time-honoured streets, driven out with great loss; and Basilio, who had penetrated from Toledo across La Mancha into Andalusia, was encountered on the 5th February between Baeza and Ubeda, and driven back by Pardinás, with the loss of 500 prisoners, and forced, in order to avoid Narvaez, who was coming up with 10,000 men, to take refuge in the mountains of Murcia. A Carlist chief, Jara, in the province of Toledo, underwent at Yebeñes a still more disastrous defeat on the 18th February from the Queen's general, Flinter, on which occasion 200 were slain and 1600 prisoners taken. Basilio now divided his force into two columns, one of which, under Tallada, was surprised by Pardinás at Castil and dispersed; while the other, under Basilio himself, sustained a severe encounter on the 14th March at Val de Penas, in New Castile, with Flinter. After a hard action the Carlists were driven from the town, but the Christinos had been so severely handled that they did not pursue, and Basilio, turning northwards, directed his march through La Mancha, by Ciudad Real, in the direction of Almadén. The Carlist army of Navarre, which had its headquarters under Don Carlos in person at Estella, was meanwhile cruelly ravaged by typhus fever, the uniform sad bequest of suffering, bloodshed, and starvation!

69. Notwithstanding these sinister circumstances, such was the vigour with which the Carlist councils were animated, that, instead of standing merely on the defensive at Estella, they projected and carried into execution another expedition into the centre of Spain. It consisted of a flying column of six battalions and 400 horse, which was to cross the Ebro and enter

the Asturias, and then, turning to the south, threaten the neighbourhood of Madrid. This expedition was at first attended with entire success. After crossing the Ebro on the 15th March, near its source, this force, under the orders of Count Negri, reached the Asturias, sustained a check from Latre in the defiles of the Sierra Salvas, threatened Burgos and Valladolid, and marched direct on Segovia. But there his progress was arrested by the concentration of the Christino forces to cover the capital. Retracing his steps, Negri approached Valladolid, but could do nothing against the strong garrison of that place. At Salices he was partially worsted by the Christino leader, Iriarte. Continuing his movement towards the Ebro, he encountered, on the 26th April, between Burgos and Briviesca, Espartero, who had hastened with 10,000 men, first to the defence of Valladolid, and now to intercept the retreat of the Carlists. Though far inferior in numbers, the Carlists awaited the enemy's attack, but they were worsted with severe loss, and retreated hastily into the rugged defiles of the Sierra of Burgos. While the Christinos, however, were rejoicing in this success, which delivered them from a pressing danger, they were confounded by the capture of Almaden, with its valuable quicksilver mines, by Basilio, with the Carlists from Andalusia; and although their occupation of the town was only some few days, and attended with little detriment to the mines, yet it proved a great source of embarrassment to the Government, as the produce of those mines was the very fund which they were proposing at the time to assign to the capitalists from whom they were desirous of contracting a loan. Driven from Almaden, Basilio took refuge in the mountains of Toledo, where he maintained himself for some time, until, on the 30th April, he was overtaken at Bejar by Pardinás, and defeated with loss. Soon after this he set out and marched by Soria for the Ebro. About the same time an indecisive action took place at Lucena in Valencia between

the Carlists, under Cabrera, and the Queen's forces, under Oraa, which was chiefly remarkable for a severe wound received by the former general, which for some time disabled him from taking the personal command of his troops. So hard pressed were the Queen's generals at this time to find funds to pay their troops, that Espartero, after exhausting his personal credit, and having made every effort to obtain money from the Government or the Cortes, was under the necessity of laying violent hands on a sum of 160,000 reals which he had in his possession, and dividing it among his troops, without the sanction of the Government. But Don Carlos was at least as hard pressed for money, and his credit received at this time a severe blow by the seizure of part of his funds in London by his agent Baron d'Habé, by authority of an English court of law, for a debt due to him by the Carlist chief.

70. During these events, Don Carlos himself remained at Estella, where dissension, the sure mark and invariable attendant of a long-protracted and declining cause, broke out in a most alarming way among his troops. The old Navarrese soldiers, the iron veterans who had borne him through all the chances of the war, loudly complained that they were put aside for the Castilians, comparatively unknown in arms, but who now devoured the substance of the people. To such a length did the ill-humours rise, that, on the 10th May, a large body of them rose in open mutiny, rushed into the house where the junta held its meetings, and murdered a man in it. The tumult was only appeased by the fortunate arrival of some regiments under Guergue. But the Prince, alarmed at these symptoms of insubordination, left Estella, and retired to Tolosa. Meanwhile Espartero, who had first gone to Pampeluna, and afterwards to Lerin, concentrated his army, but contented himself with observing his enemy in Estella without hazarding any attack. But other events showed that the discontent of the Carlist troops was owing to deeper causes than the want of pay or

rations ; and that they were becoming divided on the policy of continuing the war. On the 18th April, Munagón had raised the standard of revolt against the Government of Don Carlos in Navarre, and soon collected some hundred followers. His cry was the preservation of the *fueros*, an end to the war, and general submission to the Queen's Government. He maintained his ground for some time in the higher ridges of the Pyrenees, and his followers at one time amounted to 1200 men. But meeting with no farther support from the Carlist bands, who were generally unanimous for Don Carlos, he was at length obliged to take refuge in France. But although this revolt led to no serious consequences at the moment, yet it was of sinister augury for the future, as showing what ideas were fermenting in men's minds ; and the intelligence of it consoled the Queen's party for many disasters which their armies at that time experienced in various parts of Spain.

71. And truly these disasters were so serious that it required some discord in the Carlist camp to counterbalance them. While Espartero was watching Don Carlos in person at Estella, with 22,000 men in Navarre, Oraa, with 8000 of the army of the centre, undertook the siege of Morella in Valencia, which, as already mentioned, had been surprised by Cabrera in the early part of the year. Oraa made his appearance before the walls in the beginning of August, and the siege artillery having arrived on the 9th, a practicable breach was soon made in the half-ruined rampart, and his troops advanced with a firm step to the assault. But if the attack was vigorous, the defence was heroic: two assaults—one by the breach, one by escalade—were repulsed with great slaughter, and at length Oraa was obliged to raise the siege and retire towards Valencia, with the loss of 2000 men, almost all slain, and 130 officers. This bloody repulse excited the utmost sensation at Madrid, where the consternation was such that the Government was under the necessity of issuing a commission to General Latre to repair to the spot and inquire into the

causes of the disaster. That officer reported that it had been owing to the want of money and provisions, which had demoralised the troops. Cabrera, after the retreat of the Queen's troops, came to the spot, and having repaired the breaches, left a garrison of 2000 picked men in the castle, with orders to defend themselves to the last extremity.

72. The next exploit of Cabrera was still more important. Having received intelligence that Párdinas, a brave and active Christino general, lay with 5000 men at Maella, that enterprising chief collected several of his own bands, and with an equal force advanced to attack him. Having made a forced march of twenty-six hours he surprised the enemy, who had no suspicion of his approach, on the 1st October, at Maella, and gained the most decisive victory which the Carlists had yet obtained during the war. A vehement charge of Cabrera's horse threw one of the Queen's battalions into confusion, and General Párdinas, who hastened up to support it, fell pierced by two balls. The cavalry made a bold effort to carry off their chief, but, deserted by the infantry, they were overpowered, and a total rout ensued. Nothing could be more complete than the defeat. Out of 5000 men scarce 1500 escaped, and most of them without arms. The shock of this great defeat was felt in every part of Spain. The victorious troops of Cabrera proceeded to lay siege to Caspe, which was on the point of being taken, as a lodgment had been effected in one of the bastions, when they were obliged to raise the siege by the approach of Von Halen with a superior force. The Carlist leader consoled himself by ravaging the rich plain of Valencia, up to the very gates of that city, and retired laden with booty to his strongholds in Lower Aragon. Meanwhile a great crisis had passed tranquilly away in Navarre. Espartero, after capturing Penacerrada on the 21st June, and giving a check to a Carlist force under Guergue which approached to save the place, concentrated his whole disposable force, to the number of 22,000 men, for an

attack upon Estella. Marotto, who commanded the Carlist army, collected twenty-eight battalions, with all their cavalry and field-artillery, on the same point to meet the attack. A great battle decisive of the fate of the war seemed imminent, yet nothing occurred. Espartero, after watching the Navarrese army at Estella for twenty-five days, broke up, and, throwing his artillery into Pampeluna, retreated with his whole force to the Ebro, which river, upon hearing of Oraa's defeat before Morella, he crossed at Lodosa on the 9th September, thus abandoning all ulterior objects for the present campaign. The intelligence of these events excited the utmost agitation in Madrid. Patrols of horse and foot were obliged to be stationed in every part of the city, and it was only by a great display of military force that a collision was prevented between the infuriated parties. To such a length did the disorders proceed, that Quiroga, the commander-in-chief, was obliged to declare the capital in a state of siege.

73. Cabrera, true to his character as a stern uncompromising fanatic, sullied his victories by inhuman cruelty. Enforcing, as he alleged, the frightful right of reprisals, he executed in cold blood ninety of his prisoners taken in the battle of Maella. No sooner was intelligence of this butchery received in Valencia than a tumult arose, and the populace with loud cries demanded the instant death of the whole Carlist prisoners confined in the city. The governor, Mendez Vigo, having made ineffectual attempts to allay the popular fury, was laid dead on the spot by the mob, with whom the military had fraternised, and a junta of extreme Liberals was appointed to carry out the mandates of the sovereign multitude. Fifty-five prisoners were murdered before the thirst for blood was appeased. Similar outbreaks, attended by the same bloody results, took place in Murcia and Alicant, where all the Carlist captives were put to death; and at Saragossa sixty-six sergeants and corporals were threatened with

slaughter in cold blood. There seemed no end to these revengeful massacres; but at length Cabrera put a stop to them by intimating that, if they were any longer continued, he would put to death the whole prisoners whom he had in Morella and Cantaviega. In Madrid itself the agitation and cry for blood was so violent that the Government, as the only means of appeasing it, passed a decree which forbade, under pain of death, all correspondence with any person in the service of Don Carlos, and ordered all their wives and children to quit the capital within eight days. Notwithstanding this the cries for blood were so numerous and alarming, that it was only by a great display of military force that they were prevented from leading to a general massacre of all persons suspected of a leaning to the Carlist cause; and the city was kept night and day in a state of continual agitation and terror for months together.

74. While these scenes of horror were passing in Madrid and the cities in the power of the Queen's party, by a strange and melancholy contrast rejoicing and festivity were going on in those which obeyed the authority of Don Carlos. That prince was married to his sister-in-law, the widow of his brother Don Pedro, the Princess of Beira, sister of Don Miguel. She was mother of the Infant Don Sebastian, who had distinguished himself so much during the war, and she had traversed France without molestation, which naturally led to the suspicion that the Cabinet of the Tuileries was not so thoroughly hostile to the Carlist cause as the general policy they had pursued might lead one to suppose. The Prince had already obtained a dispensation from the Pope for an alliance within the forbidden degrees, and the marriage was solemnised at Azcoitia, in Guipuscoa, on 28th October. Soon after Count Negri and Basilio returned to Tolosa, where bull-fights and games were exhibited in honour of the royal nuptials—a strange and mournful contrast, when, in other cities of the kingdom, Carlist blood was flowing in streams of

those who had been foremost in asserting the rights of the bridegroom on the field of battle.

75. The Carlist cause had never looked so favourably since the commencement of the war as it did at the close of the campaign of 1838. Although their forces in the field did not exceed 60,000, and those of the Queen's party were nearly three times as numerous, and the disproportion of the financial resources on the two sides was still greater, yet such were the advantages which the former derived from the now ascertained favour of nearly the whole rural population of the country, the skill of their generals, and the indomitable perseverance of their followers, that it had become evident, not only that the chances were equal, but that they had come to preponderate in favour of the Carlists. In the last campaign Espartero, though at the head of 40,000 men in the north, had recoiled from an attack on the King at Estella; the English and French Legions were broken up, after having undergone severe disasters, and their members, in the last stage of misery, had nearly all left the country; the Queen's troops had sustained two bloody defeats at the hands of Cabrera in Valencia; several strongholds in that province had been wrested from them; the Carlists had undisputed command in Biscay, Guipuscoa, and Navarre; 20,000 well-organised soldiers in Valencia and Lower Aragon were under their orders; and experience had proved that the Christinos, though three times their number, were unable to prevent them from traversing the kingdom in every direction from one end to another. Above all, the theatre of war had now been in great measure removed from the Basque provinces, and fixed in Lower Aragon, Castile, and Valencia, where the rural inhabitants were all favourable to their cause, and the country, comparatively unexhausted, offered many resources to an enterprising invader.

76. But notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, there were others still more serious of an opposite description, which came ere long to cast the balance decisively the other

way, and caused the end to be nearer than any one, looking only to the surface of things, could have imagined. The contest had now continued six years, and neither party seemed capable of bringing it to a conclusion. The Queen's troops evidently could not root their opponents out of the Pyrenean offshoots. The Carlists, though in command of the open country in every direction, had proved unequal to the task of expelling them from the great cities. Supplies of all sorts in money, arms, and stores were furnished to the one party as liberally by England and France as they were excluded by the most rigorous blockade from the other. The Queen's troops in arms were three times as numerous as those which followed the standard of Don Carlos.* In these circumstances the war seemed endless, and even the most sanguine in either host could see no chance of obtaining such a decisive superiority in the field as might lead to its termination. This being the case, the possibility of a compromise naturally suggested itself to the leaders on both sides; and as the contest had originally been commenced for the preservation of the *fueros* of the Basque provinces, so the arrangement which seemed most feasible was that, on the one hand, their old rights should be restored and guaranteed, and on the other, the Queen's title to the throne, in preference to that of Don Carlos, be recognised. And, situated as the country was, such a compromise, if it could have been effected consistently with military honour, was perhaps the best that a real patriot could desire.

77. But although this was the case, and abundant reasons existed for desiring a termination of hostilities on the footing of such a transaction, yet unhappily there were now those in the King's service who were actuated by baser motives, and who sought, as traitors have so often done, to pervert a trust conferred on them by their So-

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Guns.
* Queen's troops,	213,000	12,500	123
Carlists, . . .	55,000	4,000	80

—*Ann. Hist.*, xxii. 371.

vereign to their individual profit or advancement. Of this number was MAROTTO, an influential landowner in Biscay, who had great influence among the peasantry, and who, having retired into France, had made his escape, and joined Don Carlos, who appointed him commander-in-chief of his whole armies. At the time when he was elevated to this high station, the most serious dissensions and heartburnings prevailed in the Carlist camp; and it was evident that the mutiny in the Navarrese regiments at Estella, which had with so much difficulty been quelled shortly before, had not been a mere ebullition of military ill-humour, but the reflection of a more serious division arising from a struggle for power in the Royal councils. Gomez, whose wonderful march to Gibraltar and back to Navarre, two years before, had astonished all Europe, was in prison on a charge of not having honestly accounted for the spoil taken during his incursion, especially in the mines of Almaden. Villareal, Zariategui, Urbistondo, Eguia, Elio, and many other of the bravest of the Carlist chiefs, were in confinement or disgrace, and some even under sentence of death, on the ground of having fomented the ill-humours of the troops. The complaint which they made was, that the best blood of the Basque provinces, instead of being employed in defence of their native mountains, was shed in useless expeditions beyond the Ebro, in Castile, Valencia, and Andalusia. When Marotto assumed the command, which was given him mainly to conciliate these sturdy mountaineers, it was hoped that these ill-humours would be dissipated. But though they were so (in as far as the Navarrese and Biscayans were concerned), yet it only gave rise to suspicions of a graver kind in another quarter. When the two great armies, each of above twenty battalions, were seen confronting each other for nearly six weeks in the neighbourhood of Estella, it seemed hardly possible to avoid the belief that they were either inspired with such mutual respect as to render active operations the object of dread to both, or that there was a secret under-

standing between them which might lead to a suspension of hostilities at no distant period.

78. Marotto was no sooner invested with supreme power than he made his influence be felt in the King's army. His first care was to get the force under his immediate command into such an unfavourable position, that the treason he meditated might appear the result of necessity, not inclination. For this purpose he stationed his troops, towards the end of April, on the frontier of Biscay, in the position of Ramales on the river Ason, on the road from Burgos to Santona, on the sea-coast; and after several lesser actions, ending in a sharp contest on the 11th May, in which the mountaineers displayed their wonted valour, he drew them off, and himself proposed the abandonment of the strong fort of Guardamino, on no other conditions but a surrender at discretion. This was followed on the 22d by the capture of Orduna by Espartero. The moral effect of this success, coinciding with the reduction at the same time of several strongholds in front of Pampeluna, hitherto held by the Carlists, especially Belascoain on the Arga and Barbarin, was, that the Christinos threatened Estella, so long the headquarters of the Carlists, drove them back from the banks of the Arga into the interior of Navarre, and became masters of the whole line from Pampeluna to the frontier, which they had never before been since the commencement of the war. The sinister working of treachery in the Carlist ranks in producing these disasters was the more conspicuous from the successes which Cabrera gained at the same time in Lower Aragon and Valencia, which were so considerable that Segura was taken by him; and the Government were so dissatisfied with his opponent General Van Halen, that they deprived him of the command of the army of the centre, and bestowed it on O'Donnell. Marotto's next care was to procure the arrest of all those officers in high command who, he apprehended, might interfere with his designs. In this nefarious attempt he

was too successful, and the blood which was in consequence shed constitutes one of the most frightful features of this melancholy civil war. Two parties divided the Cabinet of Don Carlos; and the mind of that Prince, upright and serious, but vacillating, floated between the two, inclining alternately to the one and the other. At the head of the one party was Texeiro, the Prime Minister, who advocated on all occasions the most resolute and uncompromising prosecution of the war till Don Carlos was restored. At the head of the other was Marotto, who supported a compromise, the basis of which should be the recognition of the provincial *fueros*, and the abandonment of the cause of the King. As this project involved a treasonable desertion of the royal cause, it required for its success the destruction of those not engaged in the plot. This was not long of being accomplished. On the 13th and 14th February 1839, *thirteen* of the principal officers of Don Carlos's army were arrested, in great part by their own soldiers, by order of Marotto, delivered over to a military commission, condemned, and executed. Among them were several of the first and steadiest supporters of Don Carlos through all the vicissitudes of the war, and not a few names not unknown to fame. Garcia, Guergue, Ituriza, Pablo Sanz, Carmona, Uriz, Ochoa, Ibanez, and many others holding high military or official situations, were executed. Shortly after a melancholy proof was afforded of the coercion to which the Prince was exposed, and the alternate sway of the bloodthirsty factions which succeeded each other in getting the command of the royal person. On 22d February, while the camp was yet reeking with the blood of these victims, a decree appeared, signed by Don Carlos, declaring Marotto guilty of high treason, and putting him *hors la loi*; but two days after, one of a directly contrary tendency was published, also signed by the Prince, in which he declared that more extensive inquiries had convinced him that Lieutenant-General the Chief of the Staff, Don Rafael Marotto, had only acted in the

plenitude of his powers, and agreeably to the inspiration of the feelings of loyalty and devotion by which he had always been distinguished, and that if the former decree had given him any pain, he hoped the present would be a sufficient atonement.

79. After this humiliating display of the thralldom in which the Prince was held, it was easy to anticipate what would follow. On the first intelligence of the news that he had been declared *hors la loi*, Marotto, instead of marching to Pampeluna, where he was expected by the Queen's general, went straight to Tolosa, where he demanded a conference with the Prince. It took place accordingly, but led to no result. Marotto demanded the instant dismissal of Texeiro and all his partisans, and that their place should be filled with his creatures. To these proposals Don Carlos would not agree, for to have done so would have been capitulating for the monarchy, and they parted on angry terms and mutually dissatisfied. Finding that the troops at Tolosa were all in the interest of Marotto, Don Carlos endeavoured to extricate himself from the military thralldom to which he was subjected by removing to Estella, near which several Navarrese battalions still faithful to him were stationed, and he gave orders in July to his quartermaster-general to move his headquarters from Onate to that place. But he received for answer that the orders of Marotto were against any such move, and that it could not be carried into effect! He had another interview at Villareal with his rebellious chief, but it was as fruitless as the former in bringing about any accommodation. It was now August, and Espartero, advancing in force, had again been successful. Assaulting, on the 13th August, the heights of Aramayona, he carried them after a three hours' struggle, and established his men on the important line from Vittoria to Durango. Treachery and misfortune were closing fast round the sinking fortunes of Don Carlos. As a last resource he held a review of the troops to test their fidelity, but he

found that the cries of "Vive le Roi" were always accompanied by "*Vive Marotto*." Finding now that his cause was lost, he retired to the Borunda in order to be near the French frontier, where he was soon after joined by Villareal, who, exiled on unjust suspicions in the days of his prosperity, hastened to his side "when the winds of adversity blew."

80. All was soon accomplished. Marotto drew back his troops before the advance of those of Espartero, now created by the Queen Duke of Victory, who occupied Onate and Vergara, while Don Carlos, now deprived of his best men, retreated before him into the Borunda, near the French frontier. A conference then took place between the Queen's and Carlist generals, at Eguela, between Vergara and Urguiola. Six battalions accompanied Marotto to the place of conference. The terms which he proposed were the recognition of Isabella II. as Queen of Spain; the restoration and guarantee of the *fueros* to the northern provinces; the preserving of their military rank and appointments by the Carlist officers; and the right of succession through Don Carlos to his descendants, in case the young Queen should die without issue of her body. The three first were at once agreed to; but Espartero declined to accede to the fourth, relating to the eventual accession, in certain events, of the descendants of Don Carlos to the throne. By the aid, however, of the French and English commissioners, who were with the Queen's army, and very active in smoothing down difficulties, this obstacle was at length removed, and on 31st August the celebrated convention was signed at Vergara, by Marotto and Espartero, which put a stop ere long to this deplorable civil war. The only conditions were the recognition of the young Queen, the restoration of the *fueros*, and the preservation of their rank to the Carlist officers: so that both parties gained something. Five Castilian battalions, eight Biscayan, and three Guipuscoan, mustering among them 8000 combatants, went over to the Queen's party with Marotto, and were

cordially received. Espartero publicly embraced Marotto in presence of the soldiers of both armies.

81. No vindication or extenuation can be found for the conduct of Marotto on this occasion, which it is the duty of the historian to stigmatise in the severest manner. Admitting that Spain was bleeding at every pore from the effects of the disastrous civil war which had so long torn it down, and that he would have been the best friend to his country who could by honourable means have brought about its termination; admitting, too, that there was much to be said on both sides in this conflict, and that many worthy and honourable men were to be found in the ranks on either,—no earthly excuse can be found for a man who first accepts a high command from one party, and *immediately makes use of it to betray his benefactor*. If Marotto thought the principles of the Queen's Government were more suitable for Spain than those of Don Carlos, he might have joined the former, and combated like a man of honour in their ranks. But to accept the high position of commander-in-chief under Don Carlos, and employ the power thus conferred to ruin the Carlist cause, was worse than high treason—it was private treachery; it was murder under trust, the most atrocious species of homicide. It was not the less so that it had before been committed by Marlborough and Ney.

82. The end was now at hand. Deprived of nearly half his disposable forces by this great defection, and with the spirit of those who remained severely broken by the secession of so many of their comrades, Don Carlos was no longer able to maintain himself in his old strongholds, and amidst his still faithful Navarrese. One after another his fastnesses fell into the hands of the enemy, who was thundering in close pursuit with 20,000 men. On the 10th September he retired up the valley of the Bastan with eleven battalions, while Espartero's men occupied that of Ulzama, in the immediate neighbourhood. At length the Prince, driven to the last corner of his domin-

ions, passed the Col de Maya, famous in the wars of Wellington; and, descending the valley on the other side, presented himself, on 14th September, at the bridge of Anchary-Aranay, the frontier post of France, with the Princess of Beira, his wife, and the Infant Don Sebastian. Six battalions and a squadron of horse entered France along with him, and the remainder of his forces dispersed, and sought refuge in their native mountains.

83. Had Don Carlos possessed the warlike energy and abilities of Robert Bruce or the Prince of Orange, he might possibly have prolonged the war for some time after its extinction in Navarre and the Basque provinces, its original cradle; for the strength of Cabrera and the Comte d'Espagne was unbroken in Lower Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia; and even after the departure of the Prince from the Spanish territory, they continued the war, and sometimes gained considerable successes. The Carlists made themselves masters of the fort of Berga, in Catalonia; but the assault was stained by a massacre, enjoined by the general, and only arrested by the better feeling of his men, which was soon after avenged by the mysterious assassination of the Comte d'Espagne, who had commanded on the occasion. Cabrera still remained; and that indomitable chief, *ultimus Romanorum*, continued to maintain himself some time longer in the mountainous districts to the south of the Ebro, which lie between that river, Alcaniz, Teruel, and Castellon de la Plana, as well as in Morella and Segura, which were fortified with great care. But by the termination of the war in Navarre, the disposable forces which Espartero could direct against them were doubled, while the knowledge of the political divisions which had broken up the army under the immediate command of the Prince had halved their strength. The contest, since the retirement of Don Carlos from the theatre of action, had no longer an object. The Spaniards, especially on the Legitimist side, were not in the state of society where men

draw the sword for an "idea." The war was of revolutionary origin, but the leaders on both sides ere long found it necessary to adopt chiefs for their rallying cry, and a war of opinion rapidly glided into one of succession. Cabrera continued the contest into the ensuing year, after the departure of Don Carlos, without any definite object, or even a chance of success, but solely from a dogged resolution not to give in, and a wild passion for revenge, which had roused to its inmost recesses his fanatical nature. But these feelings, strong as they were, could not long maintain the struggle without hope of success, a definite object, or resources of any kind. He was gradually deserted by his followers; and, after upholding for some time longer the standard of independence, he was compelled to leave the country, and the authority of the Queen was obeyed from the Pyrenean Mountains to the Pillars of Hercules.

84. The Queen-Regent did not long continue to enjoy the power for which she had contended so strenuously, and won with so much difficulty. She soon experienced the unstable foundation on which any throne is established which rests on the quicksands of popular ambition, instead of the steady loyalty of an obedient people. She had been put up by a party to suit party purposes, and when that end had been attained, and she was no longer required, she was unceremoniously dismissed. On the 31st May 1840, Morella, the great stronghold of Cabrera, surrendered to Espartero, who had concentrated for its reduction a force amounting to 50,000 men, with 72 guns. On the 8th July 1840, the last embers of the Carlist war were extinguished in Spain by the retirement of Cabrera, with all his remaining followers, about eight thousand in number, after all his fortresses had been wrested from him, into France; and already symptoms of serious disturbances had appeared at Madrid, which rendered it advisable for the Queen-Regent to leave the capital and retire to Barcelona. The reason assigned in the Cortes for this step was the health of the young Queen,

to whom sea-air and bathing had been recommended by her physicians; but it soon appeared that the real malady lay much deeper, and was in the body-politic, not the person, of the young Princess. The immediate, or at least ostensible, cause of the discord, was that, on the 14th July, the Queen-Regent had given her consent to the clause in the constitution relative to the *Ayuntamientos*, which was displeasing to the revolutionary party. Espartero was at the head of the movement in opposition to it; and, after having spent the whole day in endeavouring to persuade her to revoke her decision, he at length succeeded, by the aid of popular tumults, in obtaining the dismissal of the entire Ministry. This concession only made matters worse. Serious riots, attended with bloodshed, took place both at Madrid and Barcelona, in consequence of which the Queen retired to Valencia, where General O'Donnell, who was entirely in her interest, had the command. But meanwhile the decisive blows were struck in Madrid. On 17th September, the *Ayuntamiento*, or electoral council of that city, erected itself into a revolutionary junta, amidst loud cries of "Aux armes! Vive la Liberté! Vive la Constitution!" from an immense crowd which surrounded the building. Bloodshed immediately ensued, and some of the soldiers and citizens fell on both sides, but the matter was soon decided by the line adopted by the revolutionary junta and General Espartero. The former forbade obedience to any order emanating from the Government at Valencia; the latter was declared Prime Minister by the revolutionary authority in the capital. After a vain attempt at compromise, the Queen-Regent was obliged to submit and resign. On the 29th of September, Espartero made his public entry into Madrid, in a chariot drawn by six horses, amidst the shouts of an immense crowd of spectators. He immediately made an entire change of Ministers; the ex-Queen-Regent embarked for Marseilles, from whence she issued a farewell address to the nation she had so long governed. The young Queen was proclaimed sovereign

amidst general enthusiasm, and soon came to Madrid with her sister, and the real power of the state fell into the hands of Espartero. The Revolution of Spain, like all others, terminated in the rule of a fortunate soldier. He made, it must be added, a patriotic use of his victory; for, although invested as dictator with absolute power, and at the head of an army entirely devoted to his will, he made no changes on the constitution, and allowed the elections for the Cortes, which were in progress, to be completed according to the existing law.

85. "If you would discover," says Machiavel, "who was the author of a crime, observe who profits by it." Judging by this standard, the event soon showed who had been at the bottom of the revolution which overturned the regency of Queen Christina. Early in the following year, on 6th May 1841, Espartero was declared by the Cortes regent during the minority of the young Queen, which had still several years to run. The nomination was received in silence; neither acclamations nor signs of displeasure accompanied the important announcement; all felt that they were mastered, and that the dreams of republican enthusiasm had here, as elsewhere, terminated in the reality of military despotism. The army was devoted to his will, and during the long contest with the Carlists it had become so numerous and powerful that resistance to its decision was out of the question. The Queen-Regent, on 19th July, published in Paris a protest against the usurpation of Espartero, in which she strongly and justly alleged that her expulsion from the regency had been illegal, and that the Cortes had no right to dispose of that high office to her prejudice, or deprive her of the guardianship of her daughters during the minority, to which by natural right and the laws of Spain she was entitled. It was all in vain: no one seconded her appeal; not a voice was raised nor a sword drawn in her defence. The Carlists were her determined enemies, and the new regent, at the head of the whole military force of the kingdom, wielded

its entire physical strength for the benefit, as it was hoped, of the extreme revolutionary party.

86. But the urban democrats soon found, as the French did with Napoleon I., and afterwards with Napoleon III., that the chief of an armed democracy never arrives at supreme power without applying it to the destruction of the revolutionary fervour to which it has owed its origin. Espartero proved a very different regent from Queen Christino, and was supported in a very different way. A powerful army everywhere crushed all attempts at insurrection; a despotic government checked every attempt to excite sedition. Wearied, however, of his strong control, the troops in 1843 rose against the chief of their choice, and the Duke of Victory was, by a well-contrived military conspiracy, driven into exile. The young Queen was declared of age by the Cortes, and a new ministry appointed. But no change in the principles of government took place. Spain during the next quarter of a century remained a memorable instance of the impossibility, by forcing on a country popular institutions, in opposition to the wishes of the majority of its inhabitants, of inculcating them with a free spirit. Universal suffrage proved in Spain, as it has done in France, the grave of popular government. The forms remained, but the spirit was gone; and the forms remained only to render more weighty and less galling the chains of servitude. Spain for the last twenty years has been quiescent and prosperous, but it has been so by the entire exclusion of the Liberal party from power. A change in the electoral districts was made in 1847, from which the *Progresista* party, who had advocated it, anticipated a great increase of popular influence; but the result proved just the reverse, and it led only to a ministry more decidedly and firmly conservative than any of its predecessors since 1823 had been. The obsequious Cortes, like the Roman senate in the days of the Lower Empire, is a convenient court to register the decrees of the palace and give them the authority of

law. So entirely has this been the case, that when the Revolution in Paris in 1848 shook all the thrones in Europe, the shock, though felt at Madrid, was less violent than in any other of the European capitals, and it was speedily suppressed by a vigorous exertion of military power. And so utterly disconcerted has the Liberal party elsewhere been with the turn which affairs have taken in Spain, that they have ceased to take any interest in them, and allowed that country to grow and prosper in quiet. In 1864 the Revolutionary party were so desperate as to their prospects in Spain, that their leaders published an address to their followers, advising them to withdraw altogether from public affairs.*

87. Thus was the Revolution accomplished in Spain, and the crown of Charles V. placed on the head, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties, of a revolutionary queen. That this was accomplished mainly, if not entirely, by foreign violence, and contrary to the wishes of the great body of the people, is clear to demonstration. When it is recollected that the Carlists began the contest with a few hundred men armed only with fowling-pieces, and with scarcely any ammunition, that they continued it against the united strength of England, France, and Portugal, with a part of Spain, and were in the end vanquished, not even by the forces of that formidable league, but by the foulest domestic treachery, not a doubt can remain that they carried with them the secret wishes of the whole rural population, and the active support of by far the greater proportion of them. When Europe beheld Gomez with six thousand men twice traverse the Peninsula in warlike ar-

* In the preceding account of the Carlist war, the names of most of the towns in the centre and south of Spain will be found in any good map of that country. But in Navarre and the Basque provinces the case is otherwise. The majority of the places there mentioned will hardly be discovered in any English map; but they are nearly all given in the *Mapa de Navarra y Provincias Vascongadas*, published by Dufour at Paris.

ray, from Corunna to Gibraltar and from Gibraltar to Navarre, in one year; and Don Carlos at the gates of Madrid without opposition in the next, not a doubt could remain with whom the national affections lay. But, notwithstanding this, the Queen's party was so strong in the possession of the government, the treasury, the great towns, the fortresses, the arsenals, the army, and the active support of France and England, that they were enabled in the end to wear their opponents out and force a queen of their own selection on an unwilling people. Not a doubt can remain that, but for the active intervention of foreign powers, this result could never have ensued, and Don Carlos, with the consent of nine-tenths of the people, would have been seated on the throne of his fathers. If the twenty-one Carlist battalions, which were absorbed in watching Evans and the English Legion when Gomez passed through New Castile in 1836, or Don Carlos was at the gates of Madrid in 1837, had been added to the legitimate forces on either of these occasions, beyond all doubt the capital would have fallen and the throne passed into the hands of the lawful heir.

88. The justice or policy of England's interfering in this active and efficient way in favour of one of the parties in a domestic dispute, and forcing a sovereign of her choice on a reluctant people, will of course be differently judged in future times, according as men's minds incline to the innovating or conservative side in general politics. At the time, and when public opinion in the country, already heated by the Reform passion, was entirely formed by the daily press, almost wholly influenced by the holders of Spanish bonds, who looked to the revolutionary Government in Madrid as the only guarantee for payment of their dividends, there can be no doubt the intervention of Great Britain in favour of the Liberals was supported by the great majority of the people, and its ultimate success a subject of congratulation. This opinion will also probably be shared by all men, in any age, who are enamoured of the dogma

of progress, and who think that the forcing of Liberal institutions on all nations, of whatever character or descent, is likely to prove so great a blessing that it should in every instance be attempted, no matter how contrary to the faith of treaties or the declared wishes of the people. These opinions at that period were so strong and general, that it is probable no British ministry could have avoided giving effect to them. To those, again, who are of opinion that non-intervention should be the rule and intervention the exception—that in no case should a sovereign or form of government be forced upon a reluctant nation, and that no benefit whatever, but, on the contrary, the certainty of military despotism, is to be anticipated from imposing popular institutions upon a people unfitted for them by nature or unprepared for them by social progress—it will always be a matter of regret that in this great contest, in which loyalty and devotion were arrayed on the one side, and moneyed cupidity and political propagandism on the other, the arms of England should have been found leagued with those of the oppressor.

89. Whatever opinion may be formed on this point, on which, it is probable, men's minds will long be divided, according to their political prepossessions, there is another on which all will probably ere long be agreed. This is the extreme risk with which the treason law of nearly all countries is now attended, and the necessity, for the common interests of humanity, of a modification of its sanguinary enactments. Never was this necessity more clearly evinced than in the revolutionary war in Spain, which so soon was changed into one of contested succession, and in which so deplorable a massacre of innocent persons took place from quarter being from the outset refused on both sides, and the Elliot convention afterwards very partially observed. It is disgraceful to civilisation that so atrocious a system of warfare, worthy only of ancient or Asiatic barbarity, should still, in civil contests, stain the arms of

Christian and enlightened Europe. Its adoption is, in every instance, to be traced to the iniquity of the power in command, when the disturbances or the disputed succession *begins*; if it sets out with massacring prisoners in cold blood, the terrible practice of reprisals will inevitably and speedily follow, and may degenerate into a wholesale destruction of all persons engaged in it or subject to its influence. It is in vain that civilisation, to palliate such atrocities, endeavours to trace them to something peculiarly prone to blood in the Spanish character. The French and English have been just as bad when placed in similar circumstances and influenced by similar passions. No atrocities of the Carlists in Spain ever exceeded those committed by the Catholics and Huguenots on each other in the course of the religious wars in France, or by Napoleon in cold blood in suppressing the insurrections in Naples. And the English have little reason to pride themselves on their superior mildness and humanity in civil war, when it is recollected that, during the Wars of the Roses, quarter was, for thirty years, invariably refused to the combatants on both sides, that eighty noblemen of the royal blood perished, and the ancient nobility were almost exterminated; and that the Sepoy revolt in 1857 had continued nearly two years before *any* prisoners were made on either part.

90. Both parties were to blame, though in unequal degrees, for the frightful slaughter of prisoners in cold blood which took place during the Carlist war in Spain. The Queen's party were most in fault for their heart-rending atrocities, because they were in possession of the Government when it broke out, and it was their slaughter of prisoners, in the first instance, which rendered inevitable the bloody reprisals of the Carlists; still more were they to blame for refusing to extend the Elliot convention, which the Duke of Wellington succeeded in establishing between the combatants in the Basque provinces, to the rest of Spain. This false step rendered them exclusively responsible for the horrors

which ensued. They had the means of stopping them offered, and they declined to accept them. But still the Legitimist party were by no means blameless in this matter. They originally gave the greatest provocation. From 1815 to 1820, and from 1823 to 1833, they were in the ascendant, and the Liberals were the rebels, and they made a cruel use of their power. They slaughtered combatants without mercy when made prisoners, and scaffolds reeked with the blood of many persons whose only fault was a divergence of political opinion. The Liberals said with truth, when they began in 1834 the slaughter of their Carlist prisoners, they were only combating their opponents with their own weapons, and retaliating on them the suffering they had so long experienced at their hands. The only way to prevent such a deplorable interchange of cruelties is for all civilised governments to *set out* in civil conflicts with the principle that the contest is to be conducted on the principles of national warfare, and quarter given on both sides, in the same way as in conflicts of nation against nation. The example of the great American civil war in 1861 affords a proof that such abstinence is perfectly practicable even in civil conflicts on the greatest scale, and that government would be the best friend of humanity which should follow the example in dealing with rebellion within its own bounds.

91. The calamitous termination of the Carlist war, after all the heroic efforts made for its support, and the noble blood so long shed in its cause, is fitted to dispel, or at least modify, an opinion essentially erroneous which is very generally entertained as to the capability of patriotic resistance when it is general and sincere to withstand the most formidable aggression of foreign powers. It is impossible to imagine patriotic ardour more strong, courage more heroic, perseverance more indomitable, military skill more transcendent, than the Carlists evinced during the six long years of this contest with the Queen's Government. Yet all was unavailing. They were

not conquered in the field, but they were worn out by suffering, and depression was introduced from despair as to ultimate success. This is the *general* though often unoberserved result of even the greatest patriotic efforts when not supported by the advantages of discipline and the resources of a regular government. The examples of Greece repelling the invasion of Xerxes, of Scotland under Robert Bruce defeating the efforts of England, of the Prince of Orange behind his dykes extricating his country from the tyranny of Spain, are the exceptions, not the rule. They shine forth with such lustre in history chiefly from their rarity. The examples on the other side are much more numerous. We have only to contemplate Spain yielding, after a contest of two hundred years, in one age, under Sertorius, to the Roman power led by Pompey, in another overrun for six centuries by the Moors; we have only to regard the Huguenots in France, the Lutherans in Flanders, beat down by the legions of the Catholics in both countries; it is sufficient to call to mind in our own age La Vendée, Spain, Tyrol, Poland, Hungary, crushed by a superiority of disciplined military force, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of heroic valour,—to be convinced of the error of the popular opinion on this all-important subject.* There is a certain amount of military superiority which, if ably directed, will never fail to crush the utmost efforts, the most transcendent heroism, of patriotic resistance. This leads to a political conclusion of the very highest importance, which is, that if we would prevent the worst of tyrannies, that of the strong over the weak, it is indisputable that neutral nations should in the outset league themselves together to avert it. And thus the system of preserving the *balance of power*, so often stigmatised as a senseless piece of statecraft, in reality is

the only guarantee for the liberties of mankind, and more serviceable in preserving them and averting the most direful calamities than the utmost efforts to forward a change in domestic institutions. For it leaves these changes to be carried into effect by the only parties by whom they are likely to be well executed, and that is by the people themselves.

92. But although not successful in the first instance in maintaining the independence of the country and the integrity of their privileges against the aggression of France and England, the efforts of the Carlists produced in the end a most beneficial effect on the internal condition and domestic institutions of Spain itself. They saved it from the worst of tyrannies, the tyranny of a multitude of tyrants. The ease with which in 1820 the government had been overturned, and a thoroughly democratic constitution established by a military revolt, coupled with the insurrection of the populace of a few great towns, proved that, as society was then constituted in the Peninsula, there was no foundation for authority or freedom but on the changeable affections of an unbridled soldiery. The establishment either of order or liberty on such a foundation was obviously impossible. But by the long Carlist war, and its desperate chances and dangers, amidst much and frightful suffering a great good was effected for society. An army was reared up attached to its colours, obedient to its chiefs, and perfectly capable of coercing the ebullitions of democratic ambition in the great towns. Had the troops vacillated or joined the insurgents in any considerable force, the insurrection of La Granja would have been as fatal to freedom or balanced power as that of the Isle of Leon had been seventeen years before. But the army generally did not sympathise with the Guards on that occasion, and although the constitution of 1812 was nominally restored, yet power was never in reality transferred to the extreme party, and the first thing which the Cortes elected by universal suf-

* Whether the noble struggle of the American Confederates is to be added to this melancholy list, is yet uncertain. Its result is still (August 1864) buried in the womb of time.

frage did, was to arrange its successor in two chambers, and subject to the restraints and safeguards of a mixed monarchy. It was then clearly proved how much the visions of the frantic and bloodthirsty multitude in the towns differed from the real wishes of the great majority of the Spanish people. And when the war terminated the Government bequeathed to its successor a powerful army of 200,000 men obedient to the voice of its chiefs, and much more than a match for the whole extreme Revolutionists of the kingdom. It was this power, the result of the Carlist war, which, by establishing a strong government, in reality stopped the progress of revolution in Spain, and to which the subsequent prosperity of the country is mainly to be ascribed.

93. This will appear still more clearly if the changes on the fundamental institutions of the country during the progress of the contest are taken into consideration. By the *Estatuto Real*, which was dated 10th April 1834, and was framed by M. Martinez de la Rosa avowedly to reconcile the ancient institutions of the realm with the requirements of modern society, it was declared that the Queen was resolved to convoke a cortes for the administration of the Government, and that it should consist of two Chambers—one of the nobles (*Proceres*), and one of the representatives of the kingdom (*Procuradores*). The first, which corresponded to our House of Peers, was to consist of all the grandees of Spain, provided they had a revenue of 200,000 reals (£2000) a-year, and had attained the age of twenty-five years; of the archbishops and bishops; and of a certain number of persons, to be nominated by the King's Ministers, taken from the secretaries of state, the members of the Lower House, the ambassadors, the generals and admirals, the judges of the supreme tribunal, the professors of literature, and learned men and landed proprietors, having been members of the Lower House, and enjoying a revenue of 60,000 reals (£600) a-year. The persons thus nominated by the King for the Upper House were to be members of it only for their lives. The

Lower House, or *Procuradores*, was to consist of persons chosen by the existing law, at least thirty years of age, and with an income of 12,000 reals (£120) a-year. It sat for three years, and no more, if not previously dissolved by the King, and could only meet at the time and place which he designed. On its assembly, the first step was to choose five persons as a *lect*, from whom the King was to name a president and vice-president for the Chamber. The members could not introduce any new measure or deliberate on any subject not submitted to them by a royal decree, but they might petition at pleasure on any subject. No tax could be levied but with the consent of the Cortes on the proposal of the King, and, when imposed, the imposts were to endure only for two years, unless re-enacted. The debates of the Chambers were to be public, except in particular cases, to be fixed by regulations. The members of both Houses were to be responsible for any opinion advanced by them in either. No law was to be passed but with the royal assent, and that of both Chambers—provisions evidently resting on the true representative principle, which is the representation of classes, not numbers, and widely different from the government of a single Chamber elected by universal suffrage according to the constitution of 1812.

94. This decree left undetermined the mode of electing members for the Lower House and the qualification of electors for that assembly. This important matter was settled by a supplementary decree published on 20th May. By it the Lower House was to meet in Madrid on the 20th May next ensuing, and the members were to be chosen by juntas—viz., by a double election, as in France, one of the *arrondissement*, and another of the province. The junta of the *arrondissement* was to consist of all the members of the municipal council of its chief place (*ayuntamiento*), and of a number of those paying the highest taxes in the *arrondissement*, equal to that of the municipal council. Each junta of ar-

rondissement, without regard to its population, was to name two electors for the elections of the province, and, in addition to these two, when an arrondissement contained a town of 30,000 inhabitants and upwards, a third was to be named for that town, and one for every 20,000 inhabitants beyond that number. To be named as an elector required a qualification of 6000 reals (£60) a-year, and the complete age of twenty-five years. Advocates, doctors of medicine, notaries public, could be named electors without this qualification. These electors, chosen by the electoral juntas of the arrondissements, were to assemble in the chief towns of the province and elect the *Procuradores* or members of the Lower House. Their number was 188 for the whole kingdom. This was a complicated system not likely to work well in practice, but thereby indicative of the reaction against democracy, now so general even in the Queen's Government.

95. The Conservative tendency of the vast majority of the Spanish people when the rural population was permitted to come into the balance, appears still more strongly when the proceedings of the Cortes in 1837, albeit elected under the constitution of 1812 by universal suffrage, are taken into consideration. The principle of that revolution, effected by the military revolt of La Granja, was, as already mentioned, the restoration of the constitution of 1812, the basis of which was universal suffrage, a single Chamber, a deputy for every 75,000 inhabitants, and the abolition of the veto in the sovereign against legislative measures presented to him for the second time. The Cortes in pursuance of this revolt established a constitution for Spain which, though nominally resting on the basis of universal suffrage, surrounded it by so many checks as effectually restrained its democratic tendency, and in the end restored the aristocratic influence. By it all the provinces of Spain and the adjacent isles were to send a deputy to the Cortes for every 50,000 souls; and to present for every 85,000 souls three candidates for the Senate

or Upper House, from whom the sovereign was to select one. Such provinces as had a population greater by a half than those entitled to a single deputy, were to have two, and present six candidates for choice to the Senate. Every Spaniard aged twenty-five years complete was to be entitled to a vote for the deputy, provided he had either an income derived from real property to the amount of 1500 reals (£15), or paid 200 reals (£2) direct taxes, or belonged to a profession which required a liberal education and preliminary examination; or rented a tenement for which he paid 2500 reals (£25) at Madrid, or 1500 (£15) in cities having 50,000 inhabitants and upwards, or 1000 (£10) in towns of 20,000 souls, or 400 (£4) in all others. The electoral lists were to be revised and exposed to public view for fifteen days every year. Every senator or deputy was obliged to have a domicile and keep a house open within the kingdom. To be a senator or member of the Upper House the necessary qualification was 30,000 reals (£300) of annual rents, derived from lands or houses, or the payment of 3000 reals (£30) direct taxes. The captains-general of provinces, the judges of supreme courts, intendants of provinces, and other exalted functionaries, could not be proposed as deputies nor chosen for the Senate in their respective provinces, and the same exclusion applied to archbishops, bishops, and vicars-general if proposed in their ecclesiastical jurisdictions for the Senate. In other respects, the constitutions already established by the Queen and the Cortes in 1834 remained unchanged, so that even as the result of a military revolt and democratic convulsion, the new constitution was established on a basis upon the whole, and in its practical working, essentially conservative. The new constitution was accepted by the Queen and existing Cortes, and sworn to with great solemnity by all the established authorities at Madrid on the 18th June 1837. The Liberals expressed fond hopes that that day would be the first in the regeneration of the Spanish monarchy!

96. Under the mixed constitution thus established, which differs in every material particular from the democratic one of 1812, Spain has enjoyed a quarter of a century of unbroken peace, save by a rupture with the Moors of brief duration, and during that time she has made remarkable progress in all the branches of social prosperity. The reason of that is to be found in this, that the Government, ever since the young Queen ascended the throne in 1843, has been fixed and rooted on conservative principles. These principles emerged victorious from the terrible strife, though the sovereign for whom the contest had been maintained lost his inheritance in the course of it. This is often the case: it was so in England when Charles I. was driven from his throne; but Cromwell succeeded to his power, and soon stopped the revolution: it was so in France, when the sceptre which dropped from the feeble hands of the Bourbons was seized in the vigorous grasp of Napoleon. The constitution of 1837, though formed by a Cortes elected amidst the cry of the constitution of 1812, was as different as possible from that famous democratic system: it was much more conservative than that of England at the same period. But even if it had been otherwise, and universal suffrage in reality established, the results, as society was then constituted in Spain, would probably not have been different. The nation had learned wisdom by suffering: they had felt democratic rule, and they had no inclination to renew it. The whole rural population, constituting nine-tenths of the population of the kingdom, being conservative, and attached to the old institutions, the moment the army and the Government was brought over by the military dictator to their side, the ascendancy of a conservative government was secured. The result has proved that these views are well-founded. The old parties for the Cortes have taken the name of *Moderados* and *Progresistas*; but the ascendancy of the former has never been shaken. The revolutionists of Spain, like those of France, dug the grave of their own

power when they established universal suffrage even in a modified form, and with a comparatively high moneyed qualification. The rural majority soon asserted its superiority. So entirely has this been the case, that the proceedings of the Cortes in Madrid have ceased to attract any attention in Europe; and in 1863, the leaders of the *Progresistas*, disheartened by their repeated defeats, published an address to their followers recommending them to abstain altogether from all attempts to stem the torrent, and to withdraw entirely from the legislature.

97. During the quarter of a century of external and internal peace which has since ensued in the Peninsula, if few materials for "sensational" history are to be found, abundant evidence of great social prosperity and rapid industrial progress is to be met with. Probably there is no country in Europe in which they have been during that period developed in a more remarkable degree. The population of Spain in Europe, which at the close of the Carlist war was under 13,000,000, is now (1864) 16,000,000. The public revenue has increased in a similar proportion, without any crushing measure of taxation, from 14,280,000,000 reals (£14,280,000) to 20,315,000,000 reals (£20,315,000) in 1862. The exports and imports have augmented in a similar proportion. The former have risen from £4,975,000 in 1851 to £12,982,000 in 1860; the latter from £6,882,000 to £14,833,000 in the same period. This is the more remarkable, as the colonial monopoly, which, anterior to the Revolution, protected the commerce of old Spain, has been entirely destroyed, and the greater part of it passed into the hands of the English. Doubtless the confiscation of so great a part of the property of the Church as has taken place during the last forty years, by opening new fields of great value to its laborious industry, has been one cause of this rapid increase, and the vast expenditure of money during the civil war has contributed to the same result. But something is also, in all probability, to be ascribed to the stop-

page of the drain on domestic industry which the severance of South America occasioned — a source of weakness which, although strongly insisted on by the Spanish historians, was never rightly appreciated in this country, till we have recently come to experience it ourselves.

98. The elements of national strength have increased in a similar proportion in Spain. It is a common opinion that the strength of nations is exhausted by civil war, and that they are never so little to be dreaded as when they terminate; but never was an opinion more erroneous. The examples of Rome conquering the world after the civil wars of Sylla and Marius, of England defying the greatest powers in Europe under Cromwell, and of France subduing Europe after the La Vendée war, may convince us that the resources which a nation wastes in a civil war are often more than compensated, so far as external power goes, by the warlike spirit which is infused into the people. It is pacific indolence, wealthy selfishness, and commercial timidity, which prostrate the strength of a nation more frequently than the exhaustion of its military resources, or the decline of its military population. Spain has added since the termination of the Carlist war another to the numerous examples which history affords of this truth. She is now (1864) possessed of greater material resources and power than she has been since the reign of Charles V., and incomparably more so than she was at the invasion of Napoleon.* Her long decline has been succeeded by a fresh wakening into life; the energy evolved by suffering, followed by the tranquillity consequent on its termination, has done the work of a century of renovation.

* The great towns of Spain have greatly increased during the last quarter of a century. They stood in 1862 thus—

Madrid, . . .	475,785	Murcia, . . .	109,446
Barcelona, . .	215,015	Grenada, . .	100,678
Seville, . . .	152,000	Saragossa, . .	82,189
Valencia, . .	145,515	Cadiz, . . .	71,914
Malaga, . . .	113,050		

—*Almanach de Gotha*, 1864, p. 512, from which nearly all the statistics in the above paragraph are taken, p. 510-513.

The national debt recognised by the Government amounts to 142,747,343,000 reals (£142,747,000), and its interest to 301,818,211 reals (£3,018,182), besides a floating debt of 740,000,000 reals (£7,400,000). The army, including militia and gendarmes, amounts to 234,261 men and 21,600 horse, which cost the State 570,944,000 reals (£5,709,440) yearly, being at the rate of about £25 yearly a man. The navy has been almost ruined during the long civil war, but it has begun to be revived; and in 1862 the ships of war were 44 sailing vessels, of which two were of the line, and 125 armed steamers. The imports and exports have been already given; the foreign trade being carried on in 10,127 vessels, bearing 1,351,000 tons of shipping. The figures do not appear very considerable when compared with the corresponding ones of Great Britain and France at the same period; but they are great indeed when contrasted with those which Spain herself exhibited at the termination of the civil war; and, coupled with the praiseworthy efforts which she has made to liquidate part, at least, of the debt contracted by the Cortes during the revolution, bespeak not only a great increase in material well-being and resources, but, what is of still greater importance, an advance in good faith and national honour.*

* The greatest difficulty with which the Spanish finances have had to contend of late years has been the repudiation of the debts contracted by the Cortes by subsequent governments, which, for long, totally annihilated their credit. In the *Moniteur*, Dec. 12, 1863, the following account is given of this matter: "Owing to the exhaustion of the Spanish treasury and the forbearance of its creditors, the interest of the debt was long in arrear; and after several years, during which not a real was paid, it reached the sum of £16,227,075 sterling. In 1851 the Cortes, without the consent of the English creditors, adopted the resolution to pay half of these accumulated arrears in Deferred Stock, and cancelled the other half; and the creditors, while accepting the moiety in depreciated paper, protested solemnly against the confiscation of the remainder, and reserved the right of claiming it whenever the opportunity offered. The efforts of the creditors to have justice done them, and their failure, constitute an emphatic lesson in the history of revolution."—*Moniteur*, Dec. 12, 1863.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

TURKEY, GREECE, EGYPT, AND THE EAST, FROM THE TREATY OF ADRIANOPLE
IN 1828 TO THE TREATY OF 13TH MARCH 1841.

1. SUCH are the natural strength and incomparable local advantages of Constantinople, that it has, both in ancient and modern times, enabled the empire of which it formed the head to survive the usual causes of decay, which, after the lapse of a few generations, generally prostrate the most powerful Asiatic monarchies. Depending entirely on the vigour and capacity of the chief of the State, and having no lasting support from the intelligence and energy of his subjects save under such direction, they commonly fall into decay when the corruptions of the harem or the luxury of the metropolis have enfeebled the race of monarchs who wield their destinies. The first appearance of this decrepitude is seen in the revolt or independence of the distant provinces of the empire. Escaping the control of a firm and vigilant hand in its centre, the remote dependencies raise the standard of revolt, hoping merely to avoid the burden of a tribute, and gain the sweets of independence. The Byzantine empire in ancient, not less than the Turkish in modern times, have felt, during the reigns of imbecile monarchs, the influence of this cause of ruin, and the distant parts of the kingdom began to break off long before the power of the centre was exhausted. But the strength of Constantinople, and the vast resources it derived from the immense commerce of which it was, and ever will be, the emporium, has in both long preserved it from the ruin which otherwise would centuries before have overtaken it. The Turks were settled in European Turkey, and Adrianople was their capital, long before the cannon of Mahomet II. made the fatal breach

in the walls of Constantinople; and statesmen and philosophers have been for above a century speculating on the approaching fall of the Ottoman Empire, and yet the Crescent still predominates over the Cross on the shores of the Bosphorus.

2. Although, by the happy audacity of Diebitch, and the ignorance of the European diplomatists at Constantinople of the real state of the army which he had led across the Balkan, Russia made the narrowest possible escape at the conclusion of the late war, and dictated a glorious peace at Adrianople, at the very moment when a disaster rivalling the Moscow retreat awaited her arms, yet was the moral influence of the Osmanlis, and their sway over the various nations which obeyed their rule, not the less weakened by that event. The nations of Asia, equally with those of Europe, were dazzled by what seemed to be so decisive an overthrow; they considered the Muscovites invincible, because during several generations they had never ceased to conquer; and the distant pachas, deeming the ruin of the empire at hand, began to take measures for their separate safety or aggrandisement. It had long been the policy of the Divan at Constantinople, as it had of the feudal monarchs of Europe, to veil their real weakness under the strength of their vassals, and to purchase the aid of one feudatory in suppressing another by promising him his spoils. It was thus that in the last age the formidable insurrection of Ali Pacha, which for years defied the whole strength of the Sultan, was at length overcome by the forces of Chourchid Pacha, the satrap of Macedonia. But now there appeared

on the field a more formidable rebel than had yet tried the Ottoman arms; and the Muscovite shock roused to the dream of independence the most powerful vassal of the Sultan, and one whose forces, as the event proved, the Turks were unable to resist.

3. EGYPT, at this critical period, was under the direction of MEHEMET ALI, one of those remarkable men who often arise on great emergencies, with talents capable of determining their direction. Unlike other Asiatic despots, he was keenly alive to the signs of the times, and not only saw and appreciated the advantages of the European system of government and war, but resolved himself to adopt and profit by it. Too powerful and far removed to be under the actual control of the Government at Constantinople, he had, for many years before the Greek war broke out, enjoyed, practically speaking, an independence on the banks of the Nile. Strongly impressed, by the result of the war in Egypt in 1801 between the English and French, of which he had been an eyewitness, with the superiority of European discipline and arms, he had laboured assiduously to introduce them into his own territories; and by the aid of several French and British officers, whom he had induced by high rewards to enter his service, he had been eminently successful. Aware of the vital importance of a naval force in all wars in the Levant, he had been indefatigable in his endeavours to establish a respectable marine. His admirals had cautiously avoided disaster, at the expense perhaps of their reputation for courage, in the war with the Greeks; the catastrophe of Navarino had been repaired; and with such success had his efforts been attended, that he now possessed a fleet of seven sail of the line and twelve frigates,—a force at least equal to any which the Ottomans could bring against it. Taking warning from the destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir, he had deepened the entrance to the harbour of Alexandria, so as to enable it to admit ships of the line without unloading their guns, and its arsenals

were amply stored with everything requisite for the equipment of a powerful navy. The superiority of the Egyptian troops and discipline had been fatally experienced by the Greeks in the war of Hellenic independence, and the desultory bands of the Morea had proved unable to withstand their disciplined battalions. It was by their aid that the bloodstained ramparts of Missolonghi had been surmounted, and the Christians reduced to subjection, till the fire of Navarino lighted again the flickering flame of their independence.

4. Imitating not less adroitly the civil system of the Europeans than their military tactics, Mehemet Ali had contrived to establish a government which united the order and regularity of the European to the force and disregard of private right of the Asiatic, and which gives *for a brief space*, and till its effects have been fully experienced, an amount of resources and a degree of strength which neither taken separately could by possibility realise. The strength of the European system of government consists in the vast resources which a regular and just administration permits to grow up in the State, and which on an emergency may be rendered available to its necessities; that of the Asiatic, in the ruthless vigour with which, despite all efforts at resistance, these resources can be extorted from its inhabitants. But a system which combines the order, method, and perseverance of the West with the energy and despotic character of the East, must for a short time command an amount of resources capable of rendering it invincible. This is the Russian system of government in Europe, and the British in India, and hence the uniform success which for a very long period has attended the arms of both. The French occupation of Egypt, and their system of administration, carried to such perfection under Kleber and Menou, had not been lost on Mehemet Ali. His career had been facilitated by a slaughter of the Mamelukes, which equalled in perfidy and rivalled in atrocity that of the Strelitzes by

Peter the Great, and that of the Janizaries by Sultan Mahmoud; and having thus got quit of the chief of his refractory subjects, he succeeded in establishing a pacific despotism in Egypt, which rendered it for a brief season one of the most powerful states on the shores of the Mediterranean.

5. The war commenced from a trivial incident hardly adequate to account for a contest fraught in its ultimate results with such disastrous consequences to the Ottoman Empire. Some thousand fellahs, or peasants of the Delta of Egypt, discontented with the endless and systematic exactions of the Egyptian government, had crossed the deserts which separate Asia and Africa, and sought refuge in the territories of the Pacha of Acre, by whom they were received with open arms in the autumn of 1831, as likely to bring a valuable accession of agricultural labourers to that province, which, like all parts of the Ottoman dominions, stood much in need of their industrious arms. For that very reason, however, they were a serious loss to Mehemet Ali, who could ill spare them, and he therefore sternly demanded their re-delivery. This the Pacha of Acre, little aware of the magnitude of the force he was going to provoke, refused to accede to, and Mehemet Ali immediately fitted out a powerful army, under the command of his son Ibrahim Pacha, to compel their restitution. In this he had a more important object in view than the recovery of a few thousand runaway peasants. Experience had before this taught him that Syria would form a most important appendage to his dominions, and was in fact indispensable to the dream of independence which already flitted before his eyes. It abounded in all the productions of which the valley of Egypt was destitute. It was watered by the dew of heaven, instead of being an arid waterless wilderness fertilised only by the floods of the Nile; it had woods, pastures, and mines of iron and coal; its inhabitants were numerous and warlike, and the transit of the caravans of Mecca through its territory added

considerably to its riches. Above all, Mehemet coveted Acre, the key in every age of Syria, and which, from having repelled the arms of Napoleon, had recently acquired an importance much beyond its real value. He gave orders to Ibrahim Pacha to cross the desert and enter Syria with the whole forces at his disposal, which consisted of forty battalions of infantry, eight regiments of cavalry, and 4000 Bedouins, forming in all 30,000 infantry and 8000 horse.

6. The physical structure of Asia Minor and Syria is very peculiar, and an acquaintance with it can alone explain the important military and naval events of which it ere long became the theatre. Extremely hilly in almost every part, it is so much so in Syria as to confine military communications to the sea-coast, and consequently render, as in every part of the Levant, the command of the ocean of the very highest importance in operations on land. The great chain of mountains, which under various names traverses its whole extent, follows the coast of the Mediterranean, from which it is never above six or eight leagues distant. So entirely is this the character of the country, that, in approaching it in any part from the westward, the mountains, like the Andes as seen from the Pacific, appear to rise from the water's edge, and the snows of Lebanon shut in the scene as completely as those of Chimborazo do in the southern hemisphere. This chain rises to its greatest elevation between Acre and Tripoli, in which quarter it is above ten thousand feet in height. It is divided into two distinct ranges, which bear the names of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, both of which run parallel to the Mediterranean, and which are separated by a deep valley, in the bottom of which in the northern portion the Leontes, and in the southern the Jordan, flows.* In the lower re-

* "Lebanon forms two branches—the western being the Libanus of the Latins, which terminates on the coast near Sidon; while a branch extends southwards through Judea, forming the watershed between the basin of the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea: the eastern is the Anti-Libanus, which extends,

gions of these vast mountains nature appears in her most enchanting aspect, and tradition still points to one of the valleys as the scene of the Garden of Eden, the birthplace of the human race. Immense forests of sweet-chestnut and olive clothe the mountain-sides; vines, apricots, peaches, and nectarines ripen on every rocky declivity; maize is to be seen in every level hollow; and cool streams flowing from the perennial snows, or fed by the showers which are frequent in the higher regions, diffuse an enchantment which can be appreciated only by those who have toiled under the rays of an Eastern sun. The northern extremity of this range rises to the enormous peak of Mount Cassius, which still, as in ancient days, "raises in the air a peaked summit girdled by forests;" and the higher regions in general are clothed to the edge of the snow with dark bands of larch and pine. It is on one of these lofty plateaus, at an elevation of seven thousand feet above the sea, that the enormous forests of cedar once stood coeval with the first work of creation, which beheld the march of Sesostri's columns, which were old when Troy was young, and from whose massy boughs the Temple of Jerusalem was formed. To these relics of a primeval world, even more than the fanes which stand in solitary grandeur on the Ausonian plains, the lines of the poet are applicable:—

"Mid the deep silence of the pathless wild,
Where kindlier nature once profusely smiled,
Th' eternal cedars stand; unknown their age,
Untold their annals in historic page!
All that around them stood, now far away,
Single in ruin, mighty in decay!
Between the mountains and the neighbouring
main
They claim the empire of the lonely plain.
In solemn beauty through the clear blue light
The leafy columns rear their awful height!
And they are still the same; alike they mock
Th' invader's menace and the tempest's shock;
And ere the world had bowed at Cæsar's
throne,
Ere yet proud Rome's all-conquering name
was known,
They stood; and fleeting centuries in vain
Have poured their fury on the enduring fane,

under various names and with several interruptions, into the deserts of Arabia beyond the Dead Sea."—MALTE-BRUN'S *Geography*.

While in the progress of their long decay,
Thrones sink to dust and empires melt
away."*

7. This peculiar conformation of Syria and Asia Minor, and the immense mass of mountains which everywhere intersect their inner parts, explain the campaigns which from the earliest times have occurred within their limits. The sea must always be the base of land operations, because it can alone furnish the means of conveyance to supply the contending parties. It was by the aid of their ships that the Greeks at last took Troy: had Hector succeeded in his project of firing their galleys, it had been all over with the host of the King of Men. Alexander the Great did not venture to cross the Lebanon till he had made himself master of Tyre, and he spent seven months before its walls ere he effected its subjugation. The great strife of the Crusaders and Saracens was for the seaport of Ptolemais; when it was won, the united hosts of France and England would, had they remained united, have found the march to Jerusalem an easy operation. Napoleon said that, had he taken Acre, he would have changed the face of the world, and that, by defeating him in its assault, Sir Sidney Smith made him miss his destiny. The only way of passing from Asia Minor into Egypt is by the sea-coast road, of which Acre and Jaffa are the keys. When they are won, the career of conquest is open to a powerful invader coming from either side; till they are carried, all progress between the wilderness and the sea is impossible. This narrow strait has been traversed by the armies of Asia and Africa with alternate success from the earliest times. It was through it that the hosts of Sesostri issued to assert the dominion of Africa over Asia, and by the same route that the reflux tide of Asiatic conquest penetrated to the banks of the Nile and the temples of Memphis. The army of Egypt, which Homer has immortalised in the *Iliad* as coming from the city of the hundred gates to the

* *Lines on Pictures*. By the Hon. G. HOWARD.

support of Priam, followed the path which was afterwards trod by the Saracen host which Tasso has sung as hastening to the conflict of Europe and Asia before Jerusalem, and on which Napoleon entered when dreaming of revolutionising the East. It is not manners and customs alone which remain for ever the same in the Oriental regions; nature has imprinted one lasting character, and marked out one only channel for conquest in every age.

8. IBRAHIM PACHA, who possessed the genius of a great general, and had profoundly studied the strategy of modern Europe, began his operations, as Napoleon had done, with the siege of Acre. Following the footsteps of his immortal predecessor, by El Arish and Jaffa, he threaded the narrow pass between the sea-shore and the rocks of the desert, which are strewn with the skeletons of men or animals who have perished during three thousand years; and leaving on his left hand the ghastly heaps of bones which still mark the massacre of Jaffa, he sat down before Acre in the middle of December 1832. A fleet of five sail of the line and seven frigates attended his footsteps, and furnished the artillery and stores requisite for the siege. Abdallah Pacha, the Pacha of Syria, had thrown himself into the fortress with 2500 men, being wholly unable to face in the field the forces, ten times more numerous, with which he was assailed. The siege, notwithstanding the great superiority of force on the part of the besiegers, made very slow progress; and the Egyptians, who held the trenches during the inclement months of January and February, suffered extremely from the hardship and sickness incident to such a service at such a season. This obdurate defence gave the Turkish Government time to collect three armies to raise the siege; and being at length roused to a full sense of their danger from the progress of their rebellious vassal, they made the most vigorous efforts to effect this object. Before the end of March, Ibrahim received information that a body of 18,000 Turks, advancing from Con-

stantinople, had reached Homs, on the Orontes, the ancient Emesa; while another army of equal force was moving up from Anatolia, under Hussein Pacha, the far-famed destroyer of the Janizaries; and a third, of less than half the amount, under Osman Pacha, had already occupied Tripoli, and barred all farther progress by the great road on the sea-coast. At the same time a firman was published at Constantinople, declaring Mehemet Ali a rebel and traitor, and offering his pachalic to the faithful pacha who should effect his destruction.

9. Assailed by such formidable antagonists, Ibrahim displayed the decision and conduct of a great general. Imitating the course of Napoleon before Mantua in 1796, and of Suwarroff before Tortosa in 1799, he quickly raised the siege, leaving only a small force sufficient to guard the trenches, and with the bulk of his troops took post at Balbek, between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, in a position central between the converging armies, and at the same time covering from afar the siege of Acre. Finding that the enemy did not approach, he moved forward with his light-horse to attack the force stationed at Tripoli. The Turkish corps withdrew towards Homs at his approach, and Ibrahim attacked, defeated, and pursued them as far as Kosseir. Resuming his position at Balbek, he left a considerable part of his troops there to watch the enemy, and returned with the remainder to the siege of Acre, the garrison of which was now reduced to extremities. The siege had been very unskilfully conducted, the Egyptian troops being unused to that species of warfare; and the besiegers had sustained enormous losses from hardship and disease before the walls. Ibrahim, however, by his return infused new vigour into the operations, and a breach having at last been effected, the assault was ordered on 27th May. Such, however, was the vigour of the defence, that the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter. Upon this, Ibrahim, with one blow, cut off the head with his own hand of a captain who was flying, and

immediately turned a battery charged with grape-shot upon the fugitives. Thus constrained to return to the charge, and being strongly reinforced, the assailants at length made themselves masters of the breach, and entered the town. The walls of Acre, however, on this occasion, maintained their ancient and deserved fame; the conquerors lost 512 killed and 1429 wounded in that single assault.

10. Secured by this important conquest in a base of operations and easy communication with his fleet, the Egyptian general proceeded to commence the operations he meditated in the field. Still retaining a considerable corps in the vital strategical position of Balbek, he himself moved upon and took Damascus; after which he advanced his army, by a concentric movement of its different columns, to Koseir, in the direction of Homs, where 35,000 Turks were assembled. Finding the enemy so strong, he brought up his whole disposable forces, and drew up his troops, now raised to 25,000 men, in three lines, ready for the attack. Instead of remaining in their position, the Turks advanced to meet the Egyptians, and the two armies met in an open plain in front of Homs. The Ottomans were arranged in two lines, and presented a very formidable appearance when standing still, but to a practised eye their unsteadiness in movement was apparent. Ibrahim's order of battle, which was very peculiar, was admirably calculated to take advantage of that deficiency. The first line, which was deployed, consisted of twelve battalions; the second, which was in column, consisted of the like number of battalions; the third also in column of four. The cavalry was stationed on the flanks of the three lines, also in line and column like the foot-soldiers, the artillery in front of the first line. When the two armies approached each other, and the firing began, the four battalions on the right of the second line moved to the right, and deployed, taking a position in advance, oblique to the first line on its extreme right. At the same time, the four battalions of the first line

nearest to the right moved forward, and came into line with the four come up from the second, forming thus eight battalions on the Turkish left flank; while the battalions thus moved aside were replaced by the like number, who deployed, and advanced up from the second line. The same movement was made by the cavalry on the right in both lines, while that on the left moved forward and threatened the Turkish right, to prevent their sending succours to their left, where the real attack was to be made: at the same time the artillery kept up an incessant fire along the whole front. The effect of these movements was to compel the Turks to throw back their left wing, to avoid being outflanked; but this operation, performed by unsteady troops under fire, soon led to serious disaster. Attacked vigorously in front and flank while executing their retrograde movement, they speedily fell into confusion, and fled, leaving 2000 slain on the field, and 3000 prisoners, with twelve guns, in the hands of the victors.

11. So completely was this victory the result of the superior generalship and discipline on the part of the Egyptians that they sustained very little loss. Next day they were in a condition to pursue their advantages, and entered Homs, which the Ottomans evacuated at their approach, leaving 1500 men, chiefly wounded, and twelve more guns, in the hands of the victors. The Turkish army upon this retired to Aleppo, and formed a junction with the corps commanded by Hussein Pacha. The united force attempted a stand in front of that city, but it was a show only. No sooner had Ibrahim brought up his reserve than they retired in two columns, the one by Kliss, the other by Antioch; while the Egyptian army took possession of Aleppo, where they found repose, and the stores and provisions necessary to recruit them after their fatigues, but unfortunately with them the cholera, which soon made alarming ravages in their wearied ranks.

12. When his soldiers had recovered from their fatigue, and their losses been in some measure repaired, Ibra-

him again took the field, and moved by Kliss against the Turkish army, which was by this time concentrated in the neighbourhood of BEYLAN, while detachments of light troops were sent out towards Antioch, in order to ascertain what forces of the enemy were to be found in that direction. The Turkish forces, however, 36,000 strong, were concentrated in front of Beylan, on the southern slope of one of the branches of the Taurus, and covered in front by rude intrenchments, hastily thrown up, after the Ottoman fashion. Behind them the heights rose rapidly, and as they were not occupied by the Osmanlis, the Egyptian general ordered a select corps, by a detour to the right, to gain these eminences, so as to threaten the rear and line of retreat of the enemy's force. As soon as their standards were seen crowning the heights, the signal to attack was given. Finding themselves attacked in front and menaced in rear, the Osmanlis made scarcely any resistance, but instantly began to retreat, those on the left by the road to Beylan, those on the right by the mountains. The first having to retire under the fire of four Egyptian battalions posted on heights which commanded the road, suffered severely, and ere long fell into confusion, the troops disbanding, and seeking safety in isolated flight. The last, having no road to retire by, were in disorder from the first, and fled in utter confusion over the mountains towards Alexandretta, leaving behind them 25 pieces of cannon and 74 caissons. The Turks next day evacuated Alexandretta in great disorder, abandoning 14 more pieces of cannon, and immense magazines of ammunition and provisions. Notwithstanding the rapidity of their flight, the Egyptian light-horse brought in 1900 prisoners. This battle was fought close to the spot where Alexander encountered and defeated the army of Darius on the Issus : so uniformly does the conformation of the country in Asia Minor bring contending armies into the same field of conflict.

13. By these successive victories Ibrahim had gained the command of

the whole sea-coast of Syria, from Egypt to the foot of the Taurus : Acre, Tripoli, and Aleppo had successively fallen into his hands ; he had taken eighty pieces of cannon, killed or made prisoners 13,000 men, dispersed two armies, and driven the remains of them into the defiles of the Taurus. These great successes at length roused the Divan from their apathy, and made them sensible of the necessity of making a vigorous effort to avert the approaching dismemberment of their empire. The command-in-chief was taken from Hussein Pacha and given to the Grand Vizier, Redschid Pacha, already celebrated by his victories in Albania and Bosnia, and the subjugation of the rebels in those provinces. His character was noble and lofty, and he possessed all the personal and mental qualities which in all armies, but especially the Oriental, are so important an element in success. A fresh array of above 50,000 men, for the most part regular soldiers, with a numerous artillery, was intrusted to his orders.

14. Informed of the approach of such formidable forces, the Egyptian army was concentrated at Adana, still, however, holding Aleppo, and keeping up the communication by sea with Egypt, while six battalions, with a corps of irregular cavalry, took post at Orfah, in order to secure the pass by the Diarbekir, over Mount Taurus, to Sivaz and Erzeroum. There it remained, recovering from its fatigues and receiving reinforcements, till the 13th October, when it moved forward in two columns towards the passes of the Taurus. The main body marched on Nemroud, in the front of the Turkish position, while the irregular troops were moved on Tchaskan, to turn its flank. These movements had the effect of compelling the Ottomans to abandon their ground in the mountains ; and the Egyptian vanguard, passing through their defiles, took possession of Erekli, without opposition, on the 22d October. The troops remained there, being excessively fatigued, till the 11th November, when, being provided with bread for six days, they moved direct upon KONIEH, where the Turkish

army was concentrated ; while a body of irregulars, by a circuit through the mountains, threatened to gain their rear by the route of Karaman. This march was made by Ibrahim with every precaution, and he was prepared, at a moment's warning, to form order of battle. The troops moved in five columns. The artillery was in the centre, then a column of infantry on the right and left,—the cavalry on either flank. This was as nearly as possible Cæsar's order of march when near the enemy, and very different from that of Korsakoff from Zurich in 1799, who put the *artillery in the rear of the column*, and thereby lost the whole of his guns, and occasioned the total defeat of his army.

15. The Ottomans, however, did not await Ibrahim's approach, but, after a slight skirmish of cavalry, evacuated Konieh, leaving behind them immense magazines of ammunition and provisions. The rudeness of the season now compelled inactivity to both armies, during which the Egyptian general was indefatigable in his endeavours to reinforce and strengthen his position. He selected a field for battle in front of Konieh, which he studied with the utmost care, and on which he frequently exercised his troops in the manœuvres which he anticipated in the approaching conflict. Several cavalry combats took place during this period, in which the superior generalship and discipline of the Egyptians prevailed, and in one of which they took five hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. Everything conspired in favour of Ibrahim : the discipline and equipment of his troops were obviously superior to that of the enemy ; they had been victorious in every encounter, and the religious spirit of the Mussulmans, which had been severely depressed by their long train of disasters, rapidly revived under a chief who led the Arabs out of their deserts to victories almost recalling those of the early days of Islamism. He seemed an instrument in the hand of Providence to reinstate the true faith, and punish the degenerate Turks, who had departed from the precepts

of the Prophet. "How far will you advance?" was he asked one day. "As far as I am understood in Arabic," was the significant reply.

16. Pressed by reiterated orders from Constantinople to exterminate the invader, the Turkish army at length broke up from Ladik, which was about fifteen miles from Konieh, and advanced to give battle. The Turkish force was triple that of the Egyptian ; the ranks of the latter having been severely weakened by fatigue and sickness, and a considerable part of the army necessarily left behind to keep up the long line of communication with Egypt. Ibrahim had only twenty battalions of infantry (about 10,000 combatants), sixteen squadrons of cavalry, mustering 2600 sabres, 36 guns, and 4000 irregular horse ; in all not more than 17,000 men. The Ottoman force was above 48,000 ; but its discipline and equipment were by no means equal to those of its opponents : the troops, in great part newly raised, were little inured to war ; they were ignorant of each other, had no mutual confidence, and went into battle with that sad presentiment of defeat which so often works out its own accomplishment.

17. Informed of the approach of such a formidable army, so far as numbers went, Ibrahim drew up his little force in the position which he had studied with so much care, and on which they had been so sedulously exercised during the last month. They were arrayed in two lines. The first, consisting of eight battalions, was drawn up in line ; the second, also of eight battalions, in columns of battalions at deploying distance. The columns on the left and right of this second line were disposed in hollow squares, and a little thrown forward, so as to cover by their fire both the flanks of its own line and those of the line in front. The four battalions of the Guard were stationed in reserve, and on its two flanks the cavalry, also in column. The artillery was divided, one-half being on the wings of the first line, and the other half in reserve, beside the cavalry in the third line.

These positions were taken up and the movements executed with the utmost precision, under cover of a thick fog, which entirely concealed them from the enemy; and when the mist cleared away, like the raising up of a drop-scene on the theatre, the Ottomans beheld their antagonists marshalled as on a parade, in the finest order. Their force, though much inferior in discipline, was greatly superior in number, and far outflanked on either side the Egyptian host. The Turks were drawn up in four lines; the first deployed, the three others in column, the cavalry on either flank and in reserve, the artillery in front of the first line. Their position was well chosen; their right resting on the mountain of Silè, their left on the morasses of Konieh, both of which were impenetrable for cavalry or artillery; but this was of the less importance, that their force, being so much superior in number, was obviously charged with the duties of attack.

18. The battle began with a general discharge of the Turkish artillery along the whole line, to which the Egyptian replied with a well-directed fire, though from half the number of pieces, and soon the war of musketry became extremely warm on both sides. Ibrahim wisely drew back his left, so as to compel the enemy, if he followed it, to abandon the strong cover of the mountain of Silè; if not to render a part of it disposable for the attack on his right, where he meditated the chief onslaught, as the ground in that direction was level, and practicable for all arms, and if successful, he might cut the enemy off from the road to Ladik, and force them to abandon their artillery. The Turkish army showed at first a good countenance, and advanced in tolerable order against the Egyptian; but not having calculated the distances correctly, a huge gap was left between the infantry on their left and the cavalry. Ibrahim no sooner perceived this opening than he prepared to take advantage of it, by advancing his reserve infantry, and nearly the whole of his cavalry, into the undefended space. They came up immediately in

admirable order, and turning sharp, when they got into the entrance, on the Ottoman horse, now entirely severed from support, defeated them completely, and drove them to a distance from the field of battle. The Grand Vizier, to repair this disaster, brought up his best infantry, and charged the Egyptian Guard, now established in the opening, with great vigour. But they were received with not less intrepidity, and ere long the close and well-directed fire from the Guard threw them into confusion, and they fled behind the second line, which advanced, headed by the Grand Vizier in person. The contest now was short and terrible, but it terminated in the entire defeat of the Turks. Their best battalions, assailed by the Egyptian Guard in front, and the cavalry, which had returned from the pursuit of the discomfited horse, in flank, were forced to lay down their arms, and were made prisoners, with the Grand Vizier at their head.

19. While this desperate conflict was going on on the Turkish left, the Egyptian left was exposed to the greatest dangers. The Turkish right there advanced in such force as completely to envelop the Egyptian battalions, which were speedily surrounded by a surging mass of turbans, while the artillery made huge gaps in their ranks. Formed in square, however, they kept up a rolling fire, and though sorely weakened by constantly closing up their ranks, succeeded in maintaining their ground till Ibrahim, with the victorious right, came up to their support. Meanwhile a corps of three thousand Turkish horse, by a headlong charge, succeeded in breaking through the Egyptian centre, and, passing straight on, reached Konieh, which they pillaged, and spread far and wide the report that all was lost. But this success, considerable as it was, could not compensate the disaster sustained on the Turkish centre and left, and the capture of the Grand Vizier with the flower of the army. Soon the intelligence of this catastrophe spread through both armies, and the Ottomans, seized with a sud-

den panic, and being cut off from the line of retreat to Ladik, dispersed in all directions. It was no longer a battle, but a carnage: the victorious Egyptians continued to pursue and cut down the fugitives till their wearied arms could no longer wield a sabre; and before nightfall, fifteen thousand Turks had been slain or made prisoners, with forty-four guns, and the whole ammunition, magazines, and camp equipage of the army.

20. Such was the great and decisive battle of Konieh, which, in the skill with which it was conducted on the part of the victors, and the immense results with which it was attended, recalls the days when the Macedonian phalanx led by Alexander, or the Roman legions headed by Lucullus and Pompey, dissipated the countless hordes of the Asiatic cavalry. Not less than the battles of the Issus or Arbela, it was a blow which prostrated at once the strength of the Ottomans, and, but for the intervention of Russia, would beyond all doubt have changed the ruling power at Constantinople, and altered the whole face of the Eastern world. Great as the victory was, it was exceeded by its effects. Since the days of Timour and Bajazet no such shock had been felt in the East. The army which had fought at Konieh completely dispersed; not two battalions or three squadrons could be collected next day around the standards of the Osmanlis. Had Ibrahim taken advantage of the first moments of consternation, and marched direct upon Constantinople, he would easily have made himself master of that capital, and dethroned the race of Othman. But the Egyptian general was ignorant of the magnitude of his own success; he could not conceive that the power of the Sultan was so soon to be overthrown; the empire of Constantinople, in its last extremity, was protected by the shadow of its former renown. He remained inactive at Konieh till the 20th January, when he advanced without opposition towards the Bosphorus, declaring his intention of letting the Oulemas de-

termine between him and the Sultan, and had reached Kutahieh, on the road to Scutari, on the 1st February, when his farther progress was stopped, as will immediately appear, by the armed intervention of Russia and the diplomatic efforts of Europe. But the fame of his victories had preceded him; the sensation in the East was immense; and the whole warlike tribes in Asia Minor were prepared to have joined his standard, and established a new dynasty on the throne of Constantinople. Universally he was regarded by the Mussulmans as the man of destiny who was to punish the backslidings of the followers of the Prophet, and re-establish in their pristine purity the usages of the faithful. Even in Europe the marvellous successes of the Egyptian army attracted great attention among the thoughtful. The interpreters of prophecy were rife, as they always are on any considerable events in the East; and it was said by many that Ibrahim's triumphs were foretold in the words,—“The King of the *South* shall push at him:” forgetting that the Egyptians were even more orthodox Mussulmans than the Turks, and that it was not to be supposed that the Euphrates was to be dried up by the swelling of one of its tributary streams.

21. In this extremity the Porte had recourse to the only power which, in the circumstances in which Turkey was placed, could be solicited without danger. The Divan applied to England, the ancient and steady ally of the Ottoman Government, which in 1789 had rescued them from the jaws of Russia, and in 1801 saved them from dismemberment by France, and whose remote situation removed its Government as much from territorial ambition in the East as its powerful navy gave it the means of effective support to its allies in that quarter. Never was such an opportunity afforded for the establishment of a powerful and efficacious barrier against Russia on the shores of the Bosphorus. Imagination itself could not have conceived anything more favourable. The British Government was now applied

to by an ancient ally for succour against a rebellious vassal; and an opportunity was afforded of rendering a service to the Ottoman rulers of so essential a kind as to insure future gratitude and dependence, and counteract in a great degree that growing influence of the Muscovites at the Court of Constantinople, which was so much the object of dread to the European powers. Incalculable would have been the effects of such aid if promptly rendered; it would probably have restored the balance of power in the East, and averted, if not altogether prevented, the terrible war of 1854 in the Black Sea. Unhappily, England was not at this period in a condition to take advantage of the extraordinary good fortune thus thrown in her way. She now began to experience the fatal effects upon her external influence of the political passions by which her people were convulsed, and the new line of foreign policy which the triumph of the Liberal party had imposed upon her Government. So great had been the reduction of her land and sea forces in consequence of the growing passion for economy which had prevailed ever since the Peace, and which the contraction of the currency had now rendered, for a time, almost a matter of necessity, that Great Britain had no forces at her disposal adequate for an Eastern war, and the few which she had were, as will immediately appear, absorbed in propping up a rickety and unpopular Government against the feelings of the Portuguese at Lisbon. The Cabinet of St James's accordingly returned for answer to the Turkish application for succour, that however much inclined to have rendered it, they had not at that moment the means of affording the assistance required.

22. France was the Power which, next to England, seemed capable of rendering the most efficacious aid to the Porte in its distress, but there were many reasons which rendered it unadvisable, and indeed hopeless, to make any application in that quarter. The French had never lost sight of the ambitious designs which Napoleon

had entertained in regard to Egypt, and their recent expedition to, and permanent occupation of Algiers, had proved that change of dynasty had made no alteration in the views of their Government in that respect. Even if the Cabinet of Louis Philippe had been as favourably inclined as possible to succour the Porte, they had not the means at that period any more than the English of doing so. They had only just recovered from the double shock of the Royalist insurrection in La Vendée and the Republican in Paris; and a great expedition was preparing to march into Flanders, to unite with the British fleet in planting the tricolor flag on the citadel of Antwerp. Nothing, therefore, could be hoped from France in this emergency; yet something absolutely required to be done, for Ibrahim's forces might in a week reach Scutari, and his approach, it was well known, would be the signal for an immediate insurrection, and probable dethronement of the Sultan.

23. In this extremity the Divan had recourse to RUSSIA, and skilfully represented the revolt of the Pacha of Egypt as a part of the general system of insubordination which had invaded Europe, and which all its monarchies, and Russia in particular, were deeply interested in crushing. The Czar, as may well be believed, was not slow in accepting the offer of *exclusive protectorate* thus made to him by the Sultan. The Russian consul was immediately recalled from Alexandria, and a tender made of a Russian fleet under Admiral Greig, with 5000 troops on board, and a *corps d'armée* of 25,000 men to operate on the Danube. These offers gave the most extreme satisfaction at Constantinople, and their gratitude was evinced in a circular to the other European Powers, which bore, "The rebellion of Mehemet Ali will, without doubt, be considered by the other Powers of Europe, as it has been by the Emperor of Russia, as a criminal enterprise, which nothing can justify, and which should be punished by the recall of the ambassadors of all the Powers who are interested in the maintenance of legal order. The in-

surrection which the troops of the Sultan are at this moment combating, has its origin in the vilest ambition and rapacity: it menaces the commercial interests of all nations which are attracted to the shores of Egypt by their riches. The true way to ruin it is to isolate it. Such a measure, adopted by the Emperor of Russia, and imitated by the other Powers of Europe, will at once evince the sincerity of their friendship for the Sublime Porte, and advance the interest of their own subjects, none of whom can be indifferent to the fatal example of rebellion given by Mehemet Ali, and many of whom, if it succeeds, will be inclined to imitate it." The autograph letter of the Sultan to the Emperor of Russia requesting assistance, is still preserved in the imperial archives of St Petersburg, and is justly regarded as one of the proudest trophies of the Muscovite empire.

24. The Cabinet of St Petersburg stood in no need of these skilful and well-conceived considerations to accord the assistance requested by the Sultan. The long-wished-for opportunity had at length arrived; Turkey was so reduced that she was compelled to solicit the assistance of her inveterate enemy—

"*Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas.*" *

Fortune, the revolutionary passions, and political nullity of the French and English people, had now thrown the much-coveted prize within her grasp; and not only without increasing the hostility, but with the concurrence, and even by the advice, of the Western Powers. No sooner, therefore, had the Porte, under this pressure of the advance of Ibrahim from Konieh towards Scutari, solicited the immediate support of a Russian corps of 4000 or 5000 men sent by sea, than the Russian minister, M. Boutenieff, at once promised not only that aid, but the assistance of an auxiliary corps of 30,000 men, who were to cross the Danube and advance to the support of the capital. So wise had been the

foresight, so active the preparations of the Cabinet of St Petersburg, that everything was prepared at Sebastopol to turn the crisis to the very best account. The troops were ready to step on board the ships of the line prepared to receive them, and depart, and the admirals prepared with secret instructions to take their orders from the ambassador at Constantinople. No sooner, accordingly, did the formal demand for succour from M. Boutenieff arrive, than the Russian squadron of four sail of the line and six frigates, having on board 6000 troops, set sail from Sebastopol, made straight with exulting hearts for Constantinople, and reached the Bay of Bourgas, near the mouth of the Bosphorus, on the 20th February.

25. Before they arrived, however, the imminence of the crisis had passed, and the Porte was fain to be delivered from the perilous protection of the Muscovites. The French Government, more alive than the British to the incalculable consequences of Constantinople being occupied by a Russian subsidiary force, had sent Admiral Roussin with a squadron to Constantinople, and hastened by negotiation to avert the danger. Proposals for an accommodation had been transmitted by them to Ibrahim, at Kutahieh, which had been accepted by Halil Pacha on the part of the Porte, and occasioned the halt of the forces of the conqueror at that place. These terms consisted in the cession of the entire pachalic of Syria, with the district of Adana and Egypt, in perpetuity to Mehemet Ali. The Divan agreed to these terms, very much in order to avert the dreaded intervention of the Russians, and in consequence the Reis Effendi intimated to M. Boutenieff that the aid of the Russian auxiliary force was no longer required, and that it might retire. The Russian admiral, however, would only agree to anchor his fleet in the Bay of Bourgas instead of entering the Bosphorus; and while lying there, intelligence arrived which caused the breaking-off of the negotiation, and the military occupation of Constantinople by the Rus-

* "And to save life, to lose all that living is worth."

sians. Mehemet Ali positively refused to ratify the treaty proposed by the French, and agreed to by the Turkish Government; and his emissaries, dispersed through Asia Minor, occasioned such a ferment, that it became evident that the hearts of the entire inhabitants were with him, and that the dethronement of the Sultan, if he advanced to Scutari, would be effected without firing a shot. Wherever his emissaries appeared, his authority was recognised, and the Turkish officials dispossessed; and without violence or resistance, the richest part of Asia Minor, including the great city of Smyrna, had already passed under the power of the Egyptians.

26. No sooner did the Russian Government receive intelligence of the rupture of the negotiations, than they despatched couriers in all directions to hasten the march of the troops they had prepared in various quarters, and embark them at Odessa. This was accordingly done with the greatest expedition. The embarkation took place there on the 29th March, and the transports immediately set sail under the convoy of a division of the Russian fleet. They effected a junction with the expedition, which had come from Sebastopol, in the Bay of Bourgas, and the united squadrons made sail for the Bosphorus. There they arrived on the 5th April, and immediately passed the Straits and disembarked the troops on the Asiatic shore, within sight of Constantinople, opposite Buyukdere and Therapia. At the same time, to evince the concurrence of the Western Powers in this extraordinary occupation, the English and French consuls struck their colours and left Smyrna, then in the hands of the Egyptians. Thus, as if to demonstrate the universality of the change in the policy of the whole European Powers by the effects of the Revolution of July in Paris, at the very same time an English and French force combined for the siege of Antwerp, and its restoration to the sway of the tricolor flag; English and French diplomacy united in destroying the barrier erected by Marlborough and Wellington in Flanders against France; an

English fleet was busied in establishing a revolutionary throne in Lisbon; and with the consent of France and England, a Russian fleet passed the Bosphorus, and a Russian army of 12,000 men took post on the Mountain of the Giant, within sight of Constantinople!

27. Matters had now reached such a crisis in the East, that, how much soever the Western Powers might be occupied with their internal convulsions, it was impossible any longer to overlook them. Lord Durham was accordingly sent to St Petersburg, on the part of England, to unite his efforts with those of Marshal Mortier on that of France and Count Pozzo di Borgo, to endeavour to obtain some amelioration of the lot of the Poles, who were languishing under the severity of military occupation, and to effect a satisfactory solution of the Eastern question, and the dispute between Mehemet Ali and the Porte. Lord Durham was received in the most distinguished manner at St Petersburg, and all the graceful flattery and high-bred attention, of which the superior classes in Russia are such perfect masters, were lavished upon him. He was almost an inmate of the imperial palace; a succession of magnificent reviews gave a dazzling picture of the military strength of the empire; balls, concerts, and receptions in profusion, of the wealth and splendour of its nobility. But amidst all this external homage and consideration, the Czar was careful to abate nothing of his pretensions either as regarded Turkey or Poland. On the contrary, at that very time appeared an "organic statute," which for ever incorporated Poland with Russia,* and abolished all distinction be-

* "Le Royaume de Pologne est pour toujours réuni à l'Empire de Russie, et en forme une partie intégrante. La liberté du culte est parfaitement garantie: la Religion Catholique, comme celle que professent la majorité de nos sujets dans le Royaume de Pologne, sera toujours l'objet de la protection et de la bienveillance particulière du Gouvernement. La publication des pensées par le moyen de la presse ne sera assujettie qu'à la restriction jugée pour la sûreté due à la religion, pour l'inviolabilité de l'autorité suprême et de la pureté des mœurs. Notre armée dans l'Empire et dans le Royaume fera un tout homo-

tween the government and armies of the two countries. And as to Turkey, while incessantly professing the utmost moderation and disinterestedness, the Czar was careful not to withdraw his troops from the Mountain of the Giant, nor his squadron from the Bosphorus, till he had secured for Russia advantages greater than could have been hoped from a series of the most successful campaigns, and which, in effect, left that country entirely at the mercy of its colossal neighbour.

23. To understand how this came about, it is necessary to premise that Mehemet Ali, finding, if he persisted in a farther advance to Scutari, he would have the forces of Russia as well as Turkey to combat, changed his policy, and, relinquishing the dream of establishing a new dynasty on the shores of the Bosphorus, confined himself to the more limited object of securing substantial advantages to himself from the successes of his son Ibrahim in Syria. He lent a willing ear, accordingly, as soon as informed of the Russian intervention, to the French proposals of accommodation, and the result appeared in a firman, entitled a *firman of amnesty*, from the Porte, which, without expressly recognising the Pacha of Egypt as an independent power, secured to him all the substantial advantages of victory, by confirming him in the governments of Crete and Egypt, and adding to them those of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Aleppo, and Damascus, and the government of Adana. These great concessions were accompanied by an absolute amnesty to all the subjects of the Porte who had revolted in Anatolia, and were declared to be granted in consideration "of the assurances of *fidelity and devotion* given to me by the governor of Egypt and his son Ibrahim Pacha." Having no longer any pretext for remaining in his advanced and threatening position at Kutahieh, Ibrahim now withdrew his forces across the Taurus, and took

quiet possession of the ceded districts of Syria.*

29. The Ottoman Government being thus delivered from the hostility of its rebellious vassal, nothing remained but to emancipate itself from the still more formidable protectorate of its zealous and officious friends. But this was a more difficult task even than combating Ibrahim's battalions: it is one thing to invoke the succour of a great Power; it is another, and a very different thing, to shake off the obligations imposed upon the succoured party. The ascendancy acquired by Russia in Turkish councils by this prompt and effective interposition was so great that it became altogether irresistible, and issued in a vast concession on the part of Turkey, which in effect left its capital at the mercy of the Muscovites, and rendered the Ottoman Empire virtually for the time a tributary Power to the Czar. Faithful to its fixed policy of avoiding all open or visible strides towards universal dominion, the Russian Cabinet gave orders to its fleet and army to retire from the Bosphorus, in accordance with the demand of France and England, as soon as Ibrahim Pacha's troops had recrossed the Taurus. But not less faithful to its equally fixed system of incessantly pursuing that object, and securing *in secret* all the advantages which might preface it, they did not do so till they had extorted from the weakness or gratitude of the Ottomans a concession which left them entirely at the mercy of their northern neighbours. This was effected

gène, sans distinction des troupes Russes ou Polonoises. Toutes les affaires administratives et judiciaires seront traitées en langue Polonoise.—*Acte Organique*, April 18, 1833; CAPEFIGUE, vi. 310, 311, note.

* "Les assurances de dévouement, et de fidélité qui m'ont été données en dernier lieu par le Gouverneur d'Egypte, Méhémet Ali Pacha, et son fils Ibrahim Pacha, ayant été agréées, je leur ai accordé ma bienveillance impériale. Les gouvernemens de la Crète et d'Egypte ont été confirmés à Méhémet Ali. Par égard à sa demande spéciale, je lui ai accordé les départemens de Damas, Tripoli, de Syrie, Sey de Safid, Alep, les districts de Jérusalem et Naplouse, avec la conduite des pèlerins et le commandement de Djidda. Son fils Ibrahim Pacha a eu de nouveau le titre de Scheick-al-haram de la Mecque et le district de Djidda; j'ai en outre acquiescé à la demande qu'il m'a faite du département d'Adana, régi par le Tresor des Fermes à titre de Mohajul."—*Firman*, May 6, 1833; *Ann. Hist.*, xvi. 168 (Doc. Hist.)

by the treaty of UNKIAR-SKELESSI; one of the most important diplomatic acts of modern times, and from which, as a necessary consequence, the great Eastern war of 1854 took its rise.

30. By this treaty, which was arranged in the most profound secrecy between the Russian ambassador, Count Orloff, and the Turkish Government, and signed on the 8th July, it was provided that, for the period of eight years, there should be an alliance offensive and defensive between the two Powers, in pursuance of which Russia agreed to put her whole fleets and armies at the disposal of the Porte. In addition to this, it was specially stipulated that, to prevent the embarrassment which might arise to the Porte from furnishing material assistance to Russia in case of attack, "the Ottoman Porte should be bound, in virtue of its obligations towards Russia, *to close the Straits of the Dardanelles—that is to say, not to permit any ship of war of a foreign Power to enter those Straits under any pretence whatever.* This separate and *secret* article shall have the same force and effect as if it had been inserted, word for word, in the public and patent treaty." By the *public* treaty nothing whatever was provided in regard to the closing of the Dardanelles against foreign vessels of war; but a close alliance, offensive and defensive, was agreed upon, and the mutual furnishing of succour in case of attack by any foreign Power.* By this

* The *public* treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was in these terms:—

"I. There shall for ever be peace and alliance between the Emperor of all the Russias and the Emperor of the Ottomans, their empire and subjects, by sea and land. That alliance having solely for object the common defence of their territories against hostile attack, their Majesties engage to come reciprocally to an understanding, without reserve, on all the objects which regard their respective tranquillity and security, and to afford each other, to that end, the most effective material succour. (The secret article was declared to be in supplement of this.)

"II. The treaty of peace concluded at Adrianople on Sept. 2, 1829, as well as all the other treaties enumerated in it, and the convention signed at St Petersburg on April 14, 1830, and the arrangement concluded at Constantinople on the 9/21 July 1832, relative to Greece, are confirmed, in their whole tenor, by the pre-

treaty Russia made an immense stride towards the long-coveted dominion in the East; for although Turkey had long asserted the right to close the Dardanelles against any foreign ship of war, she now virtually *surrendered the right of doing so to Russia*;—the Government of which, in the event of a war against either Power, became entitled to compel Turkey to close the Straits against any or all her enemies.

31. How desirous soever the parties to this important treaty may have been to shroud its secret articles in entire darkness, they were too vital in the Eastern question to admit of being long concealed. The public treaty, which contained an alliance offensive and defensive, soon became known, and in spite of the utmost efforts to conceal it, the existence of secret articles, of a still more alarming character, was ere long surmised in diplomatic circles. Indeed, the closing of the Dardanelles against all foreign vessels of war was a public step involving at once the interests of all nations interested in the ocean, the great highway of the world, which of necessity soon proclaimed itself. A French corvette of war presented itself at the entrance of the Dardanelles, and was refused a *passent* defensive treaty of alliance, as if their respective provisions were inserted in the present treaty, word for word.

"III. As a consequence of the principle of conservatism and mutual defence, which constitutes the basis of this treaty of alliance, and in pursuance of their sincere desire to insure its durability, and the maintenance of the entire independence of the Sublime Porte, the Emperor of Russia, if the case should again arise when the Sublime Porte should require the assistance of the naval or military forces of Russia, though such a contingency, please God, is not at present to be anticipated, engages to furnish as many forces by land and by sea as may be judged necessary. In that case, the forces by land or sea which the Sublime Porte may require shall be at his disposal.

"IV. Although the two contracting parties are sincerely disposed to maintain their alliance to the most distant times, yet, as time may prove the expedience of some modification of its conditions, its duration is at present limited to eight years. Constantinople, 8th July, 1833. ALEXIS ORLOFF, A. BOUTENIEFF, HAMED MEHMET PACHA, FERZAKHMET PACHA, HADJI MEHMET-AKIF-EFFENDI."—CAPEFIGUE, vii. 129, 131.

sage. Explanations were at once demanded on the subject by the English and French ambassadors, and the Divan were not a little perplexed what answer to return. The secret treaty was disavowed, but the treaty offensive and defensive admitted and justified. The Porte alleged that that treaty was purely of a defensive character; that it concerned no governments but Turkey and Russia, whose dominions so closely adjoined each other that their interests were identical; that Turkey, being an independent State, was at liberty to contract alliances with any Power that it might deem proper, and was under no obligation to justify its conduct to any foreign government. These explanations were accompanied by a communication of the *public* treaty. But as the Dardanelles remained closed to the vessels of war of all nations except Turkey and Russia, the existence of a further secret treaty became self-evident. Thenceforward the Eastern question swelled up to colossal proportions; from being Egyptian it became European. By the closing of the Dardanelles, and the entire subjugation of the Porte to Russian influence, the Cabinet of St Petersburg had acquired such a preponderance in the East that its power could hardly have been more thoroughly established if the Cross had been replaced by Muscovite hands on the dome of St Sophia. But meanwhile the thing was done, and could not be undone; the Dardanelles were closed to all but the Russian flag; the Euxine had become a Russian lake, and Sebastopol was rising in impregnable strength on its northern shore, threatening instant destruction by its fleets to the imperial city in the event of any disobedience to the dictates of the Czar! But the Cabinet of St Petersburg had chosen its time well for this vast aggressive stride. It had only taken advantage of the facilities afforded for making it, by the temporary alienation of reason on the part of the Western Powers. England and France, distracted by political passions, had not only become indifferent to foreign interests, but insensible to

the strongest of all animal instincts—that of self-preservation. Antwerp, the great outwork of Napoleon against England, ceded, and the Flemish barrier abandoned in the north, and Constantinople, the Queen of the South, virtually yielded to Russia, were melancholy proofs of the infatuation which had seized upon the nations in Europe the most boasting of their intelligence. They bequeathed one, probably two, dreadful wars in future times to the British people.

32. The independence of GREECE was secured by the heroism of its gallant inhabitants and the flames of Navarino; but much required to be done before its boundaries and government could be settled by the intervention of the allied Powers, and still more before the brand of fifteen hundred years of slavery could be erased from the foreheads of its inhabitants, or the descendants of the heroes of Marathon and Platea become qualified to emulate the civil virtues of their immortal forefathers. The great majority of men are always too impatient on these subjects, and the consequence is that their expectations so often end in disappointment. They expect nations to be instantly converted by a change of institutions—men to be at once regenerated by the construction of an improved frame of government—forgetting that, as human degradation is the slow and melancholy result of centuries of oppression and misgovernment, so public elevation is the not less tardy growth of centuries of pacific industry and expanded energies. That men are to be at once changed by a change of the institutions under which they live, is the dream of the enthusiastic, the dogma of the revolutionary, but there is no one opinion which is more constantly negated by the experience of mankind. The course of events in every age has demonstrated that such expectations are not less chimerical than to expect that a child is to attain the strength of manhood by simply putting on the dress of older years, or a colt the steady daring

of a war-horse by merely clothing it in the panoply of battle. Everything, however, must have a beginning, and good things can never be begun too soon. It is no imputation on the wisdom of the authors of the treaty of 6th July 1828, to say that the State they rescued from Mussulman oppression has not yet attained the strength and maturity expected of it, any more than it is to say that he who has redeemed a child from the hands of gypsies has not been able in a few months to give it the habits and knowledge of civilised manhood. But it is no slight imputation on the political wisdom and information of a nation, to say that they become disheartened with a noble and generous act because such expectations have not been in the outset realised.

33. The government and institutions of Greece, upon the termination of its revolution, were arranged with no regard to the character or necessities of its inhabitants, but entirely on the principle of compromise between the Powers which had taken a part in its liberation. Emerging from a frightful and desolating war of six years' duration, which had destroyed a half of its inhabitants, and almost annihilated its industry, Greece was in the situation in which France was after the expulsion of the English invaders, or Scotland after the liberation of its wasted fields by the genius and heroism of Robert Bruce. What it absolutely required was peace and protection under a strong government, and the extinction of the power of the feudal chieftains, who had acquired so great a sway over their followers during the war with the Turks. But these sober and rational ideas were but little in accordance with the views of any of the allied Powers who had signed the treaty of July 1828. England and France, carried away with the prevailing delusion of the times, thought they insured the happiness of the semi-barbarous Greeks just emerged from four centuries of Ottoman servitude, when they gave them a popular and aristocratic Assembly and elective president; the Russians, bet-

ter informed as to the real tendencies of savage tribes, disquieted themselves little about the representative bodies, and were satisfied with the nomination of the chief who was to wield the military power of the State. To effect a compromise between these conflicting principles, it was agreed that the infant State should be governed by a Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and president, and that the choice of the latter officer should be accorded to the Emperor of Russia, who conferred it upon his private secretary, COUNT CAPO D'ISTRIA.

34. The consequences of intrusting the government of a young State, composed partly of warlike mountain tribes who owed a feudal obedience to their chiefs, and partly of island traders whom necessity and suffering had forced to become pirates, to a representative assembly composed of such heterogeneous materials, were soon apparent. Capo d'Istria did not long enjoy the honour bestowed upon him by the favour of Russia. Jealousy of the foreign influence to which he had owed his appointment, obliterated the recollection of all his services to the Hellenic cause. To such a degree did this feeling proceed, that he was assassinated at Napoli on the 24th October 1831, and anarchy for some time succeeded his decease. At length the presidency was bestowed by the Senate and Provisional Government on Count Augustin de Capo d'Istria, brother to the deceased, on 10th November 1831. This election was followed by a convocation of the entire national assembly, and it at once revealed the magnitude of the dangers with which, under such a form of government, the country was threatened, and the violence of the parties by which it was torn. The island deputies, forty-five in number, met at Hydra, and opened a negotiation with the Provisional Government, the chief object of which was an absolute and unqualified amnesty to all the deputies. This, which was intended to secure the murderers of Capo d'Istria, the Government refused, tendering instead one from which the perpetrators and abettors

of that crime were to be excluded. The Opposition declined these terms; and in order to prevent the Hydra deputies from joining the Assembly, which was to meet at Argos on 10th December, the majority asked and received the assistance of *Russian* ships of war to blockade the island, and prevent the refractory deputies getting out! This ominous commencement was not belied by the future proceedings of the Greek Assembly. The majority at Argos, who were in the Russian interest, confirmed the election of Augustin Capo d'Istria by the Provisional Government; the minority protested against the election until the Hydra deputies were admitted, and constituted themselves into a separate assembly. This schism in the legislature was speedily followed by sanguinary contests between the two parties in the streets of Argos. Blood flowed on all sides; an hundred persons were slain, and after two days' fighting, Capo d'Istria and Colocotroni, with the government, retired to Napoli di Romania, and the Opposition, headed by Condurriottis, Coletti, and some other chiefs of the rival party, established themselves and elected a separate government at Corinth. Public opinion favoured the Opposition. Capo d'Istria, stigmatised as a Russian slave, received little support, while the armed bands from the mountains all flocked to the standard of Coletti, who soon found himself at the head of seven thousand men. The forces of the Government were not half the number, and its authority did not extend beyond Argos and Napoli. The consideration of the opposition government was soon increased by the appearance of the Hydra deputies, who had contrived to elude the vigilance of the Russian cruisers, and arrived safe at Corinth. As this accession of strength raised their numbers to one hundred and forty-five, they were the majority of the Assembly, and they immediately proceeded to pass a decree, annulling the election of Capo d'Istria to the presidency, and declaring him an usurper, and author of all the calamities in which the country was involved.

35. These violent dissensions, and the assassination of Capo d'Istria, sufficiently proved that Greece, in its present state, was unfit for an elective and popular form of government, and that its longer continuance would only perpetuate bloodshed and anarchy in the country. The allied Powers accordingly wisely resolved on a monarchical constitution; but much difficulty was experienced in the choice of a sovereign, chiefly in consequence of the refusal of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, to whom the crown had been offered, to accept it. At length, as a sort of compromise between the contending influence of Russia on the one side and France and England on the other, it was agreed to offer the crown to Otho, second son of the King of Bavaria, a youth still in minority, and little qualified to hold the helm through the storms with which the infant State was environed, but who had the advantage, inestimable in the eyes of rival Powers, of being in a certain degree exempt from the influence of either. The offer was accepted, and as the future kingdom was destitute of credit or resources, and a prey to civil war, the allied Powers bound themselves to furnish material succour to establish him on the throne. They engaged to guarantee a loan of £2,400,000, to be provided in London, and paid to the young King as soon as he arrived in his dominions; and an auxiliary force of 3500 men was to be raised in Bavaria, and accompany him to relieve the French troops which hitherto had occupied the principal military points in the Morea. Finally, an important treaty was signed at Constantinople on the 21st July, by which, in consideration of the sum of £1,000,000 to be paid to the Porte by the Grecian Government, and guaranteed by the allied Powers, it was agreed by the Divan that the frontiers of the new kingdom should be extended beyond those originally stipulated by the treaty of 1829, to a line drawn from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Volo, which embraces the whole districts which properly fall under the denomination

of Greece. Candia and Rhodes, however, were still excluded, and remained parts of the Ottoman dominions.

36. But while the allied Powers were thus definitively arranging the affairs of Greece, on a footing much more likely to be suitable to the country and durable in its existence than the ridiculous pageant of a republican government, terminating in the real tragedy of civil war which had preceded it, affairs had taken a very different turn in Hellas itself, and the feeling of that country in favour of the popular Opposition had been unequivocally manifested. So rapid had been their progress, so general their success, that the civil war might be said to be at an end. District after district, town after town, declared in their favour, and at length the insurgents appeared before Napoli itself, and Augustin de Capo d'Istria was too happy to agree to a convention, in virtue of which he abdicated the government, and embarked with the body of his brother, never more to return. His departure was celebrated by the Hellenes as the downfall of Russian preponderance in Greece; Condurriottis was chosen president, with an executive council of seven persons to administer the government till the arrival of the prince chosen by the conference of the allied Powers at London. But before Otho had time to arrive, fresh disturbances broke out in the country: Colocotroni and some other chiefs refused to recognise the authority of the new government, and a fresh congress met at Patras, to which the majority of the nation sent in their adhesion. The Opposition soon found their power limited, as that of their predecessors had been, to Napoli and Argos. Combats took place in every part of the country between the adherents of the two factions, who were nearly equal in numbers, courage, and determination. The soldiers, having received no pay, plundered without mercy; a large part of the deputies themselves were carried off to the mountains as a security for their ransom; and such was the

misery produced by this desolating warfare, that the people came to regret the comparatively tranquil days of Ottoman oppression.

37. So exhausting and ruinous were the effects of this interminable guerilla strife, that all came at length to sigh for the arrival of the foreign Power whose forces might at length terminate it. Even the presence of the French soldiers could not restrain the fury of the contending factions; and in Argos itself a French soldier was slain and eighteen wounded by a band of assassins—an outrage which was immediately avenged by the indiscriminate slaughter of above 300 of the inhabitants of the town. At length, to the inexpressible joy of the people, who had reached the very last stage of suffering, the fleet which bore King Otho and the German auxiliaries hove in sight, and on the 6th February he landed at Napoli amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of people, who had flocked from all quarters to hail his arrival. His first act was to publish a general amnesty, without exception, for all political offences whatever; and so widespread was the feeling of the necessity of this measure that it was generally acquiesced in, and for a brief season universal tranquillity and peace prevailed in the land. The public offices were filled up with moderate persons of all parties—the partisans of Russia and extreme republicans were alike excluded. The effect of this judicious policy speedily appeared in a revival of industry, an increase of transactions, and growth of confidence; and so general was the satisfaction which prevailed, that it was deemed practicable to leave unrestrained the public press, which returned the obligation by generally supporting the measures of the Executive.

38. Measures of a very important kind were soon adopted by the Government, which went far to consolidate the infant State. Three criminal tribunals were instituted for the speedy prosecution of offenders; the proceeding before them was summary and without appeal, and the laws they

administered, taken from the ancient criminal code of Venice, extremely severe, though probably not more so than was necessary, considering the wild and unsettled state of the country. The territory of the State was divided into ten departments; and the army was fixed at ten regiments of light infantry and eight of the line, six squadrons of cavalry, and artillery in proportion, mustering in all 8904 combatants. These forces, though much beyond what the kingdom could maintain from its own resources, were amply provided for in the mean time from the loan guaranteed by the allied Powers, and a melancholy proof was soon afforded that they were not larger than was required to preserve domestic peace in the country. In the night of the 25th May, a band of robbers, several thousand in number, having collected in the neighbouring hills, descended on the town of Arta in Epirus, which they immediately began to pillage in the most systematic manner; the unfortunate inhabitants underwent all the horrors endured by those of a city taken by assault. The houses of those who made any resistance were instantly burnt; those who opened their doors saw every room rifled, the women violated, the men in part murdered; and after continuing these outrages deliberately for three days the brigands retired without molestation to their mountains, carrying with them the principal inhabitants, to be ransomed only for enormous sums. At the same time, bands of robbers reappeared in the Morea; and the King having gone on a cruise to the islands of the Archipelago, the regency he left in his absence was so weak that its authority did not extend beyond the walls of Napoli. In July, a synod of the Church was assembled, which declared the King the head of the Church, and evinced such antipathy to Russia that none of the phrases even of its Greek ritual were admitted into their liturgy. At the same time, the French troops, which for five years had occupied the fortresses of Coron, Modon, and Navarin, and were of es-

sential service in the distracted state of this country, were collected and embarked for their own land, leaving Greece to the guardianship of its own forces, aided by the 3000 Bavarians who had followed King Otho from the German plains.*

39. The armistice with Ibrahim Pacha, and retreat of his forces across the Taurus, for a considerable time terminated the difficulties of Turkey; and the settlement of King Otho on the throne, joined to the support of the loan and the Bavarian guards, by degrees diminished the licence and subdued the barbarity of the Greek tribes. But other complications ere long arose—the Eastern question was adjourned, not adjusted; and before many years had elapsed, it threatened to involve all Europe in conflagration. The remote cause of this was the magnitude of the advantage gained by Russia by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi and closing of the Dardanelles, joined to the indelible coldness and jealousy which subsisted between the courts of France and Russia, from the one being the head of the Revolutionary, the other of the Legitimist, party in Europe. Conscious of the immense accession of power which Russia had acquired from that treaty, and jealous of the preponderance which it gave her in the Levant, the Cabinet of Louis Philippe sought for a counterpoise in cultivating a good understanding with Mehemet Ali, whose strength had been so signally evinced in the recent war with the Turks in Asia Minor, and whose geographical position on the north-east corner of Africa would, in connection with their own establishment at Algiers, give France the command of the entire southern coast of the Mediterranean.

40. Nothing could be more natural than that the French Cabinet should entertain these views, or seek in self-defence a counterpoise to the prepon-

* In 1861 the population of Greece had risen to 1,096,810—of whom 552,414 inhabited the Peloponnesus, 318,535 the mainland, and 225,861 the islands. The population of Athens was 41,298.—*Almanach de Gotha* for 1864.

derance of Russia in the Euxine, in such an alliance. But the same circumstances which made them desire, caused the English Government to dread, the establishment of Gallic influence on the shores of the Nile. Egypt had long been an object of contention between France and England; the eagle eye of Napoleon had early discerned its importance; his victorious arms were first directed there in the assault upon this country; and the bitterest mortification which he for long experienced was, when his troops were expelled from it in 1801 by the arms of England. Its importance to Great Britain as a stepping-stone to India, great at all times, had been augmented tenfold by the discovery of steam navigation, and the consequent restoration of the direct communication from Europe with the shores of Hindostan to its original channel by the Red Sea. Thenceforward, if not the possession, at least a preponderating influence and secure transit through the dominions of Mehemet Ali was a matter of absolute necessity to Great Britain, if her empire in the East was to be preserved; and thence it was that the Emperor Nicholas, in his confidential conferences with the English ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour, declared his willingness, in the event of a partition of the Turkish Empire being agreed to by the European Powers, to permit Egypt and Candia to be ceded to Great Britain.

41. These considerations, which suggested themselves so naturally to the statesmen of the two countries that they may be considered as unavoidable, of necessity led to a divergence of views between the Cabinets of France and England on the Eastern question, as soon as the termination of domestic strife, and the stilling of political passions in the two countries, permitted public attention to be turned to foreign affairs, and the lasting national interests of the two countries, rather than their fleeting passions, to be pursued by their respective Governments. France sought to counteract the predominance of Russia at Con-

stantinople by establishing a similar sway at Cairo; England endeavoured to regain her influence with the Divan by abetting the cause of the Turks in the quarrel with the Egyptians, and making use of her maritime superiority to overawe the Government of Mehemet Ali, and secure the means of transit through his dominions to her possessions in the East. These opposite views went far to disturb the *entente cordiale* between the two nations, and break up that alliance between these ancient rivals which had sprung from identity of political feeling, and had for the time rendered them all-powerful in Western Europe. These tendencies had subsisted for some time without producing any other effect than an increasing coldness between their respective diplomatists, when a series of events occurred which again lighted up the flames of war in the East, and all but brought France and England into open collision.

42. The immediate or at least principal cause of this coldness between France and England, was the cessation of the revolutionary action in Western Europe, and the general calming of the passions which arose from the undisputed triumph of the conservative principle in Germany, the termination of the civil wars in Spain and Portugal by the final defeat of the Carlists, and the establishment of a firm government, based on force and corruption, in France. These events, by calming the passions, gave room for the revival of differences from *interests*; and France and England are too near neighbours, and both too powerful, not to have many such causes of discord, when the temporary alliances arising from common feeling come to an end. The East ere long furnished abundant matter for the revival of the old jealousies. England, sensible at last of the immense advantages which Russia had gained in the Euxine, by rendering that succour to the Porte which the Cabinet of St James's had refused, made the greatest efforts, by separate negotiation, to recover its lost ground with the Divan. These efforts proved in a certain degree suc-

cessful. In June 1838, Lord Palmerston, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, concluded a treaty of commerce with the Turkish Government, which contained important stipulations in favour of British industry, and in some degree neutralised the advantage gained by Russia by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. By this treaty it was stipulated "that the English ships should enjoy in the Turkish harbours all the advantages accorded to the most favoured nations; that the English merchants should be permitted to purchase every article of rude produce in the Ottoman dominions, subject only to the same duties as the Turkish subjects; free transit and exportation were permitted without paying any duties, and the Dardanelles was thrown open to British *commercial* vessels, and every facility given to their navigation of the Black Sea." This was the nearest approach yet made in modern Europe to the principles of free trade; and it appears singular, at first sight, that it should have taken place between the greatest manufacturing and a semi-barbarous State. In reality, however, there was nothing surprising in this: between *such* States free trade is always beneficial, because the industry on the opposite sides does not come into collision. It is when they are both in the *same line*, as both agricultural or both commercial, that the divergence appears, and the danger is experienced.

43. This great step towards the establishment of British influence in the Levant was soon after followed by another hardly less important. This was a treaty of commerce with Austria, concluded in July 1838 on terms of entire reciprocity, and which promised to open, in the most advantageous manner, the markets of each country to the staple articles of the other. It provided that the ships of each of the contracting Powers should pay the same duties in their respective harbours; that the goods of the two countries, whether rude or manufactured, should be reciprocally admitted on the same terms, whether passing northward by the Elbe, or eastward by the

Danube; and that all merchandise, not the produce of the inhabitants of the contracting parties, but brought in by the vessels of the latter, should be charged no higher duties than if they were native produce. This treaty, also, was an application of the principles of free trade to a case in which there could be no doubt of their wisdom; for the Danube and the Elbe were not likely to interfere with any important branch of industry in Great Britain; and the opening of the markets of the two countries to their mutual industry was an obvious and reciprocal advantage.

44. These important treaties, so likely to augment the influence of Great Britain in the Levant, by largely increasing its commercial relations, excited no small disquietude in the Cabinet of the Tuileries, to whom the ascendancy of England in the East was even more an object of jealousy than that of Russia. Naturally, as the ascendant of Great Britain increased at Constantinople, France endeavoured to find a counterpoise to it in cultivating the closest relations with the Pacha of Egypt. Insensibly there arose a kind of tacit and understood accord on the two sides; on that of England with the Sublime Porte, on that of France with the Government of Cairo. The influence of Louis Philippe was visibly declining at Scutari, that of Victoria as evidently at Alexandria. Among other causes of discord between the two former Powers, was a demand on the part of the Porte of an annual tribute from France for Algiers, as coming in place of the Bey, one of the vassals of the Turkish Empire, or the payment of a large sum at once in lieu of it. This was made the subject of a special embassy to Paris, which, as might be expected, when such a demand was addressed to so great a Power as France, met with a very cool reception, and was entirely unsuccessful. The very fact of its being advanced at all, proved on what distant terms France and Turkey already were.

45. Encouraged by the prospect of being supported respectively by such

great Powers as France and England, the half-smothered animosity between Mehemet Ali and the Porte now broke out afresh, and threatened instant hostilities. Both sides, it must be confessed, had sufficient grounds of complaint. On the part of the former, it was urged, in a diplomatic communication addressed to the consuls of France and England at Alexandria, that it was high time that his ambiguous situation should be terminated, and his just rights openly recognised by the Western Powers; that the best, and in fact the only way to effect this object, was to emancipate him from the sovereignty of the Porte, and put an end to the humiliating tribute, which, without adding to the real strength of Turkey, was a perpetual source of discord between them; and that if France and England understood their true interests, they would, instead of opposing, strongly support such an arrangement. On the other hand, it was urged by the Divan that the only way to accommodate matters was to restore the sovereignty of the Porte over Egypt, and reduce Mehemet Ali to his proper rank as a vassal of the Grand Seignior; that as long as Egypt was independent, it would be constantly intriguing against Turkey, of which the troubles which for a course of years it had succeeded in exciting in Syria afforded the clearest proof. There was in reality a great deal of truth on both sides in these recriminations; matters had come to that point, that their mutual pretensions, like those of England and America in the preceding century, were altogether irreconcilable, and could be decided only by the sword.

46. Feeling assured of the support of England in any contest which might take place, the Porte now openly made preparations for war. The banks of the Euphrates were crowded with troops, the Turkish fleet in the Dardanelles was equipped for sea, and large bodies of men were assembled at Constantinople ready to be put on board. The Pacha, on his part, strongly reinforced his forces in Syria, and every preparation was made to

put the fleet and batteries of Alexandria in a respectable posture of defence. France and England, however, were still so far united as to be desirous to avert hostilities, and their interposition for a short period prevented them. Admiral Roussin intimated to Redschid Pacha that he had positive orders from his Government not to permit the Turkish squadron to leave the Dardanelles;* and Lord Palmerston warned the Pacha, through the British consul at Alexandria, that if he put in execution his avowed threat of commencing hostilities, the English squadron would take part with the Turkish to prevent the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.† These declarations were made with the entire concurrence of the allied Powers, who were, one and all, anxious to avert hostilities, the issue of which no man could foresee, and which might end in involving the world in conflagration.

47. Although, however, these decisive steps on the part of the great maritime Powers postponed, they did not avert the dreaded rupture. The impatience of Sultan Mahmoud for the punishment of his rebellious vassal was so great, and increased to such a degree with his advancing infirmities and irritability of temper, that in the spring of the following year it broke through all bounds. A great degree of activity was observed for some months previ-

* "L'Amiral Roussin déclara à Redschid Pacha, d'après les ordres positifs du Gouvernement Français, que la flotte Ottomane ne pourrait sortir des Dardanelles, et que l'escadre de l'Amiral Gallois bloquerait le passage, si on tentait de le forcer."—*Note de l'Amiral Roussin*, July 27, 1835; CAPEFIGUE, *Europe depuis 1830*, x. 437.

† "Veuillez déclarer au Pacha que, s'il exécute ses projets hautement avoués, et si les hostilités éclatent entre lui et le Sultan, la Grande Bretagne prendra part pour le Sultan, afin de lui faire obtenir la réparation d'une insulte aussi flagrante, et empêcher le démembrement de l'Empire Turc. Le Pacha se tromperait gravement s'il supposait que des rivalités entre les Puissances Européennes les empêcheraient de prêter au Sultan tout le secours qui, dans de pareilles conjonctures, serait nécessaire pour soutenir ses droits légitimes. PALMERSTON."—LORD PALMERSTON au COLONEL CAMPBELL, *Consul Britannique à Alexandrie*, July 7, 1835; CAPEFIGUE, *Europe depuis 1830*, x. 441.

ously in all his forces by sea and land, and in the middle of June the Turkish fleet issued from the Dardanelles and made sail for the coast of Egypt. At the same time the Sultan addressed a note to the ambassadors of Austria and Russia, in which he declared "that he preferred any event to the present uncertain state of things; that he could no longer tolerate the insolence of his rebellious vassal, who, trampling under foot the principles of Islamism, had not scrupled to expel by force the guards placed by his sovereign at the tomb of the Prophet; refused of his own authority the passage of Suez to Great Britain, a power in alliance with the Porte; done everything he could to prevent the English getting possession of Aden in the Red Sea; and excited rebellion in the provinces of Bassorah and Bagdad, forming part of the Turkish empire." At the same time an envoy was sent to Alexandria, who summoned the Pacha, in the name of the Divan, to "re-establish the Turkish guards at the tomb of the Prophet, to pay regularly his tribute to the Sultan, and to renounce formally all rights of sovereignty over Egypt, except in so far as it might be formally conceded to him." These were the demands put forth in the East; but the views of the West dived a great deal farther into the depths of futurity, and the attention of the British Cabinet was with justice mainly fixed on preventing hostilities in order to take away from the *Russians* all pretext for a second visit to Constantinople, and drawing yet closer the fatal provisions of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.*

* The views of Lord Palmerston and the English Cabinet at this juncture were thus expressed to the French chargé-d'affaires at London, 17th June 1839:—"Lord Palmerston m'a dit, 'Vous avez eu jusqu'ici mon propre sentiment sur la question de l'Orient, je vais vous donner aujourd'hui l'opinion arrêtée du Conseil.' Et il examina toutes les parties du sujet, proposant de forcer le Sultan et le Pacha de déposer de ne point laisser entrer les Russes à Constantinople. Le Conseil a examiné ensuite le cas où, devancés par les évènements au-delà des bornes d'une provision raisonnable, nous trouverions les Russes établis à Constantinople, ou en marche vers la

48. Nothing, however — not even the threatened hostility of France and England — could arrest Sultan Mahmoud in his frantic career. Orders were sent from Constantinople to commence hostilities immediately by sea and land. Bir, on the Euphrates, was fortified as a point of retreat in case of disaster, and the Turkish troops, crossing that river, took possession of several villages occupied by the Arabs in the district of Am-Tib. Mehemet Ali, whose conduct was as prudent as that of the Sultan was impetuous, gave orders to his son Ibrahim to fall back without fighting, and the same to his admirals in regard to the Ottoman fleet. The forces of the Porte, so far as numbers went, were immense, and far exceeded those of the Pacha. The Turkish general had seventeen regular regiments of infantry, nine of cavalry, and one hundred and forty-four guns, besides a swarm of irregulars, which brought up his forces to 80,000 combatants. Ibrahim had under his orders only fourteen regiments of infantry, eight of cavalry, eight of artillery, and fifteen hundred irregulars, in all 46,000 men; but they were incomparably better equipped and disciplined, and their chief possessed military talents of a very high order. More than this, he had largely distributed bribes among the Turkish officers; and in consequence of that circumstance, joined to the old leaven of discontent which pervaded the Ottoman empire from the destruction of the Janizaries, a large part of the troops were prepared to pass over to the enemy. The result was soon rendered painfully apparent.

49. Hafiz Pacha, the Turkish gene-

capitale de l'Empire Ottoman. Cette immense question a été discutée sous la profonde impression qu'a causée cette phrase d'une dépêche de votre Excellence, 'Je crains qu'on n'ait pris à Londres bien facilement son parti d'une seconde expédition Russe à Constantinople.' Le Conseil a pensé que, dans ce cas, nos escadres devraient paraître devant Constantinople en amies, si le Sultan acceptait nos secours, en ennemies, s'il les refusait. On a même discuté militairement la question du passage des Dardanelles."—M. DE BOURQUENEY, *Chargé-d'Affaires à Londres*, au MARÉCHAL SOULT, June 17, 1839; CAPEFIGUE, x. 75.

ralissimo, occupied a strong position : his right rested on an inaccessible mountain, his left on the river NEZIB, and his whole front was strengthened by fieldworks armed with heavy guns, whose fire swept every possible approach to the position. Dreading a front attack, Ibrahim determined to turn his opponent. Setting out on the 22d June, he made a flank march to his right, and crossed the Nezib below the Turkish camp. Halting the next day, he resumed on the morning of the 24th his movement round the enemy's left, and soon had his army in position, directly in rear of their camp. Hafiz Pacha immediately took up a new line of battle facing to his original rear. Ibrahim advanced his right to gain possession of an eminence which commanded the Turkish left. Establishing a battery of heavy guns on this height, he continued to push on with his right, and ordered a general advance of the remainder of his line. Though much inferior in forces, his men advanced to the attack in good order, but they were visibly shaken by the fire of the Turkish artillery, which was greatly superior to his own. But at this very moment, when victory seemed to be declaring for the Turks, treachery did its work : whole battalions and squadrons went over to the enemy; and the remainder, seeing themselves deserted, and huge gaps formed in their line, into which the enemy began to pour without opposition, took to flight, abandoning their guns, caissons, baggage, and everything they had. It was no longer a battle, but a rout. In less than two hours the entire Turkish army had disappeared, leaving behind them their whole artillery, twenty thousand muskets, nine thousand prisoners, their tents, baggage, and even Hafiz Pacha's insignia of command set in diamonds, recently sent him by the Grand Seignior !

50. This decisive victory was not the only triumph which awaited the audacious and fortunate Pacha of Egypt. Hardly had the news of his signal victory reached Alexandria when the Turkish fleet entered the harbour, having treacherously delivered itself up to

the Egyptian force which it had been sent from Constantinople to combat ! * This shameful defection took place, if not with the concurrence, at least under the eyes of the French admiral, M. Lalande, who made no attempt to prevent it.† The consuls of the four Powers made strenuous efforts to get the fleet restored to the Turks, but in vain. Mehemet Ali would not consent to do so except on the concession of all his demands, which the consuls were not empowered to grant. In effect, his position was extraordinary, and might well inspire confidence. The Turkish army was annihilated, and the fleet was sailing about before Alexandria united to the Egyptian, and obeying the orders of Mehemet Ali !

51. The fierce and relentless chief who had been the cause of these disasters falling upon his country was spared the pain of witnessing them. Sultan Mahmoud, whose health had for some time been declining, expired on the 30th June, in his fifty-fifth year, and was succeeded by his son Abdul-Medjid, then a youth of sixteen, who was girded as a token of sovereignty, according to the custom of the Ottomans, with the sword of Othman. The deceased Sultan was a man of remarkable talents, great energy, indomitable courage, and animated by a sincere desire to promote the good of his people: but nevertheless he contributed more than any other sovereign of his race to their ruin ! The decline of Turkey was never so marked, the progress of ruin

* " La Flotte Turque est venue le 14 sous le commandement du Capitaine Pacha, se mettre à la disposition de Méhémet Ali. Le Viceroi a dit qu'il ne la rendrait à la Porte, que lorsque le Grand Vizier Khosrow-Pacha serait éloigné des affaires, et qu'on lui aurait accordé l'hérédité des pays qu'il gouverne. L'armée Egyptienne a reçu l'ordre de se retirer derrière l'Euphrate." — *Le Consul de France à M. le Président du Conseil, Alexandrie*, July 16, 1839; CAPEFIGUE, x. 99.

† " Et tout cela se faisait sous les yeux de l'Amiral Français, M. Lalande, déjà un peu en opposition avec l'ambassadeur Baron Rous-sin, qui loyalement voulait soutenir les intérêts de la Porte Ottomane, et surtout ce principe, que la trahison d'une troupe sous le drapeau, est un fatal exemple pour tous les gouvernemens." — CAPEFIGUE, x. 90.

never so rapid, as in the hands of this ruthless reformer. The reason was that he strove to implant among them institutions at variance with their spirit. He endeavoured to make Europeans of the Turks, and the empire of the Osmanlis crumbled in the attempt. By the destruction of the Janizaries, accomplished with such awful severity, he removed indeed one fruitful source of disorder and insubordination, but he did so only by destroying the military strength of the empire. When they were alienated or ruined, the weakness of a state which depends entirely on the support of one limited class in society became at once apparent. In 1808, Turkey had maintained an equal contest with Russia, and after four years of sanguinary warfare, both these inveterate antagonists were still on the banks of the Danube; but four years after the destruction of the Janizaries in 1826, the Muscovite standards were at Adrianople. Disasters unheard of in its long and checkered annals afterwards accumulated round the "falling empire and sinking throne" of Sultan Mahmoud. Defeated by his rebellious vassal, he was rescued from destruction only by the officious interposition of his inveterate enemy, and death alone saved him from witnessing the utter prostration of his empire by the treachery of its defenders by land and sea! So hopeless is the attempt to ingraft European institutions upon Asiatic customs—so vain the endeavour to exchange Eastern stability for Western progress—and so true the observation of Montesquieu, that no nation ever rose to lasting greatness but by institutions in harmony with its spirit.

52. The removal from the scene, however, of the iron will and imperious disposition of Sultan Mahmoud, removed one great obstacle to the pacification of the East. The Divan yielded, as the Eastern nations always do, to necessity: they seldom negotiate at a disadvantage till the dagger is at their throats; but when it is there, it is surprising how tractable they become. The Divan, upon the accession of the new Sultan, despatched envoys

to Alexandria to make proposals for peace in lieu of the former ones of Sultan Mahmoud, which had been rejected. The five Powers shortly after presented a note to the Turkish Government, in which they stated that the accord between them was entire, and that they invited the Sublime Porte to suspend any final determination without their concurrence, which might shortly be expected. A hattischeriff soon after appeared, the terms of which sufficiently indicated the Western influence, which had become all-powerful in the councils of the Divan. It was solemnly read in the plain of Gulhani, near Constantinople, in presence of the Sultan, and promulgated principles of government hitherto unknown in Turkey. The meaning of the words employed was unknown to the crowd of true believers who listened to it. It announced the termination of arbitrary exactions in the collection of the taxes, equality of taxation in proportion to fortune, and of liability to the military service, publicity of criminal justice, and the termination of confiscation of heirs for the crimes of their predecessors;—noble and just principles, eminently calculated to regenerate an empire, if it were as easy to reform the agents of government as to announce just principles for their regulation.

53. The young Sultan proceeded actively in the career of reform, and at the same time judiciously relaxed several regulations made by Mahmoud, which, without being of any real utility, were extremely grating to the feelings of the Orientals. An ordinance permitted the resumption of the turban instead of the red cap, which in the mania for European customs had been enjoined by the late Sultan after the model of the *bonnet rouge* of republican France. By another ordinance the profession of a baker was declared free; and what was of great importance, the monopoly of the purchase of bread by the *Zahire-Naziri*, or Surveyor-General of Provisions, was abolished, and from that moment all the abuses which had so long existed in that department

disappeared. The bakers purchased grain wherever they chose, and the supply of the market proved abundant. Nor were public institutions neglected; on the contrary, much was done to penetrate the murky darkness of the Ottoman empire. Seven academies were established in Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonica, Broussa, Smyrna, Bagdad, and Trebizond, in conformity with the plan adopted by the late Sultan, where literature and the sciences were to be taught on the European method, and a military school founded in the capital, a naval one at Pera, and at Galata one for the Franks.

54. These changes, so great a novelty in an Eastern monarchy, sufficiently bespoke the influence which, by means of their maritime superiority, the Western Powers had now acquired in Constantinople. Another revolution, which occurred in the course of this year, tended still farther to demonstrate the increasing weakness and rapid decline of the Turkish empire. SERBIA, which had ever since 1806 owed only a nominal allegiance to the Porte, had in 1835 accepted an aristocratic constitution, which had been forced upon Prince Milosch, the chief of the State, by the influence of Russia. Being distasteful, however, to the majority of the inhabitants, who longed passionately for the freedom which they heard was enjoyed by the Christians of Western Europe, it was not long of being overturned. The troops raised by the Government revolted in May of this year, and, marching on the capital, compelled Prince Milosch to resign in favour of his eldest son Milav. He soon died, and was succeeded by the second son, Prince Michel; who, after a long hesitation on the part of Prince Milosch, was permitted to assume the command. He protested, however, against his dethronement, and appealed both to Russia and the Porte. But neither were in a condition to afford him any assistance, for the Egyptian question fully occupied the attention of both. Thus Prince Michel was allowed to

remain on the throne, and Serbia for the first time enjoyed a chief of her own choice, independent either of Muscovite or Ottoman influence;—another symptom among the many which appeared at this time of the rapid decline of the Turkish empire, from which province after province was torn away, not so much from their own strength, as from the weakness of the sovereign power which had so long ruled over them.

55. But this very weakness, which had now become apparent to all the world, only increased the anxiety of the European Powers to terminate the Eastern question without an intervention, which was more to be dreaded than anything that could possibly occur. The danger was imminent that Russia, seeing the weakness and peril of the Grand Signior, should again take upon itself the alarming office of protector, and occupy Constantinople in a military manner, under colour of defending it from the Egyptians. All Europe, and Austria in particular, was deeply interested in averting such a consummation as this, which would at once subvert the balance of power, and, by putting the keys of the Dardanelles in the hands of the Czar, render him absolute master of eastern and southern Germany. The difficulty was fearfully increased by the policy of France, which leaned every day more strongly to a separate treaty with Mehemet Ali, and to an entire divergence from the views of the Allies on the Eastern question. M. Thiers, who had recently become Prime Minister of Louis Philippe, was known to incline strongly to this policy, from a desire of following out the views of Napoleon regarding Egypt, and providing on the shores of Africa a counterpoise to the influence of England in the Mediterranean. Thus the danger was equal on both sides, and it was hard to say which was most formidable; for, on the one hand, the Turks in alliance with England were threatened by the united forces of France and Egypt, and, on the other, Russia eagerly watched for the opportunity of throwing her ægis

over the Sultan, and extending to the declining Ottomans the withering shadow of her protection.*

56. The ultimatum of the Sultan was, that the Pacha should obtain the hereditary government of Egypt, and the government, *for life*, of that part of Syria which extended from the Red Sea to the Sea of Tiberius, with the fortress of St Jean d'Acre. The Pacha, on the other hand, contended for the possession of all these territories in absolute sovereignty, and in hereditary right. "The real point at issue," said the Sultan in his last proclamation, "is the territorial division. If, as Mehemet Ali contends, such vast countries should be conceded to him and his heirs in hereditary right, the dominions of the Porte will be split into two parts, and the relations between the subject and sovereign will exist only in name. Never will it be permitted that a governor, in arrogating to himself the sacred rights of sovereignty, should occupy a territory so great, and power so considerable. If the intentions of the Pacha are only to provide for the future fate of his descendants, certainly the hereditary government of Egypt should suffice for him." The Divan was encouraged to hold out for these terms in consequence of an important event which took place in spring 1840. This was no less than an insurrection in Syria among the Druses and Maronites, who, driven to desperation by the systematic and organised exactions of Mehemet Ali, levied with

* "L'opinion personnelle de M. Thiers n'était pas de s'accorder avec les Puissances, mais de préparer un arrangement particulier entre la Porte et Méhémet Ali. L'Europe était informée des instructions secrètes données à M. de Pontois à Constantinople. M. de Metternich avait également instruit Lord Palmerston du projet qu'avait la France, et qu'elle lui avait communiquée comme une espérance, d'obtenir un traité séparé entre le Pacha d'Egypte et le Sultan: traité qui devait sortir des conditions proposées par les quatre Puissances. De là résultait la conviction que la France se séparait des Puissances, qu'elle avait pris une politique à part, et Lord Palmerston en concluait que ces mêmes Puissances pouvaient traiter séparément et faire elles-mêmes des conditions."—CAPEFIGUE, *Europe depuis 1830*, x. 194, 195.

European exactitude, and supported by European force, sighed for the comparative security and freedom from imposts of Oriental decrepitude.

57. Keenly alive to the perils which environed Turkey on all sides, and desirous to make the pacification of the East and the protection of the Ottoman empire the joint work of the whole States, not that of Russia or France in particular, the diplomatists of the four Powers, under the able guidance of Lord Palmerston and Prince Metternich, at length brought the long-protracted negotiations on the Eastern question to a termination. By a treaty, signed on the 15th July 1840 between Turkey, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, *but without France*, the whole conditions on which the contest was to be terminated were accurately defined, and the means of enforcing them fixed and regulated. By it the Sultan agreed to give to the Pacha, and his descendants in the direct order of succession, the administration of the whole of Egypt, and in addition, *during his life*, the pachalic of Acre, with the fortress of St Jean d'Acre, and the administration of the southern part of Syria, the limits of which were to be afterwards fixed. These offers, however, were made on the express condition that the Pacha should, within ten days after receiving intimation of this treaty, lodge his acceptance of it in the hands of the agent of the Sultan at Constantinople, and at the same time deposit in the hands of that agent the necessary orders to his commanders by sea and land to withdraw his highness's forces immediately from Arabia and all its holy cities, from the isle of Candia, and from all the parts of the Ottoman empire which are not comprised within the limits of Egypt and of the pachalic of Acre. If, in the space of ten days more, the Pacha should not signify his acquiescence in the treaty, the Sultan withdraws his offer of the life-pachalic of Acre, and limits his offer to the hereditary pachalic of Egypt, but this only on condition that these terms should be acceded to in the next

ten days. The annual tribute to be paid by the Pacha was to be proportioned to the territory of which he obtained the administration, according as he acceded to the first or second ultimatum. In any event, the Pacha was to engage to deliver up the Turkish fleet, with its entire crews and equipages, to the person empowered to receive it on the part of the Ottoman Government, and the commanders of the Allied squadrons were to be a party to this delivery.

58. When this treaty was intimated to the Pacha, he broke out into the most violent fury. "Vallah-billah-billah!" (by the Almighty God), exclaimed he, "I will not surrender a foot of land which I possess; and should they declare war against me, I will overturn the empire and bury myself beneath its ruins." But very different preparations from a mere ebullition of Oriental wrath were requisite to withstand the forces of the Allies, whose arrangements were alike complete and effective. By a supplementary treaty signed the same day between Turkey and the four allied Powers, it was stipulated, that if the Pacha should refuse the proposed terms, the allied Powers were, on the requisition of the Sultan, to concert measures for *interrupting the communication between Egypt and Syria*; and for that purpose Great Britain and Austria agreed to unite their naval forces, and give the requisite orders to their respective commanders. In the event of the Pacha directing his forces by sea or land against Constantinople, the high contracting parties agreed to put adequate forces at the disposal of the Sublime Porte, and in particular to place the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus in a sufficient state of defence. It was expressly stipulated, however, "that those steps shall in no way derogate from the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire, in virtue of which it has in all ages been forbidden to ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus; and the Sultan, by the present act, declares that, with the ex-

ception above mentioned, he is firmly resolved to maintain in future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of the empire, as long as the Porte remains at peace, to admit no foreign vessel of war within the Straits of the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles."

59. France was no party to any of these treaties; so that she was now, as in the latter years of the wars of Napoleon, in a manner isolated from Europe, and the alliance with England which had grown up since the Revolution of 1830 seemed threatened with dissolution. The allied Governments, however, were careful to do everything in their power to prevent a rupture with her; and in a joint note addressed to the Cabinet of the Tuileries by their ambassadors it was stated: "The French Government has received, during the whole course of the negotiations which have commenced in the autumn of last year, the clearest and most incontestable proofs of the desire of the courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, to arrive at a good understanding regarding the measures to be pursued in the East with the French Government. From these efforts the Cabinet of Paris may judge of the importance which the four great Powers attach to the moral influence which the entire union of the five Powers would have in a matter so grave and so important to the peace of Europe. The four Powers have perceived with regret that all their efforts to attain this end have been unsuccessful; and though lately they have proposed to France to unite itself to them, in order to complete an arrangement based upon what the French ambassador in London himself proposed in the close of the last year, the French Government has not thought fit to accede to the arrangement. It made its co-operation depend on conditions which the allied Powers deemed incompatible with the dignity and independence of the Ottoman empire, and the future peace of Europe. The four Powers, however, indulge the hope that their separation from France

on this subject will not be of long duration; and they now address themselves in the most earnest manner in order to obtain the moral co-operation of the French Government, in employing its great influence with Mehemet Ali to induce the Pacha to accept the terms offered to him; an interposition which, if effectual, will secure for France fresh claims to the gratitude of the world."

60. The French Government, however, was by no means inclined to adopt these pacific views; on the contrary, the irritation in Paris at the adjustment of this treaty apart from them was such, that France and England were on the verge of a war. M. Thiers had never anticipated such rapid and decisive measures on the part of the English Government; on the contrary, he expected to have himself arranged a treaty between the Porte and the Pacha without the interposition of the four Powers, and thereby secured the influence of France in an effectual manner both at Constantinople and Alexandria. Great, accordingly, was the consternation of the French Cabinet, and especially of M. Thiers, when they received intelligence of the signature of the treaty of 15th July. It was communicated with studied courtesy, accompanied by an entire copy of all the documents connected with it, on the 19th July; but so far from the feelings of the French Government being mollified by this courtesy, they were only the more exasperated by it. A burst of warlike enthusiasm immediately broke forth both in the Government and the people. The public indignation knew no bounds. The national honour was thought to be outraged—a slight put upon the people which could be washed out only in blood. On all sides there was a universal cry for arms. Not a single journal in Paris failed to call out loudly for war. The allied Powers, and England in particular, were the objects of the most impassioned invective. The *entente cordiale* was forgotten; the envenomed feelings of the revolutionary war sprang up again with fearful en-

ergy. Taking advantage of the public enthusiasm, M. Thiers proposed that the Cabinet should declare its sittings permanent; that the army should forthwith be raised to 500,000 men; extensive fortifications be erected round Paris and the frontier fortresses; the fleet in the Mediterranean be largely augmented; and in fine, to meet these extraordinary expenses, a credit of 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000) should be given to the Ministers by a simple ordonnance of the King, without awaiting the assembling of the Chambers. To all these proposals the King gave a ready and unqualified assent, and they were adopted by the Council. The idea of encircling Paris with a series of detached forts had long been a favourite one with Louis Philippe, and frequently discussed in the Council, and he was too happy to take advantage of the present moment of excitement and consternation to get it carried into effect with the general concurrence of the nation.

61. Matters had now come to such a pass between England and France, that a rupture between them seemed not only imminent, but inevitable. Already, in the spring of the year, the magnitude of the French naval force in the Mediterranean, which amounted to eighteen sail of the line, had excited the anxiety of Lord Palmerston;* and it was little allayed by the assurance of M. Thiers that it amounted *only to fifteen*. Such was the pitiable state of weakness to which the British naval

* J'ai à faire savoir à votre Excellence que le Gouvernement de sa Majesté Britannique a été informé qu'en addition aux dix-sept vaisseaux de ligne qui sont déjà équipés ou en armement, pour le service de la Méditerranée, l'Inflexible de 90 canons va prendre la mer à Rochefort, et que la France aura bientôt dix-huit vaisseaux de ligne, dont plusieurs à trois ponts, dans la Méditerranée. Si ces renseignements sont exacts, il y a là matière à l'attention la plus sérieuse du Gouvernement Britannique.—"M. Thiers m'a assuré que le Gouvernement Français n'avait pas équipé, et ne se proposait pas d'équiper, plus de quinze vaisseaux de ligne, dont neuf devaient stationner dans le Levant, et six rester à Toulon."—LORD PALMERSTON à LORD GRANVILLE, March 5, 1840; and LORD GRANVILLE à LORD PALMERSTON, March 9, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 212, 213.

force had been reduced by the ceaseless reductions of previous years, that the English fleet in the Mediterranean consisted only of *nine line-of-battle ships*, of which the largest bore 110 guns; and the Turkish fleet was ranged with the Egyptian on the other side. The crisis, therefore, was imminent, and the risk extreme. The two fleets lay side by side during the whole summer, in the bay of Besika, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, hourly expecting the order to commence hostilities. The British were inferior in numbers, but they were confident of the result, and anxiously awaited the signal; in the night, double watches were kept, the decks were kept cleared for action, and the guns double-shotted. The French sailors were equally zealous and enthusiastic, and the consciousness of their superiority of force made them sanguine of success. In France, the revolutionary passions were let loose with the utmost fury, and nothing short of a war of propagandism against Europe seemed capable of satisfying the popular desires; * while Russia eagerly promised an army of 40,000 men to operate in Asia Minor, and Austria agreed to furnish 50,000 men to protect the northern provinces of Turkey from injury or insult. It was evident, from the readiness with which

the great Powers proffered their aid for the defence of the Sultan, that each conceived that in so doing it was advancing its own interests. Men are never so liberal but from selfish motives.

62. The plan of the Allies was to strike a decisive blow in the Levant with such rapidity that the contest might be terminated there, before any efficient steps could be taken by France to prevent it. For this purpose the English squadron, consisting of nine line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and other vessels, under Admirals Stopford and Napier,† received orders to leave its anchorage in the bay of Besika, where it was lying beside the French fleet, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and make sail for the coast of Syria and Egypt. It was to be joined by two frigates and two sloops of the Austrians; not that their aid was either required by, or could add anything of consequence to, the English armament, but that the sight of the Imperial flag beside the British would convince the world that the movement was a joint one on the part of the whole Allies, not a separate one on that of Great Britain. The French, however, had fifteen sail of the line in the Mediterranean, of much heavier weight of metal than the English, and the superiority in the number of the crews was

* "Nous retournons vers 1831, vers l'esprit révolutionnaire exploitant l'entraînement national, et poussant à la guerre sans motif légitime, sans chance raisonnable de succès, dans le seul espoir des révolutions. L'intérêt de la France ne conseille pas de faire de la question de Syrie un cas de guerre. Nous avons hautement dit que la distribution des territoires entre le Sultan et le Pacha nous importait peu. Nous l'avons constamment dit, aucun des intérêts supérieurs de la France n'est attaqué; ce qu'on tente en Orient peut amener autre chose sur ce qu'on tente. Des évènements peuvent surgir auxquels la France ne saurait rester étrangère. Ce n'est pas une raison d'élever soi-même des évènements et des questions plus graves encore, et qui ne naîtront point naturellement. On n'a voulu ni insulter, ni défier, ni triompher de la France par le traité du 15 Juillet. On lui a demandé son concours, et elle l'a refusé."—M. GUIZOT à M. le Duc DE BROGLIE, July 28, 1841; CAPEFIGUE, x. 215, note.

† Viz:—

	Line.	Frigates and Sloops.	Steamers.	Turks & Austrians.
Princess Charlotte,	110 guns	Castor, 36	Gorgon	Flagship, 84
Powerful, . . .	84 "	Pique, 36	Phoenix	Austrian, 60
Ganges, . . .	84 "	Carysford, 26	Stromboli	Do. Frigate, 46
Bellerophon, . .	80 "	Talbot, 28	Vesuvius	Corvette, 20
Thunderer, . . .	80 "	Hazard, 18	..	Cutter, 8
Benbow, . . .	72 "	Wasp, 16	..	..
Edinburgh, . . .	74 "	..	..	..
Revenge, . . .	74 "	..	..	..
Hastings, . . .	74 "	..	..	..
	9	6	4	1 line & 4 lesser.

—Ann. Reg. 1840, p. 192.

still more decided. The Russian fleet had not yet left Sebastopol ; the Austrian consisted only of a few frigates ; the Turkish was ranged in the harbour of Alexandria beside the Egyptian. In all, twenty sail of the line were collected on the side of the French and the Pacha, against nine on that of the British and one of the Turks : an immense disproportion, adequate to have deprived the British of the command of the Mediterranean, but not sufficient to intimidate the successors of Nelson and Collingwood, to whom the honour of the national flag was then intrusted.

63. To understand the brief but decisive naval campaign which followed, and comprehend how it came to pass that a *naval* force succeeded in gaining important *land* victories, and the successful bombardment of a few towns on the coast of Syria led to the abandonment of all his important inland conquests by Ibrahim Pacha, it is necessary to reflect upon the physical circumstances of that country, and the effect the loss of the chain of communication between Asia Minor and Egypt by the coast, must have upon any belligerent carrying on war between these two countries. Nature has rendered that the *sole* line of communication by land between Asia and Africa. Syria, as already mentioned, is composed of a huge mass of rocky and precipitous mountains, which, under various names, of which the Taurus, Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and Mount Carmel, are the most remarkable, projects into the sea between the Euxine and the Levant, and severs the two continents from each other. They are disunited, save by the coast road which runs between the foot of the mountains and the waves of the Mediterranean. So narrow is the strip of land through which it runs, that Beyrout, Tyre, Acre, Jaffa, and all the maritime towns of Syria, are in a manner overhung by the mountains. It results from this peculiar physical conformation, that possession of the coast line is indispensable for any military operations, either of Egypt

against Asia, or of Asia against Egypt. All conquerors on either side, from the earliest times, have gone by this route. An army advancing from Egypt to Syria must bring up all its supplies by this line ; its whole communications lie through the seaport towns. Thence their vital importance in war. An enemy who, from the sea, succeeds in interrupting the possession of the line, has achieved the greatest feat in strategy ; he has thrown himself on his adversaries' communications without compromising his own. A blow at Acre or Jaffa is like a severe stroke on the spinal marrow ; it paralyzes all below the wound.

64. Nothing daunted by the formidable forces arrayed against him, Admiral Stopford proceeded to execute the important mission with which he was intrusted. On the 14th August he summoned the Egyptian generals in the name of the allied Powers to evacuate Syria, and as no notice was taken of the requisition, he proceeded to active operations. He divided his squadron into two portions : the first, consisting of three sail of the line, a frigate, and two war-steamers, all English, and two frigates, Austrian, proceeded under himself to the coast of Egypt, and cast anchor before Alexandria ; while Commodore Napier, with six line-of-battle ships, took post in the roads of Beyrout. The first step taken was to summon the troops of the Pacha to evacuate the town ; and this not having been done, and Admiral Stopford having joined with the squadron from Alexandria on the 9th September, the whole vessels stood in on the 11th, and commenced the bombardment, which was kept up with uncommon vigour for six successive days. The Egyptians replied steadily from all their batteries, and at first it was hard to say to which side victory would incline. By degrees, however, the superiority of the English fire became manifest : gun after gun in the fortress was dismounted ; bastion after bastion crumbled into ruins, and presented yawning chasms in the scarp to the broadsides

of the assailants. At length, after a gallant resistance, the defences were all ruined, the town reduced to ashes, and evacuated by the Egyptians. It was soon afterwards taken possession of by the land troops of the Sultan and the allied marines under Commodore Napier, who had disembarked from the fleet, and the Turkish flag hoisted on the ruined battlements.

65. Immense was the sensation produced in France and over Europe by this vigorous demonstration. The French had never given credit to the declarations of the Allies; they thought that at the eleventh hour, if not before, the English would recede from the Continental league, and that by simply holding out they would nullify the whole provisions of the treaty of July. Now, however, it was proved that the Allies were in earnest, and that the English, in particular, stood in the very front rank of the confederacy. The broadsides of the Queen Charlotte had defied France as completely as the guns of Marshal Gérard, directed against Antwerp, had thrown down the gauntlet to the Holy Alliance. Surprise at an event so entirely unexpected was the first impression, but that was soon succeeded by indignation. The cry was universal for war; the press, without exception, resounded with impassioned declamations; the public excitement rose to the very highest point, and nothing but a hostile demonstration on the part of Government was wanting to light up the flames of a general war over Europe. There can be no doubt that Louis Philippe keenly felt the slight put upon the consequence of France by the prompt execution of the treaty of July, and that, if he had been at liberty to follow out his inclinations, and he could have done so without danger, he would have put himself at the head of this national movement, and at once declared war against England. But he was advanced in years, and experienced in the vicissitudes of human affairs: the child of revolution, he was familiar with its passions and acquainted with its designs. The risk to the new dynasty in France, and the

cause of order over Europe, was extreme if a general war were now to break out. It would soon lose its national and assume a social character. The strife of opinion which Mr Canning foresaw, and which had been so near bursting forth in 1823 and 1831, was now imminent; and if it took place, all Europe would be on one side, and France alone on the other. The boasted alliance with England, which had been the main-stay of the Orleans dynasty, was at an end. Again, as in 1814 and 1815, France would have to confront the forces of banded Europe on the Rhine. There was enough here to cause the stoutest heart to quail; for the forces of the coalition, headed by Russia, could be encountered only by rousing the revolutionary spirit in France; and if it were once let loose, it was not easy to say whether the Citizen King would have most to fear from the blows of his enemies or the success of his supporters.

66. These considerations, which were so obvious as to force themselves on every rational and unprejudiced mind, were much strengthened by the steps taken by M. Thiers at this crisis to rouse the people in France, on the one side, and the assurances given on the part of the allied Cabinets, on the other. In Paris, nothing was to be seen but the enthusiasm of 1793. The Marseillaise was constantly heard in the streets; clubs every day sprang up, which resounded with Jacobinical declamations; the public fêtes all wore a revolutionary aspect. Louis Philippe was startled at this effervescence: he admired the national spirit which was evolved, but he dreaded its alliance with democratic transports which obviously menaced his throne. Impressed with these ideas, and alarmed at the revolutionary tendency of the government of M. Thiers, the King summoned M. Guizot,* the ambassador

* M. Guizot's ideas on the state of affairs at this crisis were in the highest degree rational and pacific. In a despatch to the French consul at Alexandria, he said: "Le sentiment général, mon propre sentiment, est que le temps ne peut que tourner contre la Pacha et amener des complications nou-

at the Court of London, to meet him at the Chateau d'Eu in Normandy; and he had there several long and confidential conferences with that accomplished diplomatist on the affairs of Europe in general, and the views of the English Cabinet in particular. From him he learned what was the real truth—that the British Government had been unwillingly drawn into this contest from dread of the effect of any weakening of Turkey in augmenting the preponderance of Russia in the East; that it was sincerely inclined to the French alliance, which it regarded as the best security for the peace of Europe; and that, as soon as the Eastern question was settled, it would gladly revert to the most friendly terms with the French Government. At the same time, Count Appony and M. d'Arnim strongly represented that their courts were sincerely averse to a Continental war, but much alarmed at the magnitude of the armaments preparing in France; and that, unless they were discontinued, the German Confederacy must arm also, in which case no one could guarantee even for a day the peace of Europe. Impressed with these ideas, the King resolved to persevere in his pacific course, and as the only means of securing it, to recall the French fleet from the Levant, and to make M. Guizot Prime Minister in lieu of M. Thiers. Orders were accord-

velles, dont l'effet pourrait l'atteindre au siège même de sa puissance. Quant à la France, elle ne veut pas, elle ne fera pas la guerre pour la Syrie: elle ne veut pas, elle ne fera pas la guerre pour permettre à Méhémet Ali de conserver cette contrée. Il peut encore demeurer possesseur héréditaire de l'Egypte; il a encore quelque chance d'obtenir un peu plus que l'Egypte, s'il entre franchement dans cette voie. La France alors redoublera d'efforts pour que les décisions à intervenir soient aussi favorables au Viceroy que la situation le comporte. Mais s'il est dans ses intentions de risquer le tout pour le tout, de risquer l'Egypte pour la Syrie, s'il espère entraîner la France il tombera dans une dangereuse illusion. Personne ne peut entraîner la France dans une guerre interminable pour une cause qu'elle ne considère pas comme suffisante pour lui faire prendre une telle résolution. Le plus grand service que la France puisse rendre à Méhémet Ali est de lui dire la vérité tout entière."—M. GUIZOT à Consul-Général d'Alexandrie, Nov. 9, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 301, 302.

ingly sent out to Admiral Lalande, who commanded in the Levant, to return to Napoli di Romania; and the French squadron, in deep dejection, set sail for the westward at the very time when the English fleet was divided, and steering for Alexandria and Beyrout.*

67. The change which had occurred in the councils of France soon appeared in a note of M. Thiers to the allied Cabinets on 8th October. In that document the French Minister receded altogether from the demand of the pachalic of Syria for Mehemet Ali, and contented himself with protesting that "in no event would the dethronement pronounced by the Porte against the Pacha of Egypt be tolerated by the French Government." None of the Allies were contending for that extreme measure; so that, from this moment, the divergence of France from the other Powers on the Eastern question was at an end, and the danger to the peace of Europe had blown over. "The dearest interests of Europe," said M. Thiers, "are wound up with the preservation of the Turkish empire. That empire, retained in a state of debasement, can serve no other end but to contribute to the aggrandisement of the neighbouring States, to the destruction of the balance of power, and its ruin would immediately induce changes which would alter the face of the whole world. France, and the other Powers with her, have so thoroughly understood that eventual result, that, in concert with her allies, she has constantly and honestly contended for the preservation of

* "Ce ne fut pas sans un vif déplaisir que l'on vit abandonner ainsi le théâtre des événements et le mécontentement général fut d'autant plus grand que l'on s'attendait à suivre l'escadre Anglaise en Syrie, que la possibilité d'une collision avait excité l'enthousiasme des équipages, et que chacun était prêt à faire dignement son devoir, soutenir l'honneur du pavillon, et venger cette longue et cruelle série d'injures et de défaites qui font, et feront toujours battre le cœur de tous les marins en présence des Anglais. Ce fut donc un profond sentiment d'abattement et de honte qui remplaça ces généreux élans pendant tout le temps que l'escadre resta, pour ainsi dire, cachée et impuissante dans la triste baie de Salamine."—Note d'un Officier supérieur à bord de la Flotte Française, Oct. 17, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 254, note.

the Ottoman empire, how deeply so ever the interests of some of them may be involved in the preservation or ruin of that empire. But the shores of the Black Sea are not a more integral part of the Ottoman empire than those of the Red Sea; and it is as essential to guarantee the independence of Egypt and Syria as of the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles." But the Allies were entirely in accordance with France on this point, and were determined to enforce its observance by the Sultan; so that there was no longer, after a rupture had been so near, any cause of difference between them.*

68. Although, however, the moment for action had passed, and M. Thiers, by withdrawing the French fleet from the Levant, had in effect yielded the point in dispute in the East to the allied Powers, yet he could not bring himself to abandon the illusion of a warlike propagandism in Europe, and insisted not only on raising the regular army to 500,000 men, and calling out on permanent duty 300,000 national guards, but on a bill of indemnity from the Chambers sanctioning all the warlike expenses already incurred. The majority of the Cabinet went with the Prime Minister in these demands, and insisted farther that the speech from the throne on the opening of the Chambers should announce them, and declare the resolution of the King "to maintain and leave to his son the sacred deposit of the national independence which the *French Revolution* had placed in his hands." The King hesitated, as well he might, at being a

party to such announcements. He knew that the ultimatum of the allied Powers had been delivered, and that the continuance of the warlike preparations of France would be the signal for a general war. He refused, therefore, to agree to such a speech on the raising of the armaments proposed; and the consequence was, that M. Thiers and the whole Cabinet tendered their resignations, which were accepted, and M. Guizot and Marshal Soult were sent for to form a new Administration.

69. Before the effect of this decisive change in French councils could be felt in European diplomacy, the Eastern question had in effect been resolved by still more powerful negotiators. The cannon of the British fleet had torn down the ramparts of ACRE; they had done that which the arms of Napoleon had left undone. Delivered from the inopportune presence of the French squadron, the British Admiral, after the fall of Beyrout, steered for that far-famed fortress, and the standards of England were again seen on the theatre of the greatest exploits of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the greatest reverse in the early career of Napoleon. On the 25th September the British fleet stood along the coast of Syria towards the south, while a land force 12,000 strong, consisting of Turkish troops, reinforced by the marines of the allied squadron, and 3000 mountaineers of the Lebanon, the whole commanded by Commodore Napier, stormed Sidon on the 26th, though garrisoned by 3000 men. On this occasion the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria was the first on the breach. Upon this success, the army of Ibrahim Pacha, which numbered 14,000 men, and had been much shaken by the fall of Beyrout, dispersed, and a large part joined the Allies. Ibrahim himself retired, or rather fled from Balbek, where he had taken post, attended only by a part of his troops, to Damascus. Meanwhile the ports of Syria were closely blockaded; and on the 10th of October an engagement took place at Calet Meidan, in the mountains of Lebanon, between the allied forces under Admiral Napier and those remaining to

* "Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté pense qu'il serait convenable que les représentans des quatre Puissances à Constantinople reçussent l'ordre de se rendre auprès du Ministre Turc, et de lui déclarer que leurs Gouvernemens, par l'application de l'article 7 de l'acte séparé du Traité du 15 Juillet, recommandent vivement au Sultan de vouloir bien dans le cas où Méhémet Ali ferait promptement sa soumission, et consentirait à rendre la flotte et à retirer ses troupes de la Syrie, d'Adana, de Candie, et des Villes Saintes, nonseulement à réintégrer Méhémet Ali dans son pachalik d'Egypte, mais à lui accorder en outre l'hérédité de ce pachalik."—LORD PALMERSTON à LORD PONSONBY, *Ambassadeur Anglais à Constantinople*, Oct. 15, 1840; CAPE-FIGUE, x. 260, note.

Ibrahim, in which the latter were completely defeated, with the loss of 3000 prisoners, besides 5000 who had previously deserted. Finding it impossible to withstand the allied forces, the Emir Bechir, a strong partisan of Ibrahim's, and chief of one of the mountain tribes of Lebanon, had previously concluded a convention, whereby he agreed, on condition of having his life and property secured, to return to his allegiance to the Sultan, whom he immediately joined with all his forces. He was soon after received on board an English steamer at Sidon. These successes opened the gates of the Lebanon, the intrepid mountaineers of which, including the great tribe of the Druses, smarting under the systematic exactions of Ibrahim Pacha, all rose, and, issuing from their passes, flocked down to the sea-coast for arms, which were quickly and amply supplied by the boats of the British squadron. The progress of the allied fleet and army was now a continued triumph. In a short time Tripoli, Tortosa, and Latakia opened their gates, and no place of strength remained to the Egyptians on the coast but Acre, before which the allied fleets appeared on the 26th October.

70. This far-famed fortress was at this time garrisoned by 4500 of Ibrahim's best troops, besides 800 cavalry, and its successful resistance to Napoleon had led to a very general opinion that it was impregnable. A summons to capitulate having been disregarded, and 3000 marines and Turkish troops embarked on board the squadron, the whole was arranged in two divisions by Admiral Stopford, who had the chief command. The attack was directed against the west lines and south face of the works. The former were assailed by the Princess Charlotte, Powerful, Bellerophon, Revenge, Thunder, and Pique, under the immediate command of Admiral Napier, with the Phoenix steamer; the latter by the Edinburgh, Benbow, Castor, Carysfort, Talbot, Wasp, and Hazard. The steamers Gorgon, Vesuvius, and Stromboli took a position a little in the rear, and fired shells with great rapidity and preci-

sion into the fortress. Admiral Sir R. Stopford took the lead, and commenced the attack in the Phoenix steamer, though his flag still remained flying on board the Princess Charlotte. Admiral Napier, his worthy colleague, led the way to the northward in the Powerful. The Turkish ship of the line and frigates, with the Austrian vessels, stood towards the south. An immense advantage was in the outset gained by the British, in consequence of the Egyptians mistaking the buoys which the former had put down to mark the shoals for the positions where the ships were to anchor, and directing all their guns to these points, building up the other embrasures with masonry to keep out the round and grape shot. In consequence of this error, the ships got into their anchorage, within a hundred yards of the batteries, with scarcely any loss, just as Lord Exmouth had done at Algiers; and thus the action began at the distance where alone ships can successfully contend with land-batteries.*

71. The fire commenced at two P.M., and immediately became extremely warm on both sides. The line-of-battle ships poured in broadside after broadside point-blank against the batteries with extraordinary rapidity and precision, while the air above was streaked with shells from the mortar-vessels, which fell almost without exception in the bastions and on the ramparts. Meanwhile the Egyptians were not idle: well did they sustain, in that trying hour, the ancient fame of the Crescent. But it was all in vain; the superiority of European arms and skill was soon decisively exhibited. Though they stood manfully to their guns despite the iron tempest which incessantly battered the parapets and came in at the embrasures, yet their shot, ill directed, did little execution on the fleet, while the ramparts were rapidly crumbling and soon began to yawn

* I heard this important fact as to the buoys from my gallant friend Sir Houston Stewart, during a speech he made on returning thanks at a public dinner given to him at Greenock, on 23d January 1857, on occasion of his return from the Euxine, where he had so greatly distinguished himself during the Crimean war.

under the admirable direction and tremendous weight of metal of the English broadsides. At length, at a quarter past four, a shell from the Gorgon penetrated the principal magazine, which immediately blew up with an explosion so tremendous that all firing on both sides ceased for some minutes. First a stream of light shot straight up to a great height in the air, then a vast volume of dark smoke, as from an eruption of Vesuvius, rose to the height of some thousand feet, with a roar which drowned even the thunder of the artillery; next, after the lapse of half a minute, the rattle of the falling fragments on the roofs, bastions, and in the water, made even the bravest thrill with horror. Further resistance was now impossible; the ammunition of the fortress was nearly all destroyed; 1700 men of the troops had been killed or wounded by the explosion; and such was the consternation of the garrison, that as soon as it was dark part evacuated the town, which was taken possession of at three on the following morning by the boats from the British squadron.

72. The capture of Acre was one of the greatest blows, and attended by the greatest results, ever struck by any nation. The immediate trophies of the victory were great, but they were as nothing compared to its ultimate results. On the walls were found 121 guns and 20 mortars mounted, besides 42 not mounted, and in the store 97 brass field-pieces, and the like number of mortars. The loss of the Egyptians was 2300 killed and wounded, and 3000 prisoners were taken. But in its final consequences it was far more important, and, in truth, decisive of the fate of the campaign. The garrison of Jaffa immediately evacuated that place, and endeavoured to escape into Egypt, but being beset by the insurgents, was driven back to Acre, and made prisoners. The Syrian tribes declared in favour of the Sultan; the garrison and inhabitants of Jerusalem sent in their adhesion; and the forces of Ibrahim Pacha, which in the beginning of September had been 75,000, were reduced to 20,000, con-

centrated in the plain of Balbek, between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, cut off from Egypt, surrounded by enemies, and without any resources to carry on the war. These immense successes had been gained with surprisingly little loss; for the allied casualties in the bombardment of Acre had been only fourteen English and four Turks killed, and forty-two wounded! — a loss altogether trifling compared to the magnitude of the success gained, and proving that the Egyptian engineers and gunners had been little skilled in their duties; for the English ships met with a very different resistance when, fourteen years after, they came to face the batteries of Sebastopol.

73. These decisive successes on the part of the English squadron, and, above all, the capture of Acre, the key to the whole line of communication between Egypt and Syria, rendered further resistance on the part of the Pacha impossible. The English Cabinet, on its side, was not less solicitous to come to an accommodation, and avert hostilities, for which it was wholly unprepared, and with which, when they felt their burden, it was certain the nation would be in the highest degree dissatisfied. With these dispositions on both sides, and the certainty that France had withdrawn from any active support of Mehemet Ali, it was not difficult to come to an accommodation. Commodore Napier, on the part of the allied Powers, reiterated, when off Alexandria, the offer, that if the Pacha would agree to restore the fleet, and withdraw his troops from Syria and Candia, hostilities against Alexandria should cease, and they would use their best endeavours to secure for him and his descendants the pachalic of Egypt in hereditary right. To these terms the Pacha, with the allied fleet ready to bombard Alexandria, at length agreed; and he announced to Admiral Stopford, the British commander-in-chief, the despatch of orders for the entire evacuation of Syria and Candia, and the restitution of the Turkish squadron.* The East-

* "Toujours disposé à faire le sacrifice de

ern question was therefore resolved, by the acceptance of Mehemet Ali, without reserve, of the whole terms of the allied Powers. The stipulated evacuations took place, and before the middle of February the Turkish squadron was restored, and the Egyptian troops at all points had returned to the banks of the Nile. There was some difficulty, in the first instance, in getting Admiral Stopford to ratify the convention—in concluding which he said Commodore Napier had exceeded his powers—and in inducing the Sultan to depart from the sentence of confiscation pronounced against the pacha of his Egyptian pachalic; but at length, by the strenuous efforts of the whole allied Powers, and especially of England, this too was effected, and the pacification of the East was complete.

74. There remained only the conclusion of a final treaty for the settlement of the East. With equal judgment and delicacy, the initiative in proposing terms for this purpose was left to France, and M. Guizot, on the part of that power, made the following proposals: 1. That the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should be closed against ships of war of all nations, without distinction. 2. That the pachalic of Egypt, in hereditary right, should be secured to Mehemet Ali and his descendants. 3. That guarantees should be given for ameliorating the condition of the Christian inhabitants of Syria. There was nothing in these proposals which could give rise to any division; the allied

Powers themselves might have proposed similar terms. They were accordingly at once accepted. Two firmans were issued on the 13th February 1841 by the Sultan, confirming Mehemet Ali in his pachalic of Egypt in hereditary right, and in that of Nubia, Darfour, Sennaar, and Kordofan in liferent, on condition of his remaining the vassal of the Porte, and placing his fleets and armies in certain defined proportions at the Sultan's disposal when required. One-fourth of the clear revenue of Egypt was to be paid to the Porte in name of tribute, and the ordinary forces to be maintained in the country were limited to eighteen thousand men; the whole of which, when required, were to be at the disposal of the Turks. This done, the fleet set sail from Alexandria, and on the 16th March resumed its place in the Golden Horn. It consisted of nine ships of the line, eleven frigates, and four brigs, which were inspected with great pomp on their arrival by the Sultan, who beheld with transport, as the reward of his concessions, the fleet, the sole bulwark of Turkey against Russia, long captive in the hands of his enemies, again moored under the walls of Constantinople.

tout ce que je possède, et de ma vie même, pour me concilier les bonnes grâces de sa Hautesse, et reconnoissant de ce que, par l'intervention des Puissances alliées, le faveur de mon Souverain m'est rendue, j'ai pris des dispositions pour que la flotte Ottomane soit remise à telle personne et de telle manière qu'il plaira à sa Hautesse d'ordonner. Les troupes qui se trouvent en Candie, en Arabie, et dans les Villes Saintes, sont prêtes à se retirer, et l'évacuation en aura lieu sans délai. Quant à la Syrie et au district d'Adana, j'ai appris par une lettre de Ibrahim Pacha qu'il avait dû quitter Damas le 3 ou 4 Chewal (Décembre), avec toute l'armée, pour rentrer en Egypte. La Syrie est par conséquent évacuée en totalité, et par-là mon acte d'obéissance accompli."—MEHEMET ALI à L'AMIRAL STOPFORD, Dec. 10, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 314, 315.

75. A convention, which became of great importance in after times, was signed on the 13th July 1841 by the whole allied Powers and France, which now resumed its place in the European family, defining the rights of Turkey and foreign nations in the navigation of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. By this convention it was stipulated,—“1. That the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, in conformity with the ancient usage of the Ottoman empire, shall remain *permanently closed against all foreign vessels of war, as long as the Ottoman Porte shall enjoy peace.* 2. The Sultan declares, on his side, that he is firmly resolved to maintain immovably the ancient rule of the empire, in virtue of which it is forbidden to vessels of war of all nations to enter the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus, and in consequence of which these Straits remain for ever closed, as long as the Ottoman Porte

shall be at peace. 3. His majesty the Emperor of Austria, and their majesties the King of the French, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, on their part engage to respect that resolution of the Sultan, and to act in conformity with the principle there expressed. 4. The ancient rule of the Ottoman empire being thus established and recognised, the Sultan reserves to himself the right to grant firmans of passage to small vessels of war, which, in conformity with usage, are employed in the service of ambassadors of friendly Powers. 5. The Sultan reserves to himself the right to notify the terms of this treaty to all the Powers with which he is on terms of amity, and to invite their accession to it."

76. Such were the terms of this celebrated treaty, which has ever since, till the breaking out of the great war of 1854, regulated the affairs of the East, and which put a final period to the undue ascendancy which Mehemet Ali had acquired by his powerful intervention in the war of Greece, and victorious career in that of Syria and Asia Minor. As peace had been concluded on the terms dictated by the allied Powers, and in consequence of the victories of the British fleet, which alone had been engaged in hostilities, the utmost satisfaction was spread throughout the British empire. The glorious triumphs which had immortalised the conclusion of the late war seemed to be renewed: men beheld with joy that a peace of twenty-five years' duration had neither lessened the energies nor weakened the courage of our troops by sea and land; and that Great Britain, victorious in every quarter of the globe, was enabled to take the same lead in European diplomacy which she had done when the British standards waved in triumph over the walls of Paris. Nor did it lessen the general exultation that the theatre of the greatest triumph of this glorious period had witnessed a signal defeat of the French arms; that Stopford had conquered where Napoleon had failed; and that Acre, the scene of the chivalrous exploits of Richard

Cœur-de-Lion, again saw the standards of St George conquering and to conquer.

77. These feelings were natural and excusable; and unquestionably the triumph of Acre shed as much lustre on the British arms as the treaties of 15th July 1840, and 13th July 1841, did on the talents and influence of her diplomatists. Yet were the successes of this memorable period in a great degree deceptive; the advantages gained were more apparent than real—the seeds of greater jealousies were sown—the foundation of a more terrible struggle laid than that which had just been appeased. The alliance was concluded, and the chances of war were hazarded, in order to counteract the growing influence of France on the banks of the Nile, and lessen the dangers of the Ottoman empire on those of the Bosphorus. And unquestionably one set of dangers was obviated by its successful issue, for the authority of the Sultan over Egypt was re-established, and the imminent risk the Ottoman empire ran after the battle of Konieh removed. But is that the greatest danger which Turkey really ran? is it from the South or the North that its independence is most seriously menaced? Has it nothing to fear from the northern colossus, to whom, by this treaty, the Euxine became, with the consent of all the European Powers, an inland inaccessible lake? Undertaken to rescue Constantinople from the perilous *exclusive* guardianship of Russia, *the war left the Sultan tête-à-tête with the Czar in the Black Sea*; intended to secure British influence in the Isthmus of Suez, the highroad to India, it left the Pacha bound by strong ties both of interest and gratitude to the French Government!* The treaty of 1841

* "Je remercie la France de n'avoir pas signé le traité de Londres, c'est une consolation et une force pour moi. Je suis profondément touché du service qu'elle m'a rendu en faisant valoir mes droits, et je ne l'oublierai jamais. S'il lui convenait aujourd'hui de s'opposer aux projets des Puissances, je serais fier de combattre à ses côtés; je mettrais à ses ordres ma flotte, mon armée, et mon fils. Si elle ne le fait pas, je comprends

confirmed, and made part of the public law of Europe, a right, which had been originally conceded to the Turkish empire for its protection when the Black Sea belonged to it as an inland lake, *at the very time when*, by the changes of fortune, that sea had *been turned into a Russian lake*, and that right in consequence become the *greatest of all dangers to its independence*. The terrible war of 1854, intended to terminate the fatal supremacy of Russia in the waters of the Euxine, was the direct consequence of the treaty of 1841, purchased by the victories of Beyrout and Acre!

78. These consequences, however, are not to be ascribed so much as a fault to the British Government in 1841, as to the infatuation of counsels or prostration of national strength which led to its refusing succour to the Ottoman Government when the Sultan applied for it in the last extremity after the battle of Konieh in 1833. In 1840 the crisis was imminent—Turkey could be rescued from destruction only by the forcible interposition and close union of the allied Powers, and Lord Palmerston evinced

sa réserve. Nos positions ne sont pas les mêmes; nos mouvemens doivent peut-être rester indépendans. Que la France agisse comme elle l'entendra; pour moi, je garderai toute ma liberté d'action. On a fait contre moi un traité inique et violent: je n'attaquerai pas ceux qui l'ont signé; je serai patient et modéré; mais je verserai la dernière goutte de mon sang, pour conserver l'empire que j'ai fondé. Si les Puissances se bornent à bloquer les côtes de l'Egypte et de la Syrie, j'ai les moyens d'attendre, et j'attendrai sans tirer l'épée; mais que l'on attaque Saint Jean d'Acre ou Alexandrie, que l'on cherche à allumer l'insurrection du Liban, et sur-le-champ je donnerai l'ordre à mon fils de passer le Taurus. On veut faire une Vendée en Syrie, sur les derrières de mon armée; j'en ferai une dans l'Asie Mineure, où déjà les populations se lèvent à ma voix. Je suis le représentant de l'Islamisme; je proclamerai la guerre sainte, et tout bon Musulman viendra se ranger derrière moi. On croit m'effrayer par une coalition des quatre Puissances; je saurai bien la dissoudre en marchant sur Constantinople. J'allumerai un tel incendie que l'Europe aura bien assez de ses propres affaires, et l'empire Ottoman sera sauvé. Quoiqu'il arrive, j'aurai fait mon devoir: je me soumetts à la volonté de Dieu."—MEHEMET ALI à M. WALEWSKI, Aug. 15, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, x. 227, 228, note.

his vigour and address in the manner in which he reunited them to England for the attainment of that important object. But it was otherwise when succour was refused to the Sultan by the British Government eight years before. That was, perhaps, the most fatal and inexplicable omission ever made by the Cabinet of Great Britain. The much-wished-for opportunity had arrived. Turkey, in the agonies of dissolution at the hands of its rebellious vassal, had flown to England for protection; a few sail of the line would have placed the capital in safety, and the prestige of Muscovite supremacy would have been at once destroyed by the most important of its protected States having voluntarily placed itself under the ægis of another and a rival power. Instead of this, what did England do? She *refused succour*; threw the Ottomans into the arms of Russia, who extorted, as the price of her protection, the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, which converted the Euxine into a Russian lake; and left the forts of the Bosphorus *vis-à-vis* to the bastions of Sebastopol, with a few sail of the line, ill-manned, to combat eighteen line-of-battle ships, the skill of whose gunners England afterwards so fatally experienced on the ramparts of the Malakoff and the Redan! Thus are nations led to destruction by the want of foresight in the national councils.

79. But this want of foresight, especially in relation to foreign affairs, was of a very recent origin in the British councils. Mr Pitt, in 1789, had put a bridle in the mouth of the Czar, and in conjunction with Prussia arrested the march of the united Muscovite and Austrian armies when on the highroad to Constantinople. But the England of 1789 was not the England of 1833. The Reform Bill had banished foresight from the national councils, preparation for the national armaments. So vehement had the passion for economy become in consequence of the ascendancy of the class of shopkeepers in the constituency, and the straitened state of the finances from the contraction of the currency, that the House of Commons was un-

able to furnish supplies to Government adequate to upholding the national influence in the affairs of the world. Thence the loss of the long-desired opportunity of supplanting Russia at Constantinople in 1833. The British Government openly avowed, when applied to by the Turkish for succour, that they had neither ships nor men to send. The whole subsequent difficulties of the Eastern question, and the dreadful and costly war which afterwards became necessary to repair the consequences of this omission, arose from that inconsiderate and ill-timed reduction of the national armaments, which rendered it impossible to take advantage of this golden opportunity.

80. The high position which the English occupied in the world, in consequence of the victories of Beyrout and Acre, and the peace which followed them, must not render us blind to the magnitude of the dangers which the country incurred in entering upon that hazardous conflict. The whole regular forces of Great Britain at that time were under 100,000 men, of whom three-fourths were absorbed in Ireland and the colonies. Not more than 25,000 men and 40 guns could have been collected to defend the coasts of the Channel from the invasion of a power which had 300,000 men and 300 pieces of cannon at its disposal. Even in the navy, the right arm of England's strength, we had become, from blind reduction, inferior to our ancient rivals. France had fifteen ships of the line in the Mediterranean when the conflict was imminent in 1841, and England only nine. The whole line-of-battle ships in commission in that year were only 16, instead of 100, which during the war were

constantly at sea. Sir Charles Adam, a Lord of the Admiralty, had said in his place in Parliament two years before, that it was a mistake to say England was wholly defenceless, for she had *three ships of the line and three frigates* to guard the coasts of the Channel—being just half the force possessed by Denmark when assailed by Great Britain in 1807! Yet, with all this deplorable prostration of strength, the Government of England held its head as high, and assumed as dictatorial a tone in foreign diplomacy, as when she possessed 200 ships of the line, and 1000 vessels of war bore the royal flag! Great Britain escaped the enormous peril of this inconsistent line of conduct at this period, not from the wisdom of her own councils, but the strength of her allies; war was averted, not because she was irresistible in the Mediterranean, but because the German Confederacy had 300,000 men ready to appear on the Rhine. But she was not equally fortunate on every other occasion; and the sequel of her history shows what lamentable consequences it induced in 1854, and what tears of blood her people shed for a conduct which was now pursued amidst the loud applause of the unthinking multitude, invested by existing institutions with the irresponsible government of the country. England never incurred such danger as she did at this period, from the senseless combination of arrogance of conduct with impotence in preparation; and it is no exaggeration, but the simple historical truth, to assert that she was brought nearer to ruin within ten years by the consequences of the Reform Bill than she had been either by the ambition of Louis XIV. or the genius of Napoleon.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FRANCE, FROM THE SOCIAL ESTABLISHMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE'S GOVERNMENT IN 1834 TO THE FALL OF COUNT MOLÉ'S ADMINISTRATION IN THE END OF 1837.

1. FROM the overthrow of the throne of Charles X., in July 1830, to the result of the elections in October 1834, France had been in a continual state of turmoil and disquietude. The anarchical faction, by whose temporary union with the *bourgeoisie* that revolution had been effected, but who, by the establishment of a regular government, had been, as they conceived, cheated out of its fruits, had been indefatigable in their efforts to overturn the monarchy of their own creation. But all these endeavours had been in vain. The Government of Louis Philippe had succeeded, in the first moments of popular triumph, in obtaining a vast increase to the army, the affections of which had been cultivated with the most sedulous care; and by its aid, and the support of the *bourgeoisie*, now thoroughly awakened to a sense of its danger, they had succeeded in repelling all the attacks made by their former supporters against them. The suppression of the insurrection in Lyons had dispelled the dreams of the St Simonians and Socialists in the manufacturing towns; the defeat of the revolts at the Cloister of St Méri and the Rue Transnonain had dashed to the earth the hopes of the Republicans in the capital. The Royalists in the west had been equally unsuccessful; and the failure of the risings at Marseilles and in La Vendée, even when animated by the presence of a heroic princess, had left them no hope, for a long period, of reinstating their affairs by force of arms. All the discontented parties were worn out and discouraged by these repeated failures; and men now found to their cost that there is no government so powerful as

that which immediately succeeds a successful revolution, and no prostration of the public liberties so complete as that which follows the triumph of an insurrection commenced in their name.

2. The elections of June 1834, as already mentioned, carried on amidst the terror produced by the recent Republican outbreak, so cruelly repressed by the slaughter in the Rue Transnonain, had given the Government so decided a majority in the Chambers as to leave the discontented no longer any hope of being able to disturb it. In his opening speech on 31st July to the Chambers, the King said, with truth: "Wherever criminal enterprises have induced a deplorable strife, the national cause has triumphed; the National Guard and the army, whose noble devotedness you will appreciate as well as myself, have repressed disorder with as much energy as fidelity; and the peaceable execution of the laws passed in the last session has proved the weakness of the anarchists, and restored confidence to the nation." The first vote of the Chamber, on the trial of strength for the election of its President, seemed, as already mentioned, to justify this confident tone: for the Ministerial candidate, M. Dupin, had 247 votes; the Opposition, M. Lafitte, 33; the Royalist, M. Royer-Collard, 24; M. Bignon, the Napoleonist, 4; and M. Odillon Barrot, the representative of the Extrême Gauche, only 3. The Ministerial triumph was complete, and nothing remained for Government but to make a good use of its victory.

3. Napoleon had shown that he knew how to take advantage of such a

situation, when, after the battle of Marengo, he said, in answer to those who were speculating on the causes of his success, "Everything has succeeded with me, because I was for all the world a LIVING AMNESTY." Napoleon was right: but it belongs only to the noble-minded to carry out these noble words; and it is not to be forgotten that, even in his case, no less than a hundred and thirty of the most dangerous Jacobins had been transported *en masse*, on pretence of their accession to the infernal-machine conspiracy, without any trial, by a measure, as he called it, of the "*haute police*." No punishments had yet been inflicted for the late serious insurrections; and the King thought, with reason, that justice must be satisfied before the voice of mercy is heard. In addition to this, there were less creditable reasons which led to the amnesty at that period being refused. The little, and indeed all ordinary men, are devoured by small jealousies, personal irritation, and ignoble thirst for vengeance. These difficulties ere long appeared in the Cabinet itself. The question of a general amnesty was brought forward in the Chamber, and, from the numbers on all sides interested in it, excited the warmest attention. Ministers, however, were divided upon the subject, and not less upon the reduction of the army, which was loudly demanded by the Chamber, and as strongly opposed by the veteran general. This led to a change. Marshal Soult, whose age and infirmities rendered him little qualified to sustain the labours of office, resigned his situation as Prime Minister on the 18th July, and was succeeded by Marshal Gérard, who made it his principal object, by repeated and earnest declarations of a determination to economise, to allay the terrors of the large body in the Chamber, which was, with reason, alarmed at the enormous expenditure of Government.*

* The immediate cause of Marshal Soult's resignation was a division in the Cabinet, in which he was in the minority, whether the governor of Algiers should be a civilian or military character. The Doctrinaires contended for the former, the Marshals for the

4. "Vainly," said M. Dupin, from the President's chair, "has the Chamber proclaimed, in three successive addresses, that it is indispensable to bring down the expenses to a level with the revenue, and to labour incessantly to restrain Ministers within the limits of the budget. The contrary has constantly come about: the expenses have invariably exceeded the receipts, and the limits even of the vote of credit have been frequently outstepped. Yet the Chamber of Deputies enjoys the initiative in France; it fixes by allocation to each department the burdens which are to weigh upon the country. It should no longer tolerate the system of forcing money from the treasury, by coming, after it is over, to pay expenses which, despite itself, have been incurred." These bold words were hailed with rapture by the Opposition, who considered them as a declaration of war by the President of the Chamber against the Ministry; but they were ere long re-echoed by the Prime Minister himself. "The same desire of economy," said Marshal Gérard, "which animates the Chambers directs also the Government; it is for it a question of honour and interest. The first rule which I have laid down for all the departments of government is to abstain from all votes of credit, and even, if possible, to keep their expenditure within the sum voted." These words diffused general satisfaction, and materially added to the popularity of the new Minister.

latter; and the King agreed with the first, and sent the Duke of Rovigo, upon which Soult resigned. This, however, was rather the pretext than the real ground of his retirement. The true reason was his decided opinion that, in the disturbed state of France within, and its threatening relations without, no reduction of the army could be effected with safety—a point upon which it was well known the majority of the Chambers was on the other side. The force of the French army at the period when he resigned was as follows:—

Infantry,	205,100
Cavalry,	49,000
Artillery and Engineers,	28,800
Gendarmerie,	28,500
Total,	312,100

—CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, viii. 18, 19, note.

5. But it was not so easy to get over the question of an amnesty as over that of economy, for there was justice to be satisfied by punishment, animosities to be satiated with vengeance, and terrors to be allayed by severity. Marshal Gérard, with the feeling of a brave soldier, openly inclined to the humane side: forget and forgive was inscribed on his banner. He supported that opinion with the utmost vigour in the Council; and the same view was warmly espoused by the Liberal press, which was naturally anxious to obtain a screen for their political coadjutors. But the King and the majority of the Council, regarding such a step as an indirect censure on the measures of severity which had been adopted, and perilous, before terror had been struck into the disaffected of all parties, were equally decided on the other side; and the consequence was, that the Marshal resigned his situations both as Prime Minister and Minister at War. The King conferred the latter office, which could not be a day vacant, on Admiral de Rigny, who was transferred there from the Foreign Affairs; and he intrusted Count Molé with the arduous task of forming a Ministry. This proved, however, a more difficult undertaking than had been anticipated; and for some weeks there was a sort of interregnum, with no Prime Minister at all. Albeit the King of the Barricades, Louis Philippe, was not yet broken in to the constitutional maxim, "Le Roi règne, et ne gouverne pas," and no small difficulty was experienced in reconciling his inclinations with the views of the majority of the Council. At length the difficulties were overcome, and the *Moniteur* of 10th Nov. announced the new Ministry as follows: The resignations of MM. de Rigny, Thiers, Guizot, Duchatel, and Hermann, embracing the whole strength of the Doctrinaire party, were accepted, and the following gentlemen were appointed to the vacant portfolios: the Duke of Bassano was named President of the Council and Minister of the Interior; M. Bresson, then ambassador at Berlin, of Foreign Affairs; General Bernard, of War; M. Charles Dupin,

of the Marine and the Colonies; M. Teste, Minister of Commerce; M. Passy, of Finance. Of the whole former Cabinet, M. Persil, the Minister of Justice, alone retained his portfolio.

6. As the new Cabinet was almost destitute of talent, and nearly all the intellectual strength would, it was foreseen, be ranged on the side of Opposition, Government was very desirous to obtain for itself the support of a majority of the Chamber. It was accordingly convoked for the 1st December, instead of the 29th, to which it stood adjourned. Before that time arrived, however, the fate of the new Ministry was sealed. They were unable to withstand the storm of ridicule with which they were assailed; they did not enjoy the confidence of the King; and being conscious of their own incapacity for the conduct of affairs, they voluntarily resigned, after holding office only eight days, and the former Ministry was restored, and officially announced in the *Moniteur* of the 19th. The only new Ministers were, Marshal Mortier, who succeeded Gérard as Prime Minister and Minister at War, and Admiral Duperré, who became Minister of Marine. Thus terminated this long ministerial crisis; but the minds of men were not made up on the stability of the new Government, and great anxiety was felt in all quarters for the vote of the Chamber which might decide its fate.

7. The prospects of the new Ministry were considerably improved by the favourable accounts which were received in the latter part of this year from the colony of Algiers. The crisis in that important settlement seemed to be passed, and every successive post brought more favourable accounts of its rapid progress in population, resources, and industry. In the town of Algiers itself, the streets were widened, cleaned, and adorned with buildings in the European style, whose handsome fronts bespoke the increasing opulence of their inhabitants, as well as the active spirit and enlarged resources of the Government. Industry and commerce were rapidly augmenting, and the roads made by the soldiers into

the interior did as much in opening a vent for the produce of the country, as it added to the security of the industry which produced it, by the facility they afforded of military transit. Extensive districts were drained and brought under the plough, which from time immemorial had been pestilential marshes; the whole agricultural productions of Europe, and especially wheat, flourished as in ancient times in abundance; and in addition to that, the productions of the tropics, sugar, cotton, indigo, and cochineal, were successfully introduced. When it was known in Algeria that it had been determined by Government at home to retain the colony, universal satisfaction was diffused; the works, both public and private, were prosecuted with redoubled activity, and the province promised again to become, as it had so long been in former times, the granary of the Roman Empire. Hostilities in the province of Bona still continued on the frontier with the Bey of Constantina, a powerful chief in the interior; but although success was in some degree varied, it on the whole inclined to the side of the French; and at length the Bedouins, 6000 strong, were defeated in a decisive encounter, which for a time suspended their predatory incursions.

8. Great was the anxiety felt on all sides for the first trial of strength between the parties; for the division on the choice of the President on this occasion had afforded no real test of their relative proportions, as M. Dupin had been elected by a combination of the Ministerial and Centre parties,—not by the former taken singly. It was on an amendment proposed to the address that the trial took place, and it gave rise to the most acrimonious discussion. The great point maintained by the Opposition was, the necessity of supporting the Chamber in its independent functions, independent of the influence or intrigues of the Court. “Gentlemen,” said they, “when everything reels around us, amidst these sudden and unforeseen changes of power; when everything totters to the ground, shaken by intrigue and ambition, it is

for you to strengthen yourselves on the solid ground of principle and national dignity: be faithful to yourselves and to your noble independence, and you have nothing to fear. Heretofore you have denounced as a serious danger the perpetual instability of men and of measures,—an instability which has gone far to lessen the consideration of political power. Let this be a warning to you to preserve your own: never was it more necessary to the country, to the royalty which you have sworn to defend, and to which we will always form a rampart, and as a barrier against the malevolent passions which attack, and the recklessness which compromises it.”

9. Veiled under vague generalities, these and similar words were a sufficient indication of the intentions of the Opposition to rear up the Chamber into a counterpoise to the Crown, and to force upon the latter a policy, especially in regard to the amnesty which so violently agitated the public mind, at variance with the settled determination of the Cabinet. M. Guizot accordingly endeavoured to drive them into some more tangible and distinct charges against the Government. “I will not,” said he, in reply, “discuss the terms of the Address: I do not understand that its principles are seriously contested. I will not provoke a debate upon nothing; but I assert it as an incontestible fact, that it was this very uncertainty, now so much complained of, which, by enervating power, imposed upon us the necessity of retiring. We should have failed in all our duties towards the country and the Chamber if we had consented to bear any longer a responsibility when liberty of action was taken away. Our principles are still the same. From the moment when it shall be decided that the Chamber has no longer confidence in our administration, we shall resign: other men will succeed us. If they succeed, so much the better; the experiment will be complete; it will be known what is the intention of the Chamber. If it finds itself deceived, it will acknowledge its error by restoring power to those whom it

has dispossessed. We bring no accusation against the Chamber, as has been erroneously pretended; we address ourselves to it frankly and seriously; we only ask, 'Do you, or do you not, give your support to the Administration?'

10. It was sufficiently plain, from these words, that the resignation of the former Ministry had been owing to a deeper cause than appeared upon the surface, and that it was more than either the question of the amnesty or an economical reduction of the army which was really at issue. The King and the Chamber had come to be at variance upon a vital point of policy, and it was as yet undecided which was to obtain the mastery. M. Lauzet openly announced this, and hinted not obscurely to the alarming consequences which might follow a vote substantially one of want of confidence in the Ministry. "Doubtless," said he, "the Chamber is entitled to refuse its support to the Ministry; doubtless it may even prefer an accusation against them, if it finds in the past conduct of the members serious grounds for suspecting them for the future. This, however, is one of those desperate remedies which is reserved for situations where no other extrication of affairs is possible. When the signal of this is once given, it is as much as to say, the royal prerogative has been pushed to the wall, and already the thunder of revolution is heard in the distance." The decision of the Chamber, however, adjourned the danger, and terminated for the time the ministerial crisis; the Address was supported by a majority of 77, the numbers being 184 to 107.

11. But although the new Ministry had got a decided majority in the Chamber, they soon experienced an insuperable difficulty in their Prime Minister. Marshal Mortier, a frank and loyal soldier, of high honour and unimpeachable character, was better qualified for the contests of the field than the forum. His lofty stature, commanding air, and military frankness, which would have commanded such respect in the field of battle or in

a *champ clos*, were of no avail in the Chamber of Peers, where a thorough knowledge of parties, ready elocution, and acquaintance with every subject which came on for discussion, were the only qualities which were of any importance. Of these he was entirely destitute; indeed, he had so little the command of language that, when called on to speak, he could scarcely articulate a few words. He had accepted the onerous charge of Prime Minister on the express condition that he was to be permitted to resign when he desired it; and in the end of February, finding himself no longer equal to the task, and perceiving a divergence of opinion arising between M. Thiers and M. Guizot, the great supports of the Cabinet, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted. The King immediately sent for Marshal Soult, and pressed him to resume his place as Prime Minister; but to this the Marshal had insuperable objections, unless under a pledge that the military establishment of the country should not be reduced, a condition to which it was well known the Chamber would not accede. Fatigued with the military and political labours of a long life, he sighed for repose, and had no inclination to exchange the peace and tranquillity of his beautiful country retreat for the storms and contests of the capital. He resisted all the instances of the King, therefore, and declined the appointment; and by his advice it was conferred on the DUKE DE BROGLIE, who, as one of themselves, was acceptable to the Doctrinaires, and whose eloquence and abilities pointed him out as well qualified for the commanding situation. He was appointed President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs; the Count de Rigny, who formerly held the latter situation, was appointed *ad interim* Minister at War, with a permanent seat in the Cabinet; but that situation was reserved in permanence for Marshal Maison, then ambassador at St Petersburg, who accepted the office. Shortly before, Prince Talleyrand, whose health had suffered severely from the climate of London,

was relieved, at his earnest request, of that embassy, which was conferred on Count Pozzo di Borgo.

12. This ministerial crisis, which had now lasted without intermission for six months, appears at first sight an inexplicable circumstance, considering the immense majority which the Ministerial candidate had obtained at the election of the President of the Chamber, the usual trial of strength of parties in France. But a little consideration must show that it arose from that majority itself. The terror excited among all the holders of property in France, from the repeated insurrections and daring language of the anarchical faction, had become such that they had all united in returning a Chamber which might oppose it: thence the large majority which supported M. Dupin as President. But when the victory was gained, and the terrorists put down, the usual divisions consequent on success at once appeared. Each of the sections, of which the Government majority had been composed, strove to work out the victory for its own profit, and openly aspired to nominating the Ministry, and getting the whole patronage of the State at its disposal. The Centre, or *Tiers Parti*, as it was called, whose junction with the Ministerialists had so materially swelled that majority, were particularly loud in the assertion of their pretensions, and Marshal Gérard's Ministry, whose motto was economy, had been its creature. But the King was equally inflexible on the other side; he was by no means broke into the favourite maxim of the Liberals, "*Le Roi règne, et ne gouverne pas.*" On the contrary, he was more than ever determined to exercise his own judgment on the matter. A pamphlet of M. Roederer's, which inculcated the doctrine that the King should nominate his Ministers just as he did his domestic servants, was read aloud at the Tuileries with the warmest applause, especially from the Princess Adélaïde, whose ascendancy over her brother had been more than once evinced; and from the divisions in the Chamber, which arose from its being split into

so many parties, each desirous to turn the crisis to its own profit, the King was encouraged to hope that, by persevering in his policy, it might in the end be crowned with success. The *Monarchy* was for the time firmly established, but the *Ministry* rested on a most insecure basis; and, as in England after the passing of the Reform Bill, and from the same cause, the Cabinet began to totter from the moment of its triumph.

13. Albeit united at present in a cordial support of the Doctrinaire party, of which they constituted the strength, M. Thiers and M. Guizot were beginning at this time to exhibit symptoms of divergence, and it was the perception of that which was one cause of Marshal Mortier's retirement. It was not merely personal rivalry which occasioned this. They both aspired to be Prime Minister; but, independent of this, their principles and associations were essentially different. M. Thiers was essentially revolutionary, but it was revolution coerced and directed by the sabre of the Emperor. He had no associations with *la veille France*; the ancient stock of the Bourbons was to him an abomination; he felt throughout a cordial hatred at the regime of the Restoration; and when Charles X. was overthrown, he only worked out his principles in contributing to its downfall. He was the friend of order, but it was order emanating from and supported by revolution, and crushing the opposite factions with the sword of despotism wielded by the hands of Republicans. M. Guizot in all these respects was essentially different. Deeply versed in the antiquities, a perfect master of the history of France, he was strongly moved by the traditions and feelings of the ancient monarchy. Too philosophical in his ideas, and too well versed in present affairs not to see the immense change which the Revolution of 1789, itself an effect of preceding causes, had produced in the social necessities of the State, he was the friend of freedom, but it was freedom resting on the loyalty and traditions of the monarchy, rather than the usurpation of the Empire. He accepted

the Revolution of July as a compromise between these contending principles—he served it, when once established, with cordiality and fidelity—and he indulged in the sanguine hope that, like the English Revolution of 1688, it would become the opening of a long era of prosperity, freedom, and grandeur to France.

14. The Duke de Broglie, who now assumed the arduous duties of Prime Minister, was different from either of these eminent men, and formed, as it were, an intermediate link between them and the throne. Of high rank and polished manners, he had imbibed Liberal ideas, and acquired the power of expressing them with eloquence from the conversation of Madame de Staël, whose daughter he had espoused. From the brilliant genius of the mother he had taken his principal views, both of present events and the future destinies of society. Like her, he had regarded the Restoration as an era of emancipation from the servile despotism of the Empire, and the only period in which real freedom, equally distant from courtly corruption or democratic despotism, had existed in France. He was strongly opposed, however, as Madame de Staël would doubtless have been had she lived to see it, to the ordonnances of Polignac, and, like Guizot, accepted the throne of Louis Philippe as the only possible compromise between the opposite principles of despotism and revolution. His abilities were not of the highest order, but they were of the most available description; and he had lived so much in the society of the most superior men and women, that he had become impregnated with their ideas, and shone in conversation with a lustre not his own.

15. The first difficulty with which the new Ministry had to contend was that arising from the continued demand of the United States for a settlement of their long-standing claim for 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000), which, as already mentioned, had arisen out of their claims for injuries inflicted on the members of the Union by the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon.

It was impossible to deny the justice of the American demand, for it was founded on a treaty concluded in 1831, by General Horace Sébastiani, with the American Government, and was for the precise sum which he had agreed the French Government should pay as an indemnity. The King, accordingly, admitted its justice, and the Cabinet had long been solicitous that the treaty should be ratified and the debt discharged. It was not so easy a matter, however, to get the Chamber to agree to this, burdened as the finances were with a very large military establishment and extravagant budget, little in harmony with their economical ideas. The ratification had been refused, accordingly, upon various pretences, in the last session. Upon this the American President inserted in his address to Congress, in the beginning of the winter, a very severe, and even menacing, paragraph, regarding reprisals on French property.* When this message was known in France, it excited the most violent indignation; and so vehement was the clamour that the French envoy was recalled from Washington, and his passports offered to the American Minister at Paris; though, at the same time, a vote of the requisite amount was demanded from the Chamber. There could be no doubt that the American Government, though right in the main question, were wrong in

* “Since France, in violation of the engagements undertaken by its minister, resident here, has so delayed its resolutions on this subject, that they cannot be communicated to this Congress, I propose that a law should be passed *authorising reprisals on the property of Frenchmen*, if in the ensuing session a law is not passed for the payment of the debt. This is not done in the view of intimidation: France is too well known to permit of such a thing being thought of; but only to demonstrate the fixed determination of the Government of the United States to cause its rights to be respected. The French Government, by doing what itself has recognised to be just, will spare the Government of the United States the necessity of taking their redress into their own hands, and save French properties from that confiscation which the American citizens have so long suffered without either reprisals or indemnity.”—*President's Message*, Nov. 2, 1834; *Ann. Hist.* 1834, 672, 673.

the way in which they proposed to make their claim effectual; for this was to be done, not by hostilities against the State, but by seizing the property of *individuals* in their harbours, or on the high seas, till enough had been collected to discharge the debt. The French Government, accordingly, replied in a dignified, and yet conciliatory tone, to the President's message, and by degrees more reasonable views began to be entertained on both sides.* The American Congress soothed the irritated feelings of the French, by declining to pass a law in terms of the President's message; and at length the French Chamber, by a large majority (289 to 172), agreed to ratify the treaty and pay the money, upon the Government being satisfied that nothing injurious to the national honour had been intended by that of the United States.

16. A more serious difficulty awaited the Government in the trial of the persons confined for their accession to the great and combined insurrections in April 1834, who were still in prison in various parts of France. It has been already mentioned, that by an ordinance of the King, on 15th April 1834, the Chamber of Peers had been erected into a supreme court of justice for the trial of all these offenders; but when the preparatory steps to the trials came to be taken, no small embarrassment was experienced by the Crown officers how to proceed. Out of several thousand persons in confinement, six hundred had been selected as fit for trial and worthy of punishment; and in order

to render the proceeding more impressive, and convey a stronger idea of the extent of the conspiracy, it was resolved to bring them all to trial at one time, and under one indictment. As no hall, however, could be found adequate to contain such a multitude of accused persons, and no human strength was adequate to mastering or recollecting the mass of evidence required, it was absolutely necessary very materially to reduce the number; and at length a selection was made of 164, deemed the most culpable, who were brought from various parts of France to Paris, and indicted together before the Chamber of Peers.

17. To any one who has been practically acquainted with the conduct of criminal trials, it must at once appear obvious that a more absurd and hazardous mode of proceeding could not possibly have been adopted. To bring a vast number of prisoners to the bar at once, charged with accession in different degrees to the same conspiracy, is to confound those different degrees together, to incur the hazard to innocence of being included in the category of guilt, and to encourage audacity and provoke interruption from the number of those who will encourage its excesses, or profit by the delays it will occasion. This, accordingly, was exactly what happened. Two committees of the Peers were appointed; one to examine into the evidence, and prepare the indictment during the year which preceded the trial; the other to consider who should be discharged. No less than two thousand persons, against whom the evidence was not deemed sufficient, or who were not considered fit objects of trial, were liberated by their orders. A voluminous and very valuable report on the origin and progress of the secret societies was prepared by M. Girod de l'Ain, which contains a full and authentic account of their ramifications, proceedings, and designs.* The committees were com-

* "La Chambre, nous n'en doutons pas, se reportera à ces hautes considérations de puissance commerciale, et de force maritime, qui ont toujours fait regarder notre alliance avec les Etats-Unis, comme une de ces règles inaltérables de la politique nationale. En parlant ainsi, nous ne voulons que rendre hommage à des vérités de tous les temps, les opposer à des impressions passagères, et surtout déclarer que la France n'impute ni au peuple ni au Gouvernement de l'Amérique les sentiments et les propositions que le Président des Etats-Unis vient d'exprimer. Nous ne voulons voir dans son message au Congrès que l'acte peu réfléchi d'un pouvoir isolé et l'honneur national ne nous en commande par moins de persister dans la politique qui fut toujours celle du Gouvernement du Roi, la politique de la loyauté."—*Moniteur*, Jan. 16, 1835; and *Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 81.

* "La Société des Droits de l'Homme, dont le programme avoué est une révolution politique et sociale, organise dans la capitale d'abord, puis dans plusieurs grandes villes, une armée en permanence pour marcher à son but par la révolte. Nous l'avons vue pousser

posed of men of the highest character in the magistracy, and their proceedings were conducted with calmness, moderation, and the most scrupulous attention to the evidence against each individual. M. Pasquier, who held the onerous situation of President of the Chamber, conducted the investigation with a calmness and impartiality which extorted the admiration even of the accused themselves. But no sooner did the trial commence, than an unparalleled scene of violence and disorder ensued, which protracted the proceedings to an extraordinary length, and would have rendered it interminable, were it not for a fortunate event, which enabled the most guilty to escape from the hands of justice.

18. The excitement produced among all classes of Liberals by this "monster trial" was immense, and exceeded anything before witnessed, even in that

à l'insurrection par les violentes imprécations, spéciales sur la misère du pauvre pour l'exciter contre l'aristocratie nouvelle qui s'est reconstituée sous le nom de bourgeoisie; organiser, puis étendre ces déplorables coalitions d'ouvriers, qui troublent si souvent notre industrie; persuader à tous les désordres, s'efforcer de corrompre et de pervertir la sagesse du peuple par les plus détestables pamphlets, systématiser la licence de la presse, et préparer ainsi l'exécution des attentats qu'elle médite. A Paris le comité central demande et obtient de ses agens le contrôle de son armée, l'effectif de ses forces, et s'assure de l'effet produit par le poison des doctrines; et lorsqu'il compte un assez grand nombre d'hommes prêts à marcher avec lui, il fait distribuer par ses agens sectionnaires des munitions destinées à mitrailler notre garde nationale et notre fidèle armée. A Lyon la même société suit la même marche, mais avec un succès plus rapide, et que vient expliquer l'immense population ouvrière de la seconde ville de France: l'Association Lyonnaise était directement sous la direction du comité central Parisien; elle a pris la part la plus directe et la plan active à l'insurrection qui pendant six jours livra cette grande cité aux horreurs du pillage et de la guerre civile. A St Etienne, Grenoble, Marseille, Arbois, Chalons sur Saône, partout où les troubles éclatent, nous avons vu la Société des Droits de l'Homme préparant et réalisant ces attentats, sous les inspirations et l'influence du comité central. Partout, les journaux de cette société sonnent le tocsin d'alarme et appellent les sectionnaires au combat; à Lyon, *La Glaneuse*, *L'Echo de la Fabrique*; à Marseille, *Le Peuple Souverain*; dans le Jura, *Le Patriote Franc Comtois*; à Paris, *La Tribune*, moniteur officiel du comité central."—Rapport de M. GIROD DE L'AIN; *Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 171, 172.

land of vehement passion and strong emotion. Scarce any of the Republicans but had a friend, a relation, implicated in its issue; scarce a Liberal but sympathised from the bottom of his heart in the fate of brave men, who had ventured their lives in the cause, as they deemed it, of national freedom. Immense crowds surrounded the courthouse long before the doors opened, and the moment they were so, every corner was filled, and the most breathless anxiety was depicted on every visage. It soon appeared, however, that the proceedings were to be indefinitely protracted, and that the system of defence was, by availing themselves of every imaginable point, and insisting on it at great length, to render the trial endless. This system had well-nigh succeeded. The first point taken was the selection of counsel to defend the accused, and this led to such a contest as nearly caused the trial itself, involving as it did the lives of a hundred and sixty persons, to be forgotten. The King had issued an ordonnance on March 31, which allowed the accused to select their defenders from any bar in France; and in default of their doing so, the president was to choose them from the bar of the Cour Royal at Paris.* Nothing could be more liberal and just than this ordonnance; it merely confined the conduct of the defence to the bar of France, premising that, if counsel were not chosen from some of the provincial bars, the president would assign the prisoners defenders from the bar of Paris.

19. This equitable arrangement, however, was far from meeting the views

* "Tout avocat inscrit au tableau d'une cour, ou des tribunaux du royaume, pourra exercer son ministère devant la Cour des Pairs. Néanmoins les avocats près la Cour Royale de Paris pourront seuls être désignés d'office par le Président de la Cour des Pairs, conformément à l'article 295 du Code d'Instruction Criminelle. Les avocats appelés à remplir leur ministère devant la Cour des Pairs y jouiront des mêmes droits, et seront tenus des mêmes devoirs que devant les cours d'assises. La Cour des Pairs et son Président demeurent investis, à l'égard des avocats, de tous les pouvoirs qui appartiennent aux cours d'assises et aux présidents de ces cours."—Ordonnance du Roi, March 31, 1835, *Moniteur*; *Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 175.

of the prisoners, or their coadjutors at the bar or in the public press. Their object was, by no means to have the defence of the accused conducted by barristers, or according to the forms and under the responsibility of professional men, but by the most ardent and eloquent Republicans of *all professions*; and thus to convert the hall of justice into a forum of the most vehement political debate. In addition, therefore, to some eminent Liberal barristers, such as M. Michel de Bourges, whom they were entitled to nominate, the prisoners insisted upon being defended by men unconnected with French law in any department; such as the *Abbé de Lamennais*, MM. Armand Carrel, Raspail, Garnier Pagès, Audry de Puyraveau, and *Daniel O'Connell*. It was easy to foresee to what results the admission of such strange defenders would immediately have led, even in a country less excitable than France. Such as it was, however, the decree limiting the defence to the bar excited the most unbounded animosity in the whole country, and was stigmatised as the most atrocious act of tyranny that ever had been perpetrated. Still more strange, the decree, which was perfectly in accordance with judicial procedure, and indispensable to the right conduct of an important state trial, was denounced by the whole bar of France, metropolitan and provincial, as an unwarrantable stretch, wholly indefensible, and a direct violation of the constitution.

20. The dispute about the counsel who were to defend the accused soon assumed such proportions as almost to cause their trial to be forgotten. It came on, however, at length. On the 2d May a preliminary meeting of the Peers was held; and on the 5th of the same month the proceedings commenced in a vast hall specially erected for the occasion. The roll being called, only 164 Peers answered to their names: 79, on one pretence or another, had contrived to be absent. The accused, to the number of 121, were brought in together, and took their seats in the benches opposite to the Court. Only twelve gentlemen

of the bar were present to assist them, chiefly those assigned by the Court; so strongly had the supposed infringement of the rights of defence affected the feelings of that learned body. The utmost anxiety pervaded the whole audience and the immense crowd assembled round the doors. The leaders of the Republicans were there: Government now no longer struck at a few wretched agents of insurrection, but was resolved to aim a blow at its chiefs. The most extensive preparations had been made to secure the public tranquillity during the proceedings. An immense body of police, with strong detachments of foot and horse, surrounded the building, and powerful reserves, with a large train of artillery, were stationed at no great distance; and, to guard against all eventualities, two other presidents were nominated to succeed M. Pasquier, in the event of his being cut off in the midst of his arduous duties.

21. To conduct the defence of the accused, and watch over the proceedings, a committee of the leading Republicans in Paris had been appointed, and it sat in permanence. The Paris committee consisted of MM. Godefroi, Cavaignac, Guinard, Armand Carrel, Marrast, Lebon, Vignate, Landolphe, Chilman, Granger, and Péchonnier. In addition to this, the accused from Lyons, who were no less than fifty-nine in number, had a special committee of their own. By the joint advice of both committees, it was determined that the accused should, one and all, refuse to plead, or answer to their names when called on to do so, until they were assisted by defenders of their own selection. This was accordingly done; and a scene of matchless disorder and confusion ensued. Each prisoner, when called on by name, insisted upon the defender he had chosen being introduced, *though a stranger to the bar*: the Procureur-Général insisted that their choice should be confined to that learned body, and that the Court had exercised the powers conferred on them by article 295 of the Criminal Code, in regard to this matter, in a competent

manner. So the Peers held; and as the refusal to plead continued, it was proposed to commence reading the act of accusation. This, however, was rendered impossible by the loud clamour of the prisoners. The prisoner first addressed refused to answer to his name till the Abbé Lamennais was introduced as his defender. Cavaignac did the same. In vain the President strove to restore order: a hundred voices drowned the reading of the indictment; and at length, seeing no end to the tumult, the Court was adjourned without having come to any decision, or made any progress in the trial.

22. These scandalous scenes were renewed with still greater violence on the succeeding days; the accused protesting, in the most energetic terms, against the length of their imprisonment, now extending to thirteen months, and the severities with which it had latterly been attended; and the Court insisting for the preservation of order and the reading of the indictment. No progress could be made, however, from the incessant tumult kept up by the prisoners, in which the audience and the vast crowd on the outside warmly participated. The Court repeatedly ordered the most violent to be removed; but upon this they all stood up, vociferating that they were all equally innocent or guilty; and the attempt to remove any by force led to personal struggles, still more scandalous in a court of justice. The Court upon this again adjourned; and, after two days spent in anxious secret deliberation, a resolution was adopted, to the effect that the President was authorised to order the removal of any prisoner who interrupted the proceedings, and proceed with the reading of the act of accusation, and other written documents, in the absence of such prisoners; they being brought back, together *or separately*, when the witnesses for or against them came to be examined.

23. In the circumstances, nothing more equitable could be devised, and indeed it was the only possible way of extricating matters, after the deplor-

able mistake of bringing so great a number of prisoners to trial together had been committed. At first it seemed to have some effect in appeasing the tumult, and the proceedings began on the 9th with something like order and decorum. But no sooner did the reading of the indictment recommence, than the noise and vociferations began again. "You may condemn us all to death," said Lagrange, in a voice of thunder, "but the blood of us all will not wipe from your forehead the stain affixed by the blood of so many brave men." Though the prisoners at the bar on this occasion were only twenty-eight, the noise they made was such that the reading of the indictment was mere dumb show; not a word was heard either by the peers or prisoners. It was evident that the accused were proceeding on a deliberate system, the object of which was to render the proceedings interminable by noise and tumult: it was a repetition of the O. P. riots of London, with this difference, that the scene of them was not a theatre but a court of justice. Meanwhile a powerful diversion in their favour was effected by the Parisian committee, in the form of a letter to the accused, which appeared in the columns of the *Tribune*, signed, among others, by M. Audry de Puyraveau and M. Cormenin, who were members of the Chamber of Deputies, which contained the gravest charges against the Chamber of Peers, whose conduct was pronounced illegal and oppressive in the highest degree, and encouraged the accused to persevere in their noble course of procrastination and defiance.*

* "Le système de violence proposé par les gens du Roi, et adopté par la Chambre des Pairs, ne s'était révélé jusqu'ici qu'avec une sorte de timidité; aujourd'hui il s'est manifesté à tous égards par l'emploi de la force brutale, par votre expulsion des bancs de la cour à l'aide de la violence. On avait commencé par exclure les défenseurs; maintenant c'est vous qu'on veut exclure: on voulait vous entendre en l'absence de vos conseils; maintenant on veut vous juger en votre propre absence. Laissez faire: ceci n'est pas de la justice; c'est la guerre civile qui se continue au sein de la paix, et dans le sanctuaire même des lois. Persevérez, citoyens! Montrez-vous comme par le passé, calmes, fiers, énergiques. Vous êtes les défenseurs

This led to a fresh difficulty ; for as the persons who signed that letter were members of the Chamber of Deputies, they could only be prosecuted on a vote of that body, at the instance of its Keeper of the Seals. It was necessary, therefore, to convoke the Chamber of Deputies ; and thus the theatre of contest was transferred to the popular branch of the Legislature.

24. It began there accordingly, and became the signal for debates as stormy, and scenes as violent, as those which had lately taken place in the Upper Chamber. At length, in the midst of a frightful tumult, the accusation was voted by a large majority ; but so great was the agitation, that several of the journalists who had taken part in it were arrested on leaving the Chamber, though it was not thought prudent to proceed farther against them. The editor of the *Reformateur* was found guilty by a majority of 264 to 39, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment and a fine of 10,000 francs (£400). Meanwhile the original trial in the Chamber of Peers continued to drag on its weary length for six weeks, without, to all appearance, the least prospect of coming to a termination, so incessant were the demands of the prisoners to be tried all together, not separately, and to have the aid of the defenders whom they had selected. "I will not answer any question," said Gérard, "till my co-defenders and defenders are here. My counsel is M. Carrel. I have been dragged

du droit commun : ce que vous voulez, la France le veut ; tous les partis, toutes les opinions généreuses le veulent. La France ne verra jamais des juges où il n'y a pas de défenseurs. Sans doute, au point où les choses en sont venues, la Cour de Pairs continuera à marcher dans les voies fatales où le Pouvoir l'entraîne ; et après vous avoir mis dans l'impuissance de vous défendre, elle aura le courage de vous condamner. Vous accepterez avec une noble résignation cette nouvelle iniquité ajoutée à tant d'autres iniquités. L'infamie du juge fait la gloire de l'accusé : dans tous les temps et dans tous les pays, ceux qui de près ou de loin, par haine ou par faiblesse, se sont associés à des actes d'une justice sauvage, ont encouru la haine de leurs contemporains et l'exécration de la postérité. Salut et Fraternité !—COR-MENIN, AUDRY DE PUYRAVEAU."—*Tribune*, May, 11, 1835 ; *Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 190, 191.

here by force, in the midst of bayonets. I insist upon being sent back to prison." "I will not do as some others have done," cried Didier, struggling violently with the Guards who surrounded him ; "I will hear nothing. I have been dragged here by force, torn, massacred : it is infamous. I will die rather than submit to my political enemies. Kill me ; here is my bosom, plunge in your sabres. I will not go on without my defender." These and similar scenes, repeated daily during six weeks, excited the utmost enthusiasm among the Parisians, more passionately fond than any people in Europe of theatrical displays, especially when acted in real life. Vivid descriptions of the dramatic scenes in the Chamber of Peers were sold to agitated and admiring multitudes in the streets every morning after they occurred ; lithographic portraits of the leading characters in the strife were exposed for sale, and eagerly bought up ; and extravagant sums were given by ladies for real or supposed locks of hair of the accused.

25. The Chamber of Peers, in the midst of these frightful scenes of disorder, conducted the proceedings with a temper, moderation, and dignity above all praise, and which extorted the admiration even of their enemies. At length, finding the delays interminable, and that no progress was making in the trials, they resolved on a step which should have been taken at the first, and that was to *disjoin the trials*. On July 11, they passed a decree declaring that they would separate the trials. This was a mortal stroke to the defence, as it deprived the prisoners of the means of stopping the proceedings by violence and tumult in the way which had been hitherto done. Accordingly they resolved upon availing themselves of a means of escape which had for long been in preparation for the leaders who were confined in the prison of Sainte Pélagie. In effect, the prisoners there confined had with infinite labour worked out a subterranean passage which led into the garden of a neighbouring house, the proprietor of

which was in the secret. It had been ready for some time, but, deeming their eventual triumph certain, they disdained to make use of it till that hope was taken away by the disjunction of the trials. When this was done, foreseeing a conviction, they no longer hesitated, and at nine at night on the 12th they descended into the subterranean passage. It was forty-five feet long, two feet and a half broad, and three feet high. One by one they advanced with the utmost caution through the narrow passage on their hands and knees, and the whole got through and emerged in the garden, from whence they directly issued into the street. Tilburys, cabriolets, and saddle-horses in plenty awaited them in the neighbouring station of the Jardin des Plantes and Hospice de la Pitié, by means of which they all got clear off. So cleverly was the whole effected, and so immense the relief which the escape of these twenty-eight prisoners, embracing the principal of those from Paris, about whom the chief interest was felt, afforded to the prosecution, that the opinion generally prevailed at the time, and has not been weakened by anything which has since come to light, that the whole was done with the connivance of the police, and that Government had adopted that means of getting out of a difficulty which in any other way seemed inextricable.

26. The escape of these prisoners singularly facilitated the proceedings, as it removed those from danger concerning whom the chief interest on the part of the Liberals was felt. A difficulty, however, presented itself, whether the accused could be convicted and sentenced against whom the evidence had been taken, but who had made their escape, and in consequence could not be brought up to receive sentence, and whether the trial of those who resolutely refused to be brought to the bar could proceed. After anxious deliberation, and adverting to the necessity of the case, it was determined that in these extreme cases, in this particular instance, judgment might be given in absence of the accused. After this all further opposition ceased;

the accused were tried in separate sections or categories, and nearly all convicted. The advocates for the accused drew their strongest arguments from the example of the Revolution of July, and the difficulty of making the people understand how that which had been deemed the height of civic virtue in 1830, and rewarded as such, could become treason in 1834, and liable to punishment.* The Peers felt the force of this appeal, and, to their honour be it said, notwithstanding the long-continued provocation they had received, displayed great clemency and moderation in the sentences pronounced. The persons convicted were for the most part mere workmen from Lyons and St Etienne, the accused from Paris having escaped; and not one was sentenced to death, though several received very long periods of imprisonment. Seven were sentenced to transportation, two to twenty years' imprisonment, three to fifteen, nine to ten, four to seven, nineteen to five, and four to three. In addition to this, twenty prisoners absent, but against whom evidence had been taken, were convicted *par contumace* in absence, and sentenced to various degrees of the same penalties.

27. "The trials of April," says the Republican historian, "were to the Republican party, which the Revolution of July had engendered, a serious but not a decisive defeat. Some exaggerated the good they would produce; others, in a similar degree, went as far on the other side in over-estimating their evil. They contributed to diffuse and keep alive agitation, and through it prolong the sway of the generous sentiments. They postponed for a little the reign of profound self-

* "Il faut le dire, et le dire nettement : après la Révolution de Juillet le peuple a été sous l'empire de deux illusions, qui ont pu être funestes à sa tranquillité. D'abord il a cru que le pouvoir nouveau s'occuperait exclusivement de ses intérêts. Ensuite, il a pensé que dans le cas où il serait trompé, il aurait encore la faculté de recourir à la force pour reconquérir ses droits illégitimement froissés. Voilà, Messieurs, quelle a été la moralité nécessaire de la Révolution de Juillet."—*Discours de M. JULES FAYRE; Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 253.

ishness, the systematic abasement of the public mind which the Government was so solicitous to bring about, and which was ere long effected by the passion for sordid speculation, the thirst for mercantile gain." It will immediately appear that this effect soon after ensued, and from nothing more than the revelations made in this trial itself, which opened the eyes of all sensible persons to the abyss which was yawning beneath their feet, and the hopelessness of any benefit from political change in a country so torn by contending and irreconcilable factions as France was at this time. The views of these opposite factions were so much at variance, that all attempts at an accommodation were fruitless, and every state trial became, not a judicial proceeding, but a duel *en champ clos* between them. "This is not a trial," said M. Trélat to the Peers; "it is the revolution in mortal struggle with the counter-revolution—the past with the future—selfishness with fraternity—tyranny with liberty. Tyranny has for its arms, bayonets, prisons, and the gilt collars of Peers. Liberty has God on its side; that is to say, the Power which governs the world, which enlightens the human race, and will not permit it to retrograde. We must see with whom the victory will rest, and if, in the final result, the lie will be given to God. I am not defended. You, the Peers, are my political enemies, not my judges. For a trial, the accused and the judges must understand each other; but that is here impossible. We do not speak the same language; country, humanity, religion, laws, science, arts,—all that constitute society—the heavens and the earth,—are different to us. There is a world between us. You may condemn me, but you cannot judge my cause; for there is an impassable gulf betwixt us."

28. Yet is it impossible to close the continued survey of these memorable proceedings without melancholy reflections. Among the persons brought to trial on this occasion there were doubtless many reckless and desperate characters—men who would bring dis-

grace on any cause by the crimes committed in its name. But there were others of a different stamp—men who ventured all for what, in their estimation, was a noble cause, and exhibited, amidst the selfishness of a corrupted age, the glorious example of unshaken courage and unselfish devotion. It is the melancholy effect of revolution to blend such characters with the lowest and most abandoned of mankind: if victorious, to sear them with their crimes; if vanquished, to involve them in their ruin. There could not be a more striking proof of the truth of these observations than is found in the fact, that the government against which the revolutionists now made these persevering and courageous efforts was the work of their own hands—that the despotism of which they so loudly complained was that which they themselves had imposed on their country. "Five years ago," said M. Trélat, "I heard M. Persil demand the head of the noble Prince Polignac, in the name of the Revolution of July; and now his delegates demand the heads of those who, in obedience to his orders, took part in that memorable conflict. I see at the bar him * who first placed the tricolor flag on the palace of your ancient sovereign; and those who have chased him from France are now delivered over to the vengeance of its new King."

29. But whatever opinion may be formed of this point, or of the comparative merits of the judges and accused in this memorable trial, one thing is perfectly clear, that the conduct of the Republicans ere long afforded too good grounds for justifying the measures of Government on this occasion, and exhibited a proof of the truth of the mournful words extorted from Madame Roland at the foot of the scaffold, "O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!" The Government of Louis Philippe was not yet emancipated from the vexatious necessity of doing honour to the anniversary of the Revolution of July; and on this occasion, as if to demonstrate the injustice of those who

* M. Guernon.

charged upon it a departure from the principles which had placed it on the throne, it was resolved to celebrate it with more than usual magnificence, and that the King and whole royal family should take part in the ceremony. The extreme revolutionists resolved to take this opportunity of cutting them all off at one blow. Society had now, as is generally the case at the termination of vehement political strifes, arrived at that point when crime takes the place of movement, and revolution degenerates into assassination. Foiled democracy now steelled the heart and armed the hand of the assassin; and the hired murderer, watching for his victim, took his place, like Maurevel when about to strike Admiral Coligny, behind a tree or under the shadow of an arch, and sought escape from justice in the mystery in which his crime was shrouded, or the sympathy with which it would be received.

30. On the 28th July, the second of the three glorious days, the King was to pass in review the National Guard drawn up on the Boulevards, from the Madeleine to the Place of the Bastille. Accompanied by his sons, the Duke of Orléans, the Duke de Nemours, the Prince de Joinville, and a brilliant staff, among whom were Marshal Mortier and several of his Ministers, the monarch rode along the wooded and splendid circuit, passing the troops, who received him with acclamations, and in the midst of an immense crowd of spectators. He had already arrived at the gate of the Jardin Turc, when a violent explosion was heard on the right-hand side, in the houses behind the trees, like that of a number of petards which had been fired at once. In an instant a huge void appeared in the cortège which surrounded the King, and the pavement was seen to be covered with dead bodies, wounded men, and horses whose riders had been struck down. Eleven persons were killed, and twenty-nine grievously wounded, many of whom afterwards died of the injuries they had received. Among the former were Marshal Mortier, General La-

chasse de Verigny, and Colonel Raffé; among the latter five other generals, two colonels, and nine officers and grenadiers of the National Guard. Among the dead was a girl of sixteen, one of the spectators. The forehead of the King was grazed by a ball, and the horse he rode wounded on the collar, and those of the Duke de Nemours and the Prince de Joinville were struck, the one on the forehead, the other on the side. But, strange to say, and almost by a miracle, the royal family, amidst the scene of carnage, escaped without further injury.

31. Amidst the unbounded horror and alarm excited by this wholesale massacre, the murderers had all but escaped. At length, on the third flat of the house directly opposite the entrance of the Jardin Turc, the blinds of a window were seen to open for a second, and a puff of smoke escaped. The house was instantly surrounded by the National Guard and the police, who forced open the door and ascended to the third flat, the entrance to which they found strongly barricaded. Having at length broke down the barriers and got in, they found the implement of destruction, but the assassin had disappeared, and a cord suspended from the back-window into the court of the building showed how he had got off. He was seen, however, stealthily making his way to the Rue des Fosses du Temple; the track of blood marked his steps; he was pursued and arrested. When taken, he was severely wounded, and covered with gore, from the effects of the explosion; so that he must have possessed great resolution to let himself down in such a state from a height so considerable. His name was first given as Gérard, but it was afterwards found to be Fieschi.*

* Joseph Fieschi was born in the canton of Vico, in Corsica, on the 3d December 1790. His father was a shepherd, and he was the same at first; but soon tiring of the monotony of his mountains, at eighteen he entered the army, and was incorporated in the Corsican Legion, in which he went through the campaign of 1812 in Russia, under General Fianeschetti. Disbanded in 1814, he entered a provincial regiment in Corsica, which was disbanded in 1815, and he then joined the band which followed the fortunes of Murat in

He was a Corsican by birth, and a common mechanic in the neighbourhood. The machine by which the massacre had been effected was found in one of the rooms fronting the boulevard. It consisted of twenty-four musket-barrels, arranged on an inclined plane, directed towards the street in such a way as to enfilade the cortège as it passed along, and all going off at once. The match which had set them off was found still burning on the floor. Six of the barrels had burst from the violence of the explosion, and occasioned the wounds found on the prisoner: without doubt it was that accident which saved the life of the King. The monarch and royal family, who behaved with the greatest coolness on the occasion, after the wounded had been attended to and the dead removed, pursued their way along the Boulevards, and completed the review, amidst the enthusiastic applause of the multitude.

32. The King arrived at the Tuileries with a calm visage, which concealed the profound emotions which agitated his heart. He now saw the crown of thorns he had put upon his head when he supplanted Charles X. What would he have given now to exchange for its splendid anxieties the calm retreat of Neuilly, or the unobtrusive splendour of the Palais Royal! But the thing was done, and could not be undone; he had sown the wind, and was doomed to reap the whirlwind. The first feeling of all was thankfulness to Almighty God for the marvellous escape he had made. The Queen fell at the feet of the cross in her private oratory, and returned

Calabria in that year, and on his return to Corsica in 1816 was dismissed the army. After the Revolution of 1830 he passed himself off for a political martyr, and as such received employment from the new Government as a spy upon some of the political societies. Afterwards he was employed in superintending the formation of the aqueduct of Arcueil, and in that capacity embezzled the pay of the workmen, and committed forgery to conceal it, in consequence of which he was obliged to abscond, and took the name of Gérard, which he bore when he undertook the assassination of July.—See CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, viii. 204, 205.

fervent thanks to her patron saint for the protection vouchsafed to her family; and everything was done which could testify in the most public way the general gratitude for the deliverance of the royal family from so imminent a danger. A solemn service was performed in Notre Dame, and in all the cathedrals and churches of France, in token of the general thanksgiving, in pursuance of a recommendation from the King,* which met with a responsive echo in every generous bosom; and the respectable of all classes, Legitimist and Republican, hastened, many of them for the first time, to the Tuileries, to congratulate the sovereign on his wonderful escape. The throne of Louis Philippe had never been so strengthened as it was by this infernal attempt; and it afforded another proof, like those of Charlotte Corday, Louvel, and Sand, that no cause is advanced, but generally essentially injured, by wicked means being employed for its prosecution.

33. The funeral of Marshal Mortier and the other victims of this execrable attempt took place on the 5th of August, and was conducted with extraordinary magnificence. The procession set out from the Church of St Paul in the Rue Saint Antoine, and, following the circuit of the Boulevards, and passing the scene of the murder, traversed by the Rue Royale, the Place and Bridge de la Concord, to the Church of the Invalides, where the deceased were to find their last resting-place. Troops

* "La Providence a détourné les coups qui nous étaient destinés à moi et à mon fils. Mais si nous devons remercier Dieu d'avoir protégé nos jours en déconcertant les projets des assassins, que de regrets, que de larmes ne devons-nous pas à cet illustre Maréchal, à ses nobles compagnons d'armes, et à ces généreux citoyens que la mort a moissonnés tout autour de nous! J'ai donc à réclamer en leur faveur les suffrages que l'église accorde à tous les Chrétiens morts dans son sein. Ainsi vous aurez à célébrer, à cette intention, un service funèbre dans toutes les églises de votre diocèse, et un Te Deum solennel, en actions de grâce pour la protection éclatante dont Dieu nous a couverts. LOUIS PHILIPPE."—*Lettre du Roi aux Evêques de la France*, July 31; *Moniteur*, August 1, 1835.

of the line and national guards lined the streets the whole way in dense array—the drums all muffled, the officers with the garb of mourning on their arm. Fourteen hearses conveyed the dead bodies of those killed, or who had died of their wounds. The first, which was surrounded by maidens in white, bore the body of the girl of sixteen who had been slain; the second, that of a married woman who had perished in the same way, was environed by matrons similarly clothed. The epaulette of the National Guard placed on each of the six which followed, indicated that it contained the remains of a citizen-soldier; four others, each followed by a war-horse with arms reversed, betokened the military rank of the next victims. Lastly came the funeral car of Marshal Mortier, surrounded by all the pomp of earthly grandeur, surmounted by the helmet and sword of the illustrious deceased, followed by his charger. Four Marshals of France on horseback held the corners of the pall. The procession was closed by the King's Ministers, the judges, magistrates, and dignitaries of France, deputations of the Peers and Deputies, and of all the constituted authorities and public bodies in Paris. Never was seen a more imposing array, or one which spoke more powerfully to the hearts of all classes of the people. The ceremony of interment in the Church of the Invalides was conducted with similar magnificence. There the Archbishop of Paris and clergy awaited them; and the King and his two sons met the procession, and sprinkled holy water on the coffins before they were placed in their last resting-place. The guns of the Invalides fired every five minutes from the time the mournful procession entered the building; and among the half million of persons who, from first to last, witnessed the spectacle, there were few whose eyes were not suffused with tears.

34. When apprehended, and asked whether he had any accomplices, Fieschi replied that he had none, and that the whole was his own doing. He persisted in this statement re-

peatedly when examined before the magistrates. The magnitude of the preparations made, however, and the expense of the infernal machine, clearly indicated the aid of other parties; and it was universally believed that he was the agent merely of some of the secret societies, by whom the plot had really been conducted. The police, accordingly, were indefatigable in their searches, especially among those connected with the Liberal press; even Armand Carrel was arrested, though his open and intrepid character forbade the idea of his being involved in secret assassination. At length a clue to the accomplices was discovered, and early in the following year, Fieschi, and four other persons, were brought to trial before the Chamber of Peers. Fieschi, and two others, named Morey and Pepin, were convicted, and sentenced to death. They all belonged to the most depraved and dangerous class in Paris—that class which, hanging about the lower theatres, and having no settled employment, spent their time alternately in the embraces of courtesans and the conclaves of secret societies. One of the former, as revolting in figure as depraved in character, attended Fieschi at his trial, and bore a prominent part in his declarations. They all three suffered early on the morning of 19th February, with the stoicism characteristic of their age and country;—a poor atonement for fourteen innocent lives sacrificed to their machinations.

35. This frightful catastrophe suggested to all the absolute necessity of some additional laws against the secret societies and the offences of the press, to the incessant action of which all these attempts, so fatal to the peace of society, were to be traced. The measures of Government to meet the evils were introduced by a speech of M. de Broglie, which, like those of Lord Grey and Sir R. Peel on the disorders of Ireland, threw an important light on the social condition of France at this period. "The evil," said he, "is real; the crime is avowed: is it one of those against

which society can shut its eyes? Ask the massacre of 28th July if it is so. A man has been found—men have been found—who knew the King only by the execrable falsehoods of the press of a neighbouring country and of that of France, conducted by persons who never knew him, who never saw him, but who, on the faith of that press, considered him a character so abominable that it would be a meritorious work to purge the earth of his presence. These men have come to regard the King as so execrable, that they deemed it a meritorious work to destroy him, even though in doing so they might annihilate at the same time hundreds of men, women, and children. Read the Revolutionary journals since that event; see what intensity of hatred they reveal in their bosoms. With what complacency do they calculate that a few feet, a few inches more, and a whole dynasty was destroyed. Have they not declared that, after such an escape, the Republic may well take courage, and that it accepted the baptism of assassination? Well, gentlemen, let us see what the law will produce. Suppose the King entirely irresponsible, and that we must answer for everything—where will the evil be? where will it be for honourable men of all parties, for the most opposite to each other, provided their opinions are sincere? If there is any one who, out of this assembly, claims the right of insulting the King, insulting the Charter, insulting the public morality, let him show himself, and your indignation will be his answer.

36. "Every party, every interest, loses by the unbridled licence of the press which now prevails. The Administration loses by it, for it is perpetually obliged to recur to first principles, and waste, in defending the foundation of government, the time which should be consecrated to the progress of society, and the material and moral interests of the nation. The nation loses most of all, for it is entirely forgotten in the midst of that envenomed strife of parties; and yet it has established the present Govern-

ment, with the precise view that they should not be neglected, and that it might keep pace with and satisfy the ardent desire for industry and prosperity which presages such great destinies. That those great destinies will one day be realised, we have never ceased to hope; for a religious and moral reaction, a feeling of the necessity of order, begins to show itself; and in this mighty work of moral regeneration, society calls to its aid the support of power to shield it against the subversive influences. That is the moment to lend to it the succour of legislation. In the midst of a violent and universal crisis, the remedies suited to a period of peace and tranquillity are powerless—when calm is re-established, they are useless. It is when enlightened opinion, and the best interests of society, maintain a painful contest with the intestine passions which convulse it, that it becomes us to aid the moral travail of the world; it is then that we should cut short the pains which society, left to its own resources, would long have to endure in the midst of universal suffering, and for which no remedy could perhaps be found but in a universal overthrow, in which liberty itself would be the first to perish.

37. "Whatever may be the insolence of parties, however dangerous they may still be, they are conquered; they no longer bid us defiance, but they still subsist, and every day reveals more of the mischief which they do, and still more have done. Everywhere the disastrous traces of their passage are to be seen. They have thrown a poison into men's minds, which is far from being expelled. The prejudices they have diffused, the passions they have awakened, the vices they have caused, still ferment; and if at this moment the reign of insurrection has ceased, the moral revolt still subsists. An exaltation of mind without limit as without end, a mortal hatred for social order, a feverish desire to overturn at all hazards, a blind hope to succeed in the attempt, a profound irritation at failure, implacable humiliation of

deceived vanity, shame at yielding, thirst of vengeance,—these are the feelings which remain in the breasts of the seditious minorities whom society has subdued, but by no means conquered. Is it not a fact, imprinted in characters of blood in our streets, that under the fire of a hostile press, under the ceaseless action of barbarous theories and atrocious calumnies, there has been formed in the lower strata of society—there, where meet gross passions with violent intelligences, neither of which can endure restraint—a militia of men capable of undertaking anything, at once fanatical and perverse, ready at any moment for revolt, and where political parricide finds arms with weapons in their hands at all times ready for insurrection?

38. "Revolt is the enemy which the glorious Revolution of July bore in its bosom. We have combated it under all forms, in all fields. It began by raising in front of the tribune rival tribunes from whence it might dictate its insolent determinations and sanguinary caprices. We have demolished these factious tribunes, we have shut up the clubs; for the first time we have muzzled the monster. Upon this it descended into the streets; you have seen it hurtle against the gates of the King's palace, with bared arms, shouting, vociferating, and hoping to domineer over all by fear. We have met it face to face, with the law in our hand; we have dispersed its assemblages, we have made it re-enter its den. Next it organised itself in secret societies, in permanent conspiracies, in living plots. With the law in our hand we have dissolved the anarchical societies, arrested their chiefs, scattered their bravoës. After having repeatedly given us battle, it has been as often defeated, dragged by the heels through the streets, despite its clamour, to receive due chastisement at the hands of justice. Now it has fled to its last refuge; it has sought an asylum in the factious press; it has sought to intrench itself behind the sacred right of discussion, which the Charter has guaranteed to all French-

men. It is there that—like the wretch of whom history has preserved the name, who poisoned the waters of a populous city—it poisons every day the fountains of human intelligence, the channels in which truth should circulate, and pours its venom into all minds. We propose to attack it in its last asylum; we tear from its visage its last mask; and after having conquered it in material strife without infringing personal liberty, we shall subdue the licentiousness without infringing on the legitimate liberty of language. Should we succeed, as succeed I trust we shall, with your assistance, come what will, we shall have discharged our duty. Should the King in his wisdom call other men to the direction of affairs; should you, from motives which we shall always respect, withdraw the confidence you have hitherto reposed in us; should we fall from our own fault, or without it, it matters not. When the hour of our retreat has sounded, we shall carry back with us into private life the proud conviction of having exercised power in a conscientious and courageous spirit; we shall carry with us the consciousness of having done nothing for ourselves, but all for our country."

39. No one acquainted with the state of France at this period could deny that there was much truth in these eloquent words. Unfortunately for the orators, however, it was exactly what had been said five years before, in the manifesto, in 1830, setting forth the reasons for the Ordonnances of the Polignac Administration, drawn by M. de Chantelauze, and for acting on which the men composing the present Government had demanded their heads. The orators on the other side, whether in the Chamber or at the bar (for all state trials at this period were political debates), did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, and keenly reproached the Government for attacking a movement at the head of which they had formerly been found themselves. "The Revolution of July," said M. Armand Carrel and M. Lamar-

time, in reply, "has been much praised for its clemency, and certainly we are not those who would make that clemency a matter of reproach; for if we counselled vigour, we counselled at the same time humanity. But posterity will not fail to reproach it with its inconceivably infatuated trust. Hardly had it escaped from the bayonets of the Swiss, when it fell into that alliance which is now stifling it. We have had our share in the general fault, and we are now bearing the punishment of our inexperienced courage. What remains to us now of the victory of July, of that immortal triumph, but the tricolor flag, which to all appearance will soon be torn from our grasp?"

40. "Imprudent and young that we were the day after the victory! we had our eyes fixed on the future, and we never thought of securing our point of departure! We advanced to new conquests, dreamt of fresh victories, and already the reforms we had gained have slipped from our hands. There is nothing Ministers will not dare, nothing attempt. It is thus that we have seen, during the state of siege in Paris, political writers given up to police sergeants, the sanctity of domicile universally violated, secret correspondence seized and published; association, the principle of protection of the weak against the strong, the sufferers against the oppressors, denounced as a state crime. It is by these means that we have been stripped, one by one, of all our liberties, either of thought, writing, or action; and punished in our persons and our property for having wished to preserve the existence of a journal, from whence has come the first call to the house of Orléans.

41. "It is in vain that reference is made to the licentiousness of the press to justify these measures for the annihilation of its liberty. Freedom, difficult with it, is impossible without it. We must bear with its excesses, or abandon all hope of liberty. You must conquer it by putting it in the wrong, but it is a senseless attempt to think of extinguishing it. To try this

cannot fail to recoil upon those who engage in it. Such an attempt leads nations back; it leads to Moscow or to Prague, by the path of blind tyranny, or by that of revolt. Look around you; where are the ruins in society of which we hear so much? The throne has been overturned; it is restored. The good citizens were scattered, and trembled after a victory which had taught the people their strength; they have been rallied under the standard of the National Guard, and form the redoubtable army to which the defence of order is intrusted. The army was dissolved; and now it numbers four hundred thousand men, united as one man. Property was threatened; and now property has swallowed up everything, even the electoral rights, which it is not entitled to engross exclusively. The Archbishop's palace was pillaged; and now the temples are restored, and filled with the faithful, who recognise a common origin for morality and religion. Your elections were once delivered up to the gales of extreme faction; and now all returns, from the Chamber of Deputies to the humblest magistracy, are in the hands of men of property. Revolt was once rife in the streets, and now order and propriety reign in them; and if a fearful crime has been committed, it has filled all France with horror and execration. Royalty itself, so often assailed, so often dragged in the mire by the journals, what has it lost in the strife? I ask those who have witnessed the last atrocious attempt, has not the sovereign become aggrandised amidst dangers, and honoured the Government by his *sang froid* in peril, and the solicitude he has evinced for others?

42. "The Polignac Ministry attempted to effect the counter-revolution by ordonnances; you are seeking to do the same thing by laws. Is the Chamber prepared to second such an attempt? The future of the country is in your hands; with a single word you can cure the evil, and appease all inquietudes. Reject the proposed laws as unconstitutional. Overturn the

Ministry which, by its own admission, has come to such a point that it cannot govern but by a violation of the constitution. Unite with us in supplicating the sovereign to choose a new Ministry among those who, better instructed in the wants of the country, may succeed, by means of clemency and conciliation, in calming the passions; among those who, respecting legal right, may govern by conforming to the Charter, not violating it; among those who, believing in the eternal law of progress, may introduce with prudence the ameliorations which the nation demands, and who will not prolong beyond the limits which wisdom prescribes, a resistance which it is sometimes necessary to oppose to too vehement impatience."

43. The laws brought forward by the Ministry to combat the evils which they so eloquently deplored, consisted of three parts, and were, upon the whole, less violent than in the circumstances might have been expected. By the first, the Minister of Justice was authorised, should circumstances demand it, to form as many jury-courts as might be deemed necessary, and various abbreviations of the forms of procedure were introduced. Power was also given to the presidents of these courts to take such of the accused as might disturb the proceedings out of court, and proceed in their absence. The second authorised juries to convict by a majority of eight to seven, and enjoined secrecy on the votes given. The third, which excited the most violent opposition, declared any offence against the person of the sovereign or the monarchical principle, by the way of publication, punishable by imprisonment and a fine from 10,000 to 50,000 francs (£400 to £2000). It forbade the citizens, under severe penalties, to take the name of Republicans, to mix up the King's name in political discussions, to express wishes for the destruction or abrogation of the monarchical regime, or wishes for the restoration of the exiled family, to publish the names of jurymen before or after, or collect subscriptions in aid of

a condemned journal. Editors were laid under an obligation to reveal the authors of articles prosecuted, and during their imprisonment they were deprived of the direction of their respective journals. No drawing, no emblem, no engraving, was to be exposed to sale without having been sanctioned by the censors; and their authority was also required for any new piece on the theatre or opera stage. The cautions to be found by journalists might be increased to the enormous amount of 100,000 francs (£4000), and it was required to be paid in cash, not *rentes*, or other securities.

44. Considered in themselves, there could be no doubt that these restrictions were abundantly severe, and that they opened a door which, in the hands of unscrupulous prosecutors and astute judges, might with ease lead to the entire destruction of freedom either in thought or expression. Under the vague expression of these laws, which declared punishable incitements to crime without any overt acts, there was scarcely any political discussion, if adverse to the Government, which might not be rendered amenable to chastisement. So strong was the sense in the Chamber of the necessity of the case, and so general the conviction that it was to the licentiousness of the press that all the evils under which society laboured were to be ascribed, that, though strongly opposed alike by the Royalists, headed by MM. Berryer and Royer-Collard, and the Republicans led by Lamar-tine and Odillon Barrot, the coercive measures passed both Houses by large majorities. That in the Deputies was 226 to 153 on the most trying question, that on the laws relating to the press; in the Peers, 101 to 20.

45. The year 1836 opened under the most favourable auspices for the King and the Court party. The massacre of Fieschi had done that which five years of incessant efforts on the part of Government, and the bayonets of 500,000 national guards, had been unable to effect. Atrocious crime had here, as ever, defeated its own object;

the reaction had become so strong that it had turned only to the profit of the party against which it had been directed. The religious section of the community saw in the marvellous escape of the King and royal family the evident finger of Providence for the protection of the monarchy. The Doctrinaires and philosophers beheld in the crime of Fieschi the inevitable result of the anarchical principles which had so long distracted society, and kept open the wounds of the Revolution. The bourgeoisie, without troubling themselves either with religion or philosophy, were keenly alive to the dangers which threatened themselves from the conspiracies of the anarchists, and beheld with dismay a long perspective of lessened sales, and ultimate bankruptcy, resulting from the machinations of the secret societies. Thus all parties, though from different motives, concurred in giving support, in the mean time, to the monarchy; and the King had to thank the murder of Marshal Mortier, and the infernal machine of Fieschi, for having steered him through shoals in which, with all his prudence and power, he might otherwise have suffered shipwreck.

46. Another circumstance, arising from extraneous causes, came into operation at this period, and powerfully contributed to give a new direction to general thought, and turn individual ambition into another channel than those of political change or revolution. Great and long unknown prosperity had now begun to set in in both France and England, the natural result in each of increased confidence in the Government, and enlarged operations in the transactions of commerce. During the long and dreary

years, in both, which had succeeded the Revolution of 1830 and the Reform convulsion, trade had been so much checked, and consumption so materially reduced, that when confidence began to be restored, purchases to recommence, and capital to emerge from its places of concealment, a general rush to speculation and enjoyment took place. It was like the universal thirst after pleasure which followed the long and dreary night of the Reign of Terror on the fall of Robespierre. Four uncommonly fine seasons in succession had reduced the price of provisions to nearly one-half its former level in both countries, and, by reducing the importation of grain to a trifle, had entirely closed the chief drain which, in periods of peace, carried off the precious metals from those wealthy and long-established communities. Thus real capital was abundant, and paper capital, founded on credit, and supported by a plentiful issue of paper currency, was still more abundant. Speculation in railways, joint-stock companies, and joint undertakings of every kind, became extremely common. The public funds rapidly rose: the Three per Cents, which had been 76 in January, were at 80 in December; bank shares had risen from 1755 to 2145 in the course of the year; the estimated revenue for 1836, for the first time since 1830, was superior to the estimated expenditure, the former being 1,000,700,000 francs (£40,028,000), the latter 999,467,000 (£39,960,000), which would leave a small balance at the credit of the Exchequer. The imports and exports, which had been very depressed in 1833 and 1834, became much more abundant in 1835 and 1836;* and speculation, outstripping the progress

* EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FROM FRANCE.

Years.	Commerce Special.		Commerce General.		Tonnage in and out.
	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.	
1834	509,992,000	503,933,000	714,705,000	720,194,000	2,019,837
1835	577,413,000	520,270,000	834,422,000	760,726,000	2,045,978
1836	628,957,000	564,391,000	961,284,000	905,575,799	2,371,421

of real profit, opened to the ardent imaginations of the people the prospects of future and unbounded gain, which soon, like a fever, seized upon and carried away all classes.

47. But while everything smiled on the monarchy, it was far otherwise with its Prime Minister; and already everything announced the approaching fall of the Duke de Broglie. He had been selected by the King as a sort of compromise between the contending parties, and though he had conducted himself with firmness and ability, so far as the internal direction of affairs was concerned, he had failed to conciliate either the Sovereign or the Foreign Ministers. The former was disconcerted by his dogmatical manner and arrogant assumption of the lead, which was by no means in accordance with the supreme direction of affairs to which he himself aspired. The latter distrusted him, as neither decidedly pronounced for the aristocratic or the popular party; they did not know whether or not he was to be relied on. M. Thiers and M. Guizot, perceiving this, and being sensible that the Duke de Broglie could not long retain his position as Prime Minister, were secretly taking measures to undermine him, when the catastrophe was accelerated by an unforeseen event. On the 14th January 1836, M. Hermann, the Minister of Finance, in bringing forward the budget for 1837, ventured, of his own authority, without the concurrence of the Cabinet, to broach the dangerous assertion that the moment was favourable for the reduction of the interest of the national debt.* This proposal threw the Prime

* "Politiquement, Messieurs, est-il besoin de signaler l'effet moral que la réduction de l'intérêt de la dette produirait au dehors? Qui oserait douter encore des ressources et des destinées de la France, si on la voyait réussir peu après une Révolution dans une entreprise qui marque le terme le plus élevé du crédit national? Nous n'oublions pas que de nos jours le crédit financier sert d'appui à l'influence politique: car le crédit est une arme aussi; et cette arme aucun pays ne la devrait posséder plus forte que la France. La réduction de l'intérêt accroîtrait nos ressources: l'économie qui en serait le fruit assurera l'équilibre de nos finances, et nous

Minister into the utmost embarrassment; for the question of the reduction of the *rentiers* had always been a trying one for French administrations, and more than one had been dissolved from the collision of interests which it occasioned. He accordingly disclaimed the proposal, veiling his indecision under an ambiguous declaration that Government intended to bring forward a proposal on the subject at some future period, though not this session, but that the precise time was not yet fixed, and that it would depend on circumstances.* In consequence of this schism, M. Hermann resigned; and his resignation having been accepted, M. de Argout was appointed Minister of Finance in his stead.

48. The change of the Finance Minister, however, only adjourned, it did not remove, the difficulty. Great interests were at stake on both sides; for, on the one hand, the necessitous state of the exchequer, owing to the vast national armaments which were kept up, rendered a reduction in the interest of the public debt, if it could be effected, extremely desirable; and on the other, the number of persons interested in preventing any fall in their incomes, derived from this source, was so considerable that it was a dangerous thing for any Administration to provoke their hostility. The saving to be effected by the proposed reduction was no less than 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) a-year; and to a Chamber deeply impressed with economical

permettrait de fonder pour les entreprises d'utilité générale un système d'encouragement qui donnerait une nouvelle et puissante impulsion aux progrès de la richesse."—*Ann. Hist.*, xix. 33.

* "On nous demande s'il est dans l'intention du Gouvernement de proposer la mesure. Je réponds, Non: est-ce clair? On dit que mes réponses ne sont pas claires. Eh bien, je dis que l'intention du Gouvernement n'est point de proposer la mesure dans cette session. On me demande à quelle époque? Je réponds qu'aucun Gouvernement sage, aucun Gouvernement sensé, ne peut prendre un engagement quelconque sur une époque quelconque. C'est une question d'opportunité qui dépend des circonstances."—*Moniteur*, Jan. 19, 1836; *Ann. Hist.*, xix. 37.

ideas, and dealing with a revenue which for long had fallen short of the expenditure, this was a temptation not to be resisted. On the other hand, the rents inscribed on the *Grand Livre* amounted to 140,000,000 francs (£5,600,000), and this sum was divided among no less than 293,000 holders of stock, being on an average only 473 francs (£19) a-year each.* It was evidently, therefore, a question of great difficulty, and the schism on the subject in the Cabinet was but the index, as is generally the case, to the corresponding division in society. The question, however, once mooted, could no longer be avoided; for the finance committee of the Chamber, to whom the matter had been remitted, decided, by a majority of 23 to 13, in favour of the reduction; and the secretary to the committee, M. Gouin, brought forward a proposal in its name, which was, to convert the 5 per cent into either a 4 or 3 per cent, providing to the dissentient holders of the stock certain annuities in lieu of their claims on the Government. This proposal excited the utmost interest in the Chamber and the country, for it was well known that the fate of the Ministry hung upon its decision, and that it was to become the great turning-point, both in the strife of parties and the division of social interests, in the ensuing session of the legislature.

49. On the part of the committee of the Chamber, it was argued by M. Gouin, its secretary and the reporter: "It is in order to force the Government to break silence on this momentous subject that the Chamber have brought forward the present proposition, in which the holders of stock on the one side, and the mass of the com-

munity on the other, are so deeply interested. The reduction of the 5 per cents is a measure at once legal, just, useful, and opportune. In the question between the stockholder and the public, all the advantages have hitherto been on the side of the former. The law has declared his title indefeasible, and *exempted it from every species of taxation*. Is that not enough?—and is it necessary, in addition, to renounce for ever a liberation from the burden of interest which can alone alleviate the weight of the debt to the public? Matters have come to that point, that it is absolutely necessary to re-establish an equilibrium between the receipts and expenses, instead of a deficit of 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 francs (£600,000 or £800,000), which now exists. The Chamber has been long amused with statements of great economical measures, which have turned out rather an augmentation of expense. New taxes are impossible; they would cease to be productive. Here is a measure of economy which goes to save 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) yearly, and which would at once restore the finances. No time can be imagined so favourable for this great measure as the present, when the nation enjoys externally profound peace, when internal tranquillity prevails, and abundant harvests for several years have spread contentment through all classes of the community. The details of the measure, and the nature of the indemnity to be given to the stockholders, may be the subject of after consideration; but the Chamber should not lose a day in recognising the principle of the conversion."

50. On the other hand, it was contended by M. Delessert: "It is not necessary to discuss the right of Government to effect such a reduction as is now proposed in perpetual annuities; although, when the same question was discussed in 1824 and 1825, it was seriously doubted by General Foy, and the most eminent of the Opposition of that period, whether Government had any such right, especially in regard to the original holders of the 3 per cents consolidated, seeing they have already

* M. Thiers stated some very important and interesting facts, in this debate, on the comparative holders of French and English stock:—

"'La Grand Livre,' disait-il, 'est comme le sol Français très-divisé. Voici l'état du Grand Livre Français et la dette publique d'Angleterre en 1830.

"'En Angleterre 700,000,000 (£28,000,000) et 274,000 perties prenantes. En France 140,000,000 (£5,600,000) et 293,000 parties prenantes. C'est l'image du sol Anglais et de la grande propriété Anglaise.'"—*Ann. Hist.*, xix. 43, 44.

undergone a reduction of two-thirds of their stock in 1797. But without pleading the case so high, it seems sufficient to observe, that the advantages of the proposed measure have been very much exaggerated, and its evils diminished. The entire saving, supposing the 5 per cents all reduced to 4, would only be 21,000,000 (£840,000), not 25,000,000; and at what price would this reduction be effected? By cutting off a fifth of the income of 180,000 proprietors, and stripping them on an average of 100 francs (£4) a-year, and leaving them only 400 francs to spend. And who compose the class whom it is thus proposed peculiarly to tax? Old men, widows, orphans, and minors, who have expended their little all on government securities, and who now are to meet with this return for having come forward to support it in perilous times. Perhaps a year hence, should external and internal peace continue so long, it may be possible to effect something of the kind; but at present we are much too near the period of insurrection, infernal machines, and conspiracies, to attempt it."

51. The question derived its principal importance from its being understood that it was the touchstone of the Administration. It was no secret that the King was adverse to the conversion, at least at that time, as likely to breed dissatisfaction, and possibly insurrection, in the capital; and the Ministers unanimously adhered to this opinion at the existing time. Their decided opinion was expressed—1st, That the measure proposed was well founded in right; 2d, That it involved a resource considerable, and worthy of being taken into consideration, though less than what was generally supposed; 3d, That it would inevitably be brought about in time; but, 4th, That at the present moment it was dangerous, if not impracticable, and likely, in the highest degree, to impair the internal tranquillity and external credit of France. Their decision, therefore, was, in the mean time, against entertaining the measure. On the other hand, as the proposal was founded on the report of the committee of the Chamber, passed

by a large majority, it was evident that a direct collision between the executive and the legislature had taken place, which could not be avoided but by one or other of them being overthrown. The utmost anxiety was felt for the result. The vote was taken on the question, whether the proposal should immediately be taken into consideration, or adjourned; and the former was carried, amidst extreme agitation, by a majority of two—the numbers being 194 to 192. The whole Ministers immediately resigned, and the King, having no other resource, accepted the resignations.

52. Louis Philippe had considerable difficulty in forming a Cabinet, as might have been anticipated, when the former one had been displaced by a vote of the Chamber in opposition to his wishes and its unanimous opinion. It was evidently necessary to take the Premier from the Centre, as it was the junction of that body with the Left which had caused the overthrow of the former Administration. Great difficulties were, however, experienced in the selection—to such a degree, indeed, that, on the 15th February, the former Ministers were all officially summoned to the palace, which seemed to indicate that their resignations would not be finally accepted. A list of the new Cabinet, with Count Molé at its head, was for some days in circulation; but at length, after an interregnum of above a fortnight, the names of the new Ministers appeared officially in the columns of the *Moniteur*.* M. Thiers was President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; and the other Ministers bespoke a combination of parties, in which the Centre predominated, but in which the union of men of different principles was so evident, that no long endurance could be anticipated for this more than any

* The Ministry of 22d February was as follows:—President of the Council and Foreign Affairs, M. Thiers; Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice, M. Sauzet; Minister of the Interior, M. Montalivet; of Commerce and Public Works, M. Passy; of Public Instruction, M. Pelet de Lozère; of War, Marshal Maison; of the Marine, Admiral Duperré; of Finance, M. d'Argout.—*Moniteur*, 22d February 1836.

other coalition. The step toward democracy, however, was very apparent: the aristocratic element was entirely excluded, and the philosophic conservatism of M. Guizot no longer had a place in the Cabinet.

53. M. THIERS, who thus at the age of forty was to be Prime Minister, and at the same time Foreign Minister, of France, was undoubtedly a very remarkable man. No one, even in revolutionary times, raises himself with no other aid but that of his own talents to such an eminence, who is not so. He was not, however, a great man: had he been such, he never would in all probability have attained that eminence; or if he had, he would speedily have lost it. He was not a man of original thought, settled conviction, or unbending character; there is no trace of the former to be found in his speeches or writings, or of the latter in the various phases of his political career. But it was the very absence of these commanding qualities which occasioned his political success. It is in serious crises only, such as brought forward Mr Pitt on one side, and Napoleon on the other, that really great men obtain or can keep the lead: in ordinary times they are shipwrecked by their own greatness—they fall from their lofty and independent character, which will not bend to external pressure. Like Mr Burke, they possess the solitary independence of real genius: they may direct future ages, but they will seldom rule the present. To attain and retain political power, the mind must be much more supple and accommodating: it must be equal to affairs, not above them—abreast of the age, not in advance of it.

54. M. Thiers was a great political borrower and critic, rather than a great statesman; and this peculiarity appears not less in his writings than his career. Like Sir R. Peel in politics, he was a "huge appropriation clause," and largely imported the ideas of others when it suited his purpose to adopt them: like Lord Jeffrey in discoursing, he amplified with admirable felicity on these adopted views, and from the very circumstance of their being

adopted, and therefore not original, generally carried the majority with him. The mass of men are always directed by the original ideas of the great of the past, not the present generation. He had vast powers of amplification and illustration, prodigious fecundity of language, and occasionally, when warmed in debate, rose to a very high, though not the highest, strain of eloquence. He was sometimes inconsistent in principle, never in ambition. Holding a middle place as the leader of the Left Centre, or more Liberal section of the supporters of the Revolution of July, he inclined sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, and was alternately carressed by the Conservative diplomats of Prince Metternich, and lauded by the Liberal journalists of Paris. Inconsistency was his great defect, as it is with all who are swayed by ambition or impulse, rather than a resolute will and settled conviction. He was vain, fond of flattery, and did not escape the imputation of being desirous of money to maintain the splendour in which he delighted. His fame in future times will rest on his Histories, where he was truly admirable, rather than on his political career, which was often fickle and changeable. Yet is this fault rather to be ascribed to the age in which he lived than to himself, and could not, by a successful statesman, be avoided. Those who applaud the popular regime, and yet demand consistency in statesmen under it, are themselves inconsistent; for how is consistency to be maintained by one who depends on the ever-changing currents of public opinion?

55. As the Duke de Broglie's Ministry had been overthrown on the vexed question of the reduction of the *rentes*, it was naturally supposed that the new Administration would immediately bring in a measure in harmony with the views of the majority of the Chamber, and that on its success the fate of the Ministry would depend. It proved otherwise, however: M. Thiers was too skilful a pilot to split upon the rock on which his predecessor had been

stranded. He avoided it, accordingly, by a skilful speech, in which, after strongly enforcing the principle of the measure, he concluded by declaring that it was a step of so much importance, and requiring so much attention to details, that it, of necessity, must be left to be matured in another session. The majority in the Centre, satisfied with having got a Ministry of their own creation, and thereby secured the whole patronage of the state to themselves and their constituents, were content, or professed to be content, with this declaration; and the question recently so fiercely debated, and on which a Ministry had been overthrown, was quietly allowed to go to sleep. A trial of strength soon after took place on the election of three Vice-Presidents of the Chamber, in lieu of M. Sauzet, Passy, and Pelet de la Lozère, promoted to the Ministry, and the majority of the Parti-Tiers was unequivocally evinced; for M. Calmon, who was their representative, had 218 votes; M. Duchatel, who belonged to the late Ministry, had 200; and M. Forte, who had the support of the Gauche, only 165.

56. On the 22d February, M. Thiers made, according to custom, a sort of profession of faith before the Chamber; and as it elicited a similar declaration from M. Guizot, the leader of the Conservative Opposition, and M. Odillon Barrot, the chief of the Extreme Gauche, their speeches are in the highest degree interesting, as evincing the views of the different parties at this period, when the Government of Louis Philippe had, after repeated struggles, been firmly established. "Gentlemen," said M. Thiers, "the Cabinet is at length constituted, and the Chamber will, without doubt, deem it suitable that, without waiting to be interrogated, I should volunteer to state the principles by which it is to be guided. The men who are now placed on the ministerial bench have all acted in the light of day. You will not forget, I hope, that most of us have conducted the country in the midst of great perils, and that, in facing them, we have combated an-

archy with all our strength. Those who were not then in the Ministry seconded our efforts in the bosom of the Chamber. That which we were then we are still. For my own part, I declare it aloud, for I wish to be unknown to no one: I am what I was, the sincere friend of the Revolution of July, and on that very account convinced of the old truth, that to save a revolution you must preserve it from its own excesses. When these excesses appeared in the streets, or in the abusive use made of our institutions, I resisted them with all the force of action and legislation. I feel honoured by having combated alongside of the majority of the Chamber; and were it necessary, I would unite with them again to save our country from the disorders which threaten it. I believe that these sentiments are those of the majority of the Chamber. The troubles which have disturbed our country seem to be approaching their termination; better times are in store for us, and we shall not again see the days of peace uselessly darkened by the features and desolation of war. Here, again, we shall be faithful to the principle of the late Cabinet; it would not have been abandoned had the Government not become unreasonable and unworthy of its mission."

57. "The period has come," said M. Guizot, "when every one is called on to declare his sentiments, and I will not be the last to do so. Two charges are brought against our policy. One is, that it is rigorous and retrograde; but I do not think that progress consists in advancing in the dark. When society has been for long buried in licence, *progress consists in returning to order*—in restoring the sway of truth in the various gradations of society. If the social system consisted in indefinite extension, and required it, and such was the declared and ascertained will of mankind, then to delay would be to recede; but if society requires something very different, if it desires to regain the principles of conservatism, of which it has long lost sight, the return to conservative principles is progress. It is not progress

to go back to 1791; what was then an advance is now a retrograde movement. The wants of that period are all satisfied; what is desired now was unfelt then. We are not required now to plunge afresh into those dark and tortuous ways, and to open a passage which leads to destruction and ruin. Our opponents are going on blindly in the old track; they demand what was demanded before, without perceiving that all is changed: it is we, and we alone, who are really abreast of the age. Revolutions have always been attended with this immense inconvenience, that they weaken and degrade power. When this has been done, what is required is to restore it—to give it fixity, dignity, consideration. It is in that that progress consists. God forbid I should say nothing has been done. Everything has been begun, nothing concluded. Should the majority in this Chamber, which has been so gloriously formed amidst all our struggles, once allow itself to be divided or broken, you would see in a few months, perhaps in a few days, our whole work—government, peers, deputies, citizens—vanish at once. We have but one thing to do, and that is to be faithful to ourselves, to advance in the line we have taken, and not to recede.”

58. “I have no liking,” said M. Odilon Barrot, “for commonplaces. I will not go back on what has been said and resaid a hundred times. Doubtless the Opposition, since July 1830, has been placed in the most difficult situation. We have taken the Revolution of July in earnest; we regarded it not as a change of persons but of things—as the commencement of a new political era—as the solemn consecration of the principles for which we have contended during fifty years. Others have considered it as a mere accidental occurrence—as a thing against which they were to be on their guard; and because the Revolution had been made in the name of the Charter, to confine themselves strictly within its limits, to concede as little as possible, and retard what had been torn from them by victory. We, on the other

hand, who beheld in that Revolution an immense change, saw in the Charter of 1830 not a bounding charter, but an unchangeable contract between king and people, and we wished that all the conditions of that charter should be faithfully observed. Whenever the promises in that charter came under discussion, we have always voted for its interpretation in the largest sense, without hatred or a spirit of resistance against the Revolution, because we were convinced that, if that Revolution presented dangers, they would arise from resistance to its principles, not from carrying them out in honesty and good faith. Such is the profound difference of opinion which exists between us and another portion of the Chamber. I know that we have suffered under the position in which the violence of parties has placed us; that we have been represented as the accomplices of the excesses in the streets, and of a tendency to that republican despotism with which our opponents charge us. All that is false. We appeal to the future and the good sense of the country, and they will not fail us. Already the nation feels the necessity of departing from that bitter spirit of distrust which the violence of parties could alone have created.”

59. The Chamber was so equally balanced between the three parties who were represented by these eloquent speakers, that legislative improvement, as in Great Britain at the same period and from the same cause, was rendered impossible. It was not to be expected that a Ministry which had been brought in by a majority of *two* in the Chamber, would adventure on any novel or hazardous measures; and as by the French constitution the initiative of all laws rested with the Government, and the Opposition could only move amendments, this put an entire stop to legislative changes. The new Premier made a narrow escape from shipwreck, on a personal attack made upon him, in consequence of his having, in his capacity of Minister of the Interior in the former Cabinet, exceeded the credits allotted to him in the budget, particularly in the Made-

leine, where the excess was 1,200,000 francs (£50,000), the Obelisk in the Champs Elysées, where it was 1,500,000 (£60,000), and the Hotel on the Quai d'Orsay, where it was 2,000,000 (£80,000). It must be confessed these sums were very large, and with a revenue considerably less than the expenditure, and a Chamber passionately set upon economy, they afforded a very fair ground of attack. M. Thiers, accordingly, was very apprehensive of the result, and spoke warmly, and under emotion, in his defence. At length, however, the just pride of the French in their public monuments overcame their love of economy, and the extra expense was sanctioned. A still more trying question was expected on the proposal of a vote of 2,500,000 francs (£100,000) for secret-service money; but, contrary to expectation, it passed by a majority of 251 to 99. Sixty of the Gauche voted for it—a strange circumstance, but not unknown in the annals of popular assemblies.

60. The most interesting debate of the session took place on the budget, and most important revelations on the real state of the French finances were made by the Finance Minister. From it, it appeared that, although the sums voted since 1830 had always exceeded a thousand million francs (£40,000,000), and in some years had reached 1,400,000,000 (£56,000,000), still, the actual expenditure since that period had exceeded the ordinary income by the enormous sum in all of 848,842,924 francs, or £34,000,000, being at the rate of nearly 210,000,000 francs, or £8,400,000, a-year! * Certainly, if revolutions are an exciting, and to some a profitable pastime, they are enormously expensive and utterly ruinous to the great majority. It is no wonder, in this state of the finances, that the first anxiety of the Chamber was to reduce the expenditure, and bring it, if possible, to a level with the income. It was evident, from this statement,

* "Les dépenses pendant les cinq années, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, étaient de 848,842,924 francs au delà des recettes. Le déficit pour 1835 était 10,000,000, pour 1836, 23,000,000."—*Paroles du Ministre des Finances*, May 18, 1836; *Ann. Hist.*, xix. 168, 169.

that the annual *exposés* made by the Finance Minister had been fallacious; for they had almost always exhibited a surplus of income, small indeed, but still a surplus over expenditure. It was by loans and supplementary credits that the requisite funds for this vast extra expenditure had been acquired, and under a *new Ministry*, these important facts, heretofore carefully enveloped in mystery, were revealed.

61. The first serious foreign negotiation in which M. Thiers was involved related to the occupation of Cracow, and its little adjacent territory, by the troops of the three allied Powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, which had taken place on the 17th February. This invasion of the territory of a state declared independent by the treaty of Vienna (Art. 9) in 1815, made a great sensation in Europe, especially as Cracow was the last remnant of Polish nationality, and the violation of its neutrality was effected by the three Powers which had been parties to its partition. The reason assigned was, that Cracow had become the rendezvous of Polish refugees from the adjoining provinces of Lithuania, Galicia, and Posen, from whence they were hatching plots and conspiracies against the adjoining states. The three Powers had summoned the Senate of Cracow to remove certain persons designed in a note on February 9; and they, being without the means of resistance, had agreed to do so, craving only a delay of a few days for such of the refugees as had become connected by marriage with the inhabitants of Cracow, to remove their effects. To this, however, the allied generals would not agree, their orders being positive to admit of no delay; and on the 17th the Austrians entered, and were followed a few days after by the Russians and Prussians. The militia was immediately disbanded, as being composed for the most part, it was said, of the suspected persons, and the President of the Senate resigned his office, and was replaced by one in the interest of the allied Powers. The whole refugees, so much the object of apprehension to the allied Powers, were

immediately expelled by their troops, and the Senate remodelled, so as to be entirely under their influence. This done, the Russian and Prussian troops were withdrawn, leaving only a small body of Austrians to garrison the forts, and prevent the re-entrance of the refugees.* This violent proceeding, in direct violation of the treaty of Vienna, which had placed the republic of Cracow under the guarantee of the four great Powers, called forth only a powerful expression of dissatisfaction from the Cabinet of St James's, and was in secret approved by that of the Tuileries.

62. Shortly after, a convention was signed at Constantinople between the Russians and the Turks, in virtue of which it was agreed that, on payment of the last instalment of the sum of 80,000,000 of Turkish piastres (£10,000,000), stipulated by the treaty of 1829, before the 15th August next ensuing, by the Turkish Government, the Russian troops should evacuate Silistria. This was justly regarded as a very important event in the East, as affording an instance, so rare in recent times, of the Muscovite standards receding from what they had once occupied, and the Turkish advancing again to the north of the Danube. At the same time, M. Thiers agreed to pay the proportion belonging to France of the Greek loan of £3,000,000 undertaken by Russia, France, and England, by the treaty of 6th July 1827, and also to defray the debt, so long disputed, due, under the treaty of 4th July 1831, to the United States. By these

concessions, which evinced a disposition to be bound by the faith of treaties, and to re-enter the European alliance, M. Thiers gained much with the diplomatists of Europe. The apprehensions which had been awakened by the rise of a Minister from the Centre Gauche were dispelled; and hoping to gain him to their side, the diplomatic body were very assiduous in their attentions, and loaded M. Thiers with those flatteries to which it is well known *parvenus* are always most accessible. His receptions in the splendid hôtel which he now occupied in Paris were numerous and brilliant; and the diplomatists gratified his secret vanity by assuring him they reminded them of those of Prince Metternich at Johannisberg.

63. It soon appeared that these diplomatic courtesies meant more than appeared on the surface. Inquiry had been made at the Courts of Berlin and Vienna whether a visit from the Dukes of Orléans and Nemours would be acceptable, and the answer was in the highest degree satisfactory. The two princes set out accordingly, and were received at both Courts in the most distinguished manner. Reviews, balls, and fêtes succeeded each other in brilliant succession; and the ladies of Vienna, in particular, were charmed with the elegance of the Duke of Orléans's manners and the graces of his person. So favourable was his reception, that it seemed to augur no disinclination for a nearer connection, and a proposal was thought of, on the part of his royal highness, for the Princess Marie-Theresa-Isabella, one of the daughters of the Archduke Charles. But this was going a step too far: the Austrian pride showed itself when marriage was proposed. The young Princess could not conceal a partiality for the Duke of Orléans; and her father, who was considered as the head of the Liberal party in Germany, was rather disposed to favour the alliance. But for that very reason it was opposed by Prince Metternich, who dreaded the union of the daughter of a Liberal German Archduke with the heir of a French revolutionary throne. Accordingly, the usual means were taken to

* "Les trois Puissances protectrices de l'état libre de Cracovie, ayant en grande partie atteint le but qu'elles s'étaient proposé lorsqu'elles furent contraintes à faire occuper temporairement cet état par leurs troupes, pour le délivrer des fuyards Révolutionnaires et d'autres individus dangereux et sans aveu, qui s'y étaient agglomérés, se sont empressées, conformément à leur première résolution, d'ordonner l'évacuation complète de la ville et du territoire de l'état libre de Cracovie, en n'y conservant qu'une petite partie des troupes Autrichiennes, qui sont encore nécessaires au maintien de la sécurité publique, et au service militaire, jusqu'à ce que l'organisation déjà commencée de la milice de l'état fût achevée."—*Manifeste des Trois Puissances*, March 17, 1836; *Cæp.*, ix. 59, 60.

prevent what was not deemed desirable, without allowing matters to come to an actual proposal, and the two Princes, after having exhausted the splendid hospitalities of Vienna, returned in single blessedness, by the Tyrol and Milan, to Paris.

64. Whatever disappointment the parties principally concerned might feel at this untoward result, an event soon occurred which again brought forcibly before the world the precarious tenure of power, and even life, by the royal family of France, and gave Metternich reason to congratulate himself that he had not, like his predecessor the Duke de Choiseul, been instrumental in placing an Austrian princess on the French throne. As the King was driving out of the courtyard of the Tuileries, at six o'clock on the evening of the 25th June, with the Queen and Madame Adélaïde, on his return to Neuilly, a shot was suddenly heard in the carriage, which was filled with smoke, and it was discovered that a ball had passed through the vehicle, immediately above the King's head, and lodged in the roof. Louis Philippe, who evinced the greatest coolness on the occasion, merely inquired if any one was hurt outside, and ordered the coachman to drive on. The assassin, whose name was Alibaud, was seized on the spot, with the pistol still smoking in his hand, and carried to the nearest police office, from whence he was sent to the Conciergerie. Being interrogated by the public prosecutor what his motive was for firing at the Sovereign, he replied: "I wished to kill the King, whom I regarded as the enemy of the people. I was unfortunate. The Government was the cause of my misfortune; the King is its chief: that was my reason for wishing to kill him; and my only regret is the not having succeeded in doing so."

65. The proceedings for the trial of this great criminal were conducted with unwonted celerity; and early in July the Court of Peers commenced their labours. Alibaud continued his intrepid demeanour in presence of his judges; he avowed his crime, and gloried in it. "Since the King put

Paris in a state of siege," said he, "and he showed that he wished to govern, and not to reign—since he first massacred the citizens in the streets of Lyons, and at the Cloister of St Méri—I have formed the resolution to kill him. His reign was an infamous one—a reign of blood; and I was determined to put an end to it." He was of course convicted, and sentenced to be executed in the dress appropriated to a parricide; a sentence which was carried into execution on 11th July, at five in the morning. A confessor having approached, he received him with civility, but declined his services. "I have no need," he said, "of your assistance; I am at peace with my conscience." He exhibited the same stoical firmness on the scaffold as he had done ever since his apprehension: his last words were, "I die for liberty, for the people, and for the extinction of the monarchy." Then turning to the guards, who surrounded him, he added, "Adieu, my comrades!" and the axe fell.

66. This nefarious attempt led to a measure which excited a great sensation in Europe, and demonstrated more than anything had yet done the precarious foundation on which the throne of Louis Philippe rested. On the 23d July an announcement appeared in the *Moniteur*, that the King was not to leave his palace, and that there was to be no review on the 29th July, the last of the three glorious days. This excited the greater surprise and disappointment, that the inauguration of the Arc de Triomphe, at the barrier of Neuilly, was to take place on that day, and that a military spectacle of more than ordinary magnificence was anticipated. The most sinister rumours were immediately in circulation: one that the ceremony had been remonstrated against by the diplomatic body, as likely to awaken dangerous recollections; another, that a hostile demonstration against the Government from the National Guard was apprehended. The Ministers hastened, by articles in the *Moniteur*, to put a negative upon these surmises, by confessing what was the simple truth, that the measure was

dictated solely by a necessary regard for the King's safety, and a knowledge of the numerous conspiracies on foot against him. Thenceforward the Monarch remained a prisoner of state in his own palace; no review took place on the 29th; the Arc de Triomphe was unveiled without any ceremony; and the celebration of the Revolution of July sank into an unmeaning ceremonial that excited no attention. This change produced the most melancholy impression; it was at once a confession, in the face of Europe, of the extreme unpopularity of the reigning dynasty, and the inability, even of its mighty army and vast police, to defend the life of its chief. "The soil," says the French annalist, "was so sown with assassins, that there was no safety for the Monarch but within the walls of his palace."

67. The repeated conspiracies which had necessitated this humiliating act of seclusion imposed by the Cabinet on the King, had their chief seat in Switzerland. The secret societies, in some degree kept down in France by the rigid laws of September 1835, took refuge in that secluded and neutral state. Its situation, midway between France and Italy, presented a central point from whence the democratic action could be kept alive in both countries, while its lofty mountains and republican institutions seemed to afford an asylum alike from the jealousy of kings and the persecution of ministers. All the secret societies, accordingly, which were undermining society in France, Italy, and Germany, had their committees in Switzerland, and it was there that the regulating orders for their operations were determined on. The following account of their proceedings was given by a deputy in the National Assembly of Switzerland. "The association," said M. Chambrier, "styled 'Young Europe,' has taken for its device the words 'Liberty, Equality, Humanity,' and it professes to be founded on the rights of man; the manifesto of France to Europe when it was covered with scaffolds. Its members are bound to contribute with all their strength to

the destruction of established governments in all countries; they would level everything to let in the flood of revolutionary ideas. Its act of association bears date, Berne, April 19, 1834. There also have successively arisen the other societies, entitled 'Young Italy,' 'Young Poland,' 'Young Germany,' 'Young France,' and 'Young Switzerland.' A directing committee, sitting at Paris, holds in its hands the threads of the different associations which compose 'Young Europe.' Separate committees are at the head of the different sections; but they all implicitly obey the orders of the unknown committee, which, shrouded in darkness, sits at Paris. 'Young Switzerland,' established on July 26, 1835, is intrusted with the duty of organising the whole of that confederacy, overturning the government in all its cantons, annihilating the compact of 1815, preparing an appeal to arms, and organising, in conjunction with 'Young Germany,' the free corps which are to liberate both countries. A province of the latter country is to be immediately invaded, and all Europe stirred to support the movement."

68. By means of those secret societies, Switzerland was stirred to its foundation, and revolutionary movements were prepared to convulse all the adjoining states. The Napoleonists, as will immediately appear, were not less active than the Republicans; and the Château of Arenenberg, in the canton of Berne, the residence of the Duchess of St Leu, formerly Queen of Holland, and her son, PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON, became the great centre of this party, from whence an inroad into France was openly discussed, and generally expected. In these circumstances, the Cabinets of the Tuileries and of Berlin not unnaturally took alarm, and several joint notes were presented in the names of France and Austria, revealing the existence of secret conspiracies, and requiring the instant expulsion of the refugees. A long negotiation ensued, the executive Government of Switzerland promising compliance, and the Vorort, or central congress, protesting against

such a violation of the national independence, and declaring they would rather perish with arms in their hands than submit to it.* At length, finding that the executive, placed between two opposite parties and sets of dangers, hesitated, and delayed compliance, M. Thiers brought matters to a crisis by causing the Duke of Montebello, the French Minister at Berne, to intimate to the Swiss Government, that if the demands of France and Austria were not instantly complied with, their respective ministers would leave Berne, all commercial intercourse between Switzerland and the adjoining states would be suspended, its frontier blockaded, and the expenses of the blockade claimed and levied from their territories. This demand was made by the Duke of Montebello on the President of the Swiss Directory, on the 6th August, *in the night*, and made a great sensation. The Liberal journals everywhere exclaimed in the loudest manner against what they termed this shameful violation of the law of nations, and were particularly vehement against M. Thiers, "the child of revolution, whose impious hands would strangle his own mother." But the parties were too unequal to render a contest possible ;

* "Les Cantons confédérés de Berne, Lucerne, Schwitz, Soleure, Bâle, et Argovie, réunis à Reiden, déclarent unanimement :—

"1. Qu'ils repousseront comme attentatoire à l'honneur, à la liberté, et à l'indépendance du peuple Suisse, toute intervention du diplomate étranger dans les affaires de la patrie : qu'ils sont déterminés à sacrifier leurs biens et leur vie pour appuyer les autorités constitutionnelles Suisses, dans leurs efforts pour maintenir ces biens précieux hérités de leurs ancêtres, et que toute autre conduite serait honteuse.

"2. Qu'ils regardent en particulier comme chose urgente le rappel de l'Ambassadeur Français, le Duc de Montebello, attendu que par son affectation à prétendre que le peuple ne défendrait ni les constitutions qu'il s'est données ni les autorités qu'il a choisies, par son manque d'égard vers le Président de la Diète, qu'il est venu surprendre par une visite nocturne ; et avant tout, par ses prétensions à vouloir s'immiscer dans nos affaires nationales, et par sa conduite en général, ce diplomate a perdu la confiance de la nation."—*Déclaration des Cantons de la Suisse*, Sept. 17, 1836 ; CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, ix. 85, 86.

the threat of blockade to a mountainous country depending for its existence upon the import of grain from the surrounding plains, and the export of cattle to them, was too formidable to be disregarded ; and at length the demands of the foreign Powers were complied with, and the refugees received notice to quit the Swiss territories.

69. The right of a nation in whose territories refugees from a neighbouring state have sought and found an asylum, to maintain them against the requisition for removal by a neighbouring state, against which their machinations are thought to be directed, is one of very frequent recurrence in recent times, and in which all nations and all parties have an equal interest. It is difficult to say whether the maintenance of the right or the guarding against its abuse is most to be desired by all the real friends of freedom and humanity. If, on the one hand, it is a vast step in civilisation, to which the united efforts of all the friends of the species should be directed, to effect the abolition of the punishment of death in the case of political prisoners, and to substitute for it the milder penalty of the Athenian ostracism ; on the other, it is essential to the general adoption of that modified code, that the political enemies who find a refuge in the territories of a neighbouring power should abstain from engaging in such enterprises as may excite alarm in, or disturb the tranquillity of the adjoining states. If they do not do this—if they abuse the rights of hospitality so far as to render the territory of the neutral state in which they have found an asylum a mere platform, from which, as from a besieger's battery, they may send shells at long range into the states from which they have been expelled, and thereby rekindle the flames which have been extinguished by their removal, *they continue a belligerent power*, and the state which permits such use to be made of its territory loses its character of neutrality, and becomes a confederate of the belligerent refugees. No

right-minded government will ever permit such an abuse of the rights of hospitality; no really independent government will feel offended at the demand for its abatement. All parties have an equal interest in insisting for such a limitation of the supposed rights of misfortune, for none can say how soon it may become their own turn to invoke them. All have in their turn insisted for such a limitation against others, however loudly they may have exclaimed against it when directed against themselves. Were it otherwise, the greatest step in the humanising of manners in recent times would be abandoned, the chief lesson taught by the tragedy of the French Revolution would be lost; each party, when it became victorious, would destroy its adversaries like savages in the first ages of warfare; and the boasted improvements of civilisation would terminate in the general adoption of the maxim of Barère: "Il n'a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas."

70. This question of the expulsion of political refugees from Switzerland drew closer the bonds between France and Austria, for they had an equal interest in demanding it. M. Thiers and Prince Metternich were quite at one on this point. But it was otherwise with the Spanish question, which had now become so alarming as to force itself upon the attention of all the adjoining states, and in an especial manner excited the solicitude of the Liberal party in France. The terrible war of succession, grafted on revolution, which had, ever since the death of Ferdinand VII., bathed the Peninsula in blood, already recounted, had now arrived at such a point that the royal authority seemed on the point of being destroyed, and the kingdom exposed to the sanguinary mutual and inveterate vengeance of the Carlist and Republican parties. All the valleys of the north of Spain were in the hands of the former; nearly all the cities of the south had declared for the latter. Between the two, the authority of the Crown at Madrid was virtually in abeyance, and

the Queen-Regent herself had recently been subjected to a military outrage and revolt at La Granja, which foreboded the worst horrors of the French Revolution.

71. In these circumstances, M. Thiers, whose prepossessions were all on the side of revolution, provided it did not impair or endanger his own power, was decidedly in favour of an armed and prompt intervention. The British Government had already, in March 1836, sent a body of marines to co-operate with the Spanish Liberals on the coast of Biscay; but France had declined to intervene at that period; and M. Thiers himself had written a letter on 18th March declining the proposed co-operation, as perilous in the extreme, and likely to induce a European war. When the extreme revolution, however, which led to the outrage at La Granja, broke out in Spain, the King consented to the formation of a corps of volunteers from the army at Pau, with a view to finally taking part in the Spanish contest. When the time for action, however, seemed to have arrived, the Monarch, whose desire for peace amounted to an absolute passion, could not be brought to give his consent to preparations being made for entering the Peninsula, and even desired that the corps of volunteers should be disbanded. The whole Cabinet, with the exception of M. Montalivet, was of an opposite opinion; and the consequence was that they resigned in a body, and the King sent for COUNT MOLÉ, who without delay formed a new Ministry, in which the Doctrinaires and Conservatives had the majority, and which was based on the principle of non-intervention.*

72. Count Molé, who thus became Prime Minister of France at a com-

* The Ministry of 6th September, as finally constituted, stood as follows:—President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Molé. Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice, M. Persil. Minister of the Interior, M. de Gasparin; of Marine, Admiral Rosamel; of Public Instruction, M. Guizot; of Finance, M. Duchatel; of War, Baron Bernard; of Commerce and Agriculture, M. Martin (du Nord).—*Ann. Hist.*, xix. 233, 234.

paratively early age, and held the office for two years, was in every respect the reverse of his brilliant, volatile, and inconsistent predecessor. Of ancient and noble family, and the inheritor of a splendid chateau filled with historic monuments, he had all the charm of manner and elevation of mind which is often found to distinguish aristocratic descent. But he had none of the *légèreté* or frivolity which so frequently accompanies it, and renders even brilliant talents unavailing to the public service. Grave in manner, laborious in habit, and thoughtful in disposition, his conversation had peculiar charms for the King, who was himself well informed on historic subjects, and delighted in unbending his mind, after the fatigues of the council-table, on the manners and incidents of the olden time. He was a judicious and sometimes powerful speaker, but without the eloquence or versatile talents of M. Thiers. On that account he had more weight in the Chamber of Peers, where he had numerous friends, and his high birth gave him eminent advantages, than in the Deputies, who were chiefly governed by economical considerations, and were never carried away but by the highest flights of popular oratory. His historical information, especially of the annals of his own country, was immense: but on that very account he was perhaps the less qualified to grapple with the difficulties of the present time: he was better acquainted with France as it had been, than as it was,—a fault common to him with many aristocratic leaders, and which has led to many of the most unfortunate steps recorded in history. With all these solid and valuable qualities, which added lustre to a character of unequivocal probity, Count Molé had some weaknesses which seriously impeded his Administration. He was not great enough to be simple; a secret vein of vanity pervaded his character; and his high position in the Chamber of Peers had given him a more lofty idea of his own importance, and the deference due to it, than was consistent either

with his real abilities or the influence which any Minister resting chiefly on aristocratic influences could then obtain in France.

73. The first important step of the new Ministry was one in itself graceful and honourable, and which, without exciting disturbances in France, contributed to enhance the estimation in which its Government was held in foreign countries. Ever since their memorable trial in December 1830, in the Luxembourg, Prince Polignac and the other Ministers of Charles X. who had signed the *Ordonnances*, had remained in close confinement in the citadel of Ham. The humanity of the Government had mitigated the severity of their punishment by allowing them the use of books and pen and ink; and their independence of mind, and conscious rectitude of intention, had prevented them from demeaning themselves by soliciting any other indulgence. Public opinion, however, had undergone a great change within the last few years in regard to the propriety of their further detention. For the last four, the new Government had been incessantly engaged in combating insurrections and conspiracies against itself, and the peace of society had only been preserved by re-enacting with additional severity the *ordonnances* which had occasioned the downfall of Charles X. It was evident, therefore, that they had suffered only for their foresight: they had been punished, not because they had done wrong, but because they had too soon done what was right; because, with inadequate means, they had attempted prevention instead of waiting for cure. These views, long working in the public mind, had prepared them for the pardon of the prisoners in Ham, and enabled Louis Philippe, without risk, to gratify his own humane disposition by extending mercy to them. It was accordingly deemed a gracious and well-timed act when the King, on the 17th October, directed M. de Peyronnet and M. de Chantelauze to be liberated on their parole, to reside in certain places at a distance from Paris; and this was soon after followed by

another ordonnance, on 23d November, which commuted the punishment of M^M. de Polignac and Guernon de Ranville into banishment for twenty years from France, and in the mean time directed their liberation from their long confinement.

74. Hardly had this act of humanity been performed by the French Government, when the monarch in whose service these gallant but injudicious men had incurred the penalties they had undergone, was numbered with his fathers. Ever since his dethronement, Charles X. had led a retired domestic life, alike removed from the whirl of politics and the gaiety of courts. Regarding his fall as the punishment inflicted by Heaven for the sins which he had committed, he submitted in silent resignation to its decrees, and neither demeaned himself by complaint, nor struggled to alter his fate. A stranger to all political intrigues, and dividing his time between works of religion and charity and the fatigues of the chase, he had discouraged the attempt of the Duchess de Berri, and uniformly dissuaded any similar undertaking by others. He believed that his grandson would be restored to the throne of his fathers; but he looked for his restoration to the justice of Heaven and the repentance of his people, not to any combination of princes or efforts of human power. But the end of this simple and expiatory life was now approaching. For some years past the habitual residence of Charles and his Court had been at Prague in Bohemia,—the British Government having, at the solicitation of Louis Philippe, suggested their removal from Holyrood after the expedition of the Duchess de Berri. He had gone with the Duchess d'Angoulême and his household to Gratz in Styria, in the end of October, with a view to enjoying the pleasure of shooting in the pine-clad mountains in its vicinity. Winter set in early in these elevated regions; but still the exiled King enjoyed vigorous health, and at the age of seventy-nine he had, on the 5th November, the day of his fête, been on a long shooting expedition on

foot in the hills at a considerable distance. In the evening, however, he was seized with an attack in his bowels, at first slight, but which soon showed symptoms of Asiatic cholera. He sank rapidly, and expired without suffering or murmur at one o'clock on the following morning, surrounded by his weeping family, who had undergone so many tragedies in their calamitous career. Born at Versailles on the 9th October 1757, he was in his eightieth year when he died, and he was interred without pomp in the church of the Capuchin monks near Görtz on the Isonzo. The church of the same order at Vienna contained the remains of the son of Napoleon. These members of the royal and imperial races alike found their final resting-place in a foreign land, under the care of a poor order of monks, in the midst of their fathers' enemies.

75. The hand of fate was on the curtain in this eventful year, but it was not drawn up, and the actors in the great drama which was to succeed only appeared as it was for a moment raised. Only a week before the last of the Bourbons who sat on the throne of France died, exiled and disrowned, in a foreign land, sheltered by his enemies from his own people, the representative of a new dynasty appeared on the French territory, and LOUIS NAPOLEON commenced that adventurous career which, after many reverses, has ended in the restoration of the imperial throne. This young prince, the only surviving son of Louis Napoleon, king of Holland, the younger brother of Napoleon, was beyond all doubt, after the death of the Duke of Reichstadt at Vienna, the heir and representative of the great name and boundless inheritance of his immortal uncle. His mother, the Duchess of St Len, vividly impressed with these magnificent prospects, had, during the whole period of the Restoration, been the centre of all the conspiracies which had for their object the restoration of the imperial line; and young Louis Napoleon, with his brother, who died in the attempt, endeavoured to excite a revolution in their favour in Italy,

shortly after the fall of Charles X. in 1830. Foiled in that attempt, he still persisted in his projects with that determined perseverance which so often works out its own destiny, and, by never despairing of fortune, at last conquers it. He commenced the composition of works calculated to enlist the public sympathies in his favour by uniting the democratic and imperial parties under the same banner, and holding it out as the only one which could restore liberty and glory to France. These works, especially *Les Réveries Politiques*, and *Des Idées Napoléoniennes*, are very remarkable for the reflection and thought which they exhibit, and they were singularly calculated to attain their object from the skilful combination which they present of much that was real, with everything which could be figured that was alluring, in the maxims of the imperial government.*

76. For some years back the Duchess of St Leu, with her son, had lived in Switzerland, and their residence, the Château of Arenenburg, in the canton of Berne, was the centre of all the Napoleon party, and of that portion of the Republicans, by no means inconsiderable, who, warned by their repeated failures when acting alone, deemed it expedient to unite their forces with the more warlike and better disciplined bands of the Napoleonists. The great affluence of refugees of all parties from France, in the course of 1836, into Switzerland, in consequence of the operation of the severe laws of the preceding September, led to the

* "Je voudrais un gouvernement qui procurât tous les avantages de la République sans entraîner les mêmes inconvénients, un gouvernement qui fût fort sans être despotique, libre sans anarchie, indépendant sans conquêtes,—le peuple ayant la souveraineté réelle et organisée comme source élective, comme contrôle, et comme rectification de tous les pouvoirs; deux Chambres composant le pouvoir législatif, la première élue, mais l'une exigeant certaines conditions de services rendues ou l'expérience de la part des éligibles."—*Réveries Politiques*, par Louis NAPOLEON, 27, 49. In Louis Napoleon's career, from first to last, literary and political, there are decided proofs of that *fixity of ideas and moral resolution* which are the characteristics of greatness, and the heralds either of success or ruin in this world.

general belief among these exiled adventurers that the time had now arrived when, by a united effort of both parties, it might be possible to overturn the throne of Louis Philippe, and open the way to the imperial crown. Accordingly, a conspiracy, having extensive ramifications in the military of France, was formed, of which the threads centred in the Château of Arenenburg, and which had for its object the overthrow of Louis Philippe, and the restoration of the imperial line in the person of Louis Napoleon. Strasburg naturally presented itself as the place where the inroad might best be attempted, both from its vicinity to the headquarters of the disaffected in Switzerland, and from its being a fortress of the first order, opening the way into the heart of France, and adjoining the provinces where Republican ideas were most prevalent, and the memory of Napoleon was still held in most veneration. This place was further recommended by the presence in it of the fourth regiment of artillery, commanded by Colonel Vaudrey, a warm partisan of the Napoleon family, and whose influence with his men rendered it probable that they would all, with their leader, range themselves under his standard. The plan was, to electrify the garrison of Strasburg by the sudden appearance of the young Prince among them; to rally to his colours the whole national guard of Alsace, which it was well known might be relied on; and, with the united force, march direct on Paris, and overthrow the monarchy of Louis Philippe, as Napoleon had done that of Louis XVIII. Authentic evidence exists that this conspiracy had such extensive ramifications in France that it was very near succeeding, and that the throne of the Citizen King depended on the fidelity of a few companies in the garrison of Strasburg.*

* The following letter from a leading Republican at Paris at this period to Louis Napoleon, illustrates the views of that extreme party, and the chances of the Prince's success:—"Nous ne jouissons pas du présent, car l'avenir nous effraye: le pouvoir depuis six ans n'a rien fondé; il a réprimé les nobles

77. Everything being prepared, and extensive ramifications of the conspiracy established in the garrison of Strasburg, Louis Napoleon, on the evening of the 28th October, entered that fortress in disguise, accompanied by a few trusty friends. On the morning of the 30th, dressed in the well-known costume of Napoleon, he made his appearance at the gate of the barracks of the fourth regiment of artillery. He immediately advanced to the colonel, who said to his men, in a loud voice : "Soldiers ! a great revolution is commencing at this moment. The nephew of the Emperor is before you ! He comes to put himself at your head. He has arrived on the soil of France to restore to it liberty and glory. The time has come when you must act or die for a great cause—the cause of the people. Soldiers of the fourth regiment of artillery ! can the nephew of the Emperor rely on you ?" At these words an indescribable transport seized upon the men ; "*Vive l'Empereur !*" was heard on all sides ; the sabres leapt from their scabbards, and glittered in the air ; and amidst the clash of arms and cheers of the men, the voice of Louis Napoleon could not for some time be heard. At length, the colonel having made a signal for silence, he advanced, deeply affected, and said : "It was in your regiment that the Emperor, my uncle, made his first essay in arms : with you he was illustrated in the siege of

passions, énérvé les cœurs, sans inspirer ni sécurité ni confiance ; et comment l'aurait-il pu, lui qui n'a ni l'appui des siècles ni celui que donne la sanction du peuple, ni même le prestige d'une glorieuse origine ? Le plus fort n'est jamais assez fort pour être toujours maître, s'il ne transforme la force en droit, et l'obéissance en devoir. La vie du Roi est journellement menacée ; si l'un de ces attentats réussissait nous serions exposés aux plus graves bouleversemens, car il n'y a plus en France ni parti qui puisse rallier les autres, ni un homme qui inspire une confiance générale. Dans cette position, Prince, nous avons jeté les yeux sur vous ; le grand nom que vous portez, vos opinions, votre caractère, tout nous engage à voir en vous un point de ralliement pour la cause populaire. Tenez-vous prêt à agir ; et quand le temps sera venu, vos amis ne vous manqueront pas."—*Vie de Louis Napoléon*, i. 21, 22.

Toulon ; and it is your brave regiment which, on his return from the island of Elba, opened to him the gates of Grenoble." Then, taking the eagle from the officer who held it, he said, "This is the symbol of French glory, which should also henceforth be of its freedom." At these words the acclamations redoubled ; and the whole regiment, with proud steps, in the highest state of excitement, and to the sound of military music, marched out of the barracks to rally the remaining corps of the garrison.

78. The Prince, at the head of this regiment, proceeded to the headquarters of the Governor-General, where he was received by the soldiers presenting arms, and exclaiming "*Vive l'Empereur !*" He immediately went up-stairs to the General, who was just risen, and, offering to embrace, invited him to join the movement. He was, however, coldly received by that officer, who refused to take a part in the attempt, and was in consequence put under arrest, and left under guard of some of the revolted regiment in his own house. Meanwhile, three other detachments sent out from the fourth regiment met with the most surprising success. The first made straight to the hôtel of the prefect, opened the gates, and made him prisoner. The second went to the house of the colonel of the third regiment of artillery, took possession of the door, and forbade all ingress or egress. The third got hold of a printing-office, and immediately began throwing off the proclamation to the army and the nation.* A

* "*An Peuple Français.*

"On vous trahit ! Vos intérêts politiques, vos intérêts commerciaux, votre honneur, votre gloire, sont vendus à l'étranger. Et par qui ? Par des hommes qui ont profité de votre belle Révolution, et qui en renient tous les principes. Est-ce donc pour avoir un Gouvernement sans parole, sans honneur, sans générosité, des institutions sans force, des lois sans liberté, une paix sans prospérité et sans calme, enfin, un Présent sans Avenir, que nous avons combattu pendant quarante ans ? En 1830 on imposa un Gouvernement à la France sans consulter ni le peuple des provinces ni l'armée Française : tout ce qui a été fait sans vous est illégitime. Un congrès national élu par tous les citoyens

fourth detachment had orders to get possession of the avenues leading to the house of the general commanding the department of the Upper Rhine, which was successfully done. Everything seemed to smile upon the audacious conspirators; all the authorities had been surprised by them, and were either in custody or shut up in their houses; one entire regiment, and detachments of others, had already declared in their favour; and the inhabitants, roused from their slumbers by the loud shouts at that early hour, looked fearfully out of their houses, and when they saw what was going on, offered up ardent prayers for the success of the enterprise. The third regiment of artillery joined the insurgents; the entire pontoon corps followed the example. Cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were heard on all sides. The throne of Louis Philippe hung by a thread; it required only one other regiment to declare in his fa-

peut seul avoir le droit de choisir ce qui convient le mieux à la France. Fier de mon origine populaire, fort de quatre millions de votes qui me destinaient au Trône, je m'avance devant vous comme le Représentant de la souveraineté du Peuple. Il est temps qu'au milieu du chaos des partis une voix nationale se fasse entendre; il est temps qu'au cri de liberté trahie vous renversiez le joug honteux qui pèse sur notre belle France. Ne voyez-vous pas que les hommes qui règlent nos destinées sont encore les traitres de 1814 et 1815, les bourreaux du Maréchal Ney. Les ingrats! Ils ne gouvernement des barricades que pour préparer des forts détachés; méconnaissant la grande nation, ils rampent devant les puissans et insultent les faibles! Notre vieux drapeau tricolore s'indigne d'être plus longtemps entre leurs mains. Français! Que le souvenir du grand homme qui fit tant pour la gloire et la prospérité de la France vous ranime. Confiant dans la sainteté de ma cause, je me présente à vous le testament de l'Empereur Napoléon d'une main, son épée d'Austerlitz de l'autre. Lorsqu'à Rome le peuple vit les dépuilles ensanglantées de César, il renversa ses hypocrites oppresseurs. Français, Napoléon est plus grand que César; il est l'emblème de la civilisation au dix-neuvième siècle. Vive la France! Vive la liberté! — NAPOLEON.

"A l'Armée.

"Le moment est venu de recouvrer votre ancienne splendeur. Faits pour la gloire, vous pouvez moins que d'autres supporter plus longtemps le rôle honteux qu'on vous fait jouer. Le Gouvernement qui trahit nos

vour, and the whole garrison of Strasbourg would have followed the example, and Louis Napoleon's march to Paris would have been as bloodless and triumphant as that of his immortal predecessor from Cannes had been.

79. In this extremity the star of Napoleon was for a time overcast, and the enterprise failed from excess of courage, and undue confidence in his fortune, on the part of its chief. Trusting to the magic of his name, and the overpowering influence which it had already exercised upon the minds of the troops, Louis Napoleon had no sooner arrived at the barracks of the 46th regiment, to which he next bent his steps, than he entered the courtyard attended only by a very few of his followers. Here, however, a very different reception awaited them. Some shouted "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and threw up their caps in a transport of enthusiasm; but the

intérêts civils voudrait aussi ternir notre honneur militaire. Les insensés! Croit-on que la race des héros d'Arcole, d'Austerlitz, de Wagram, soit éteinte? Voyez le lion de Waterloo encore debout sur nos frontières; voyez Huningen privé de ses défenses; voyez les grades de 1815 méconnus; voyez la Légion d'Honneur prodiguée aux intrigants, et refusée aux braves; voyez notre drapeau: il ne flotte nulle-part où nos armes ont triomphé! Voyez, enfin, partout trahison, lâcheté, influence étrangère, et écriez-vous avec moi, Chassons les barbares du capitol! Soldats, reprenez les aigles que nous avions dans nos grandes journées; les ennemis de la France ne peuvent en soutenir les regards: ceux qui nous gouvernent ont déjà fui devant elles. Délivrer la patrie de ses oppresseurs, protéger les droits du peuple, défendre la France et ses alliés contre l'invasion: voilà la route d'honneur où on vous appelle; voilà votre suprême mission.

"Soldats de la République! Soldats de l'Empire! Que mon nom réveille en vous votre ancienne ardeur. Et vous jeunes soldats qui êtes nés comme moi au bruit du canon de Wagram, souvenez-vous que vous êtes les enfans des soldats de la Grande Armée. Le soleil de cent victoires a éclairé notre berceau. Que nos hauts faits ou notre trépas soient dignes de notre naissance. Du haut du ciel la grande ombre de Napoléon guidera nos bras, et contente de nos efforts elle s'écriera, Ils étaient dignes de leurs pères. Vive la France! Vive la liberté! NAPOLEON."—*Histoire de la Présidence du Prince Louis Napoléon Bonaparte, par LESPEs*, i. 24, 27.

majority maintained a sullen silence, and the officers all remained true to their oath. A cry got up that the Prince was not the real nephew of the Emperor, but a nephew of Colonel Vaudrey, who had been dressed up to personate him; and a lieutenant named Pleignier rushed out of the ranks to arrest him. A pistol-shot would probably then have decided the struggle, and placed the Prince on the throne of France. But it was not discharged, and the enterprise proved abortive. Pleignier was seized by the few artillerymen who had accompanied the Prince into the barrack-yard, and he had the generosity to order his release. The former no sooner recovered his freedom than he returned to the charge, and some of his company ran forward to support him. A scuffle ensued, in which the artillerymen, few in number, were overpowered by the troops of the line, and both the Prince and Colonel Vaudrey were made prisoners, and shut up in separate apartments in the barracks. The arrest of the chiefs, as is usual in such cases, proved fatal to the enterprise. The other troops which had revolted, deprived of their leaders, and without orders, knew not what to do or whom to obey; distrust soon succeeded to uncertainty; and when the news spread that the Prince and Colonel Vaudrey had been arrested, they became desperate, and, dispersing, every one sought to conceal his defection by regaining his quarters as speedily as possible. By nine o'clock all was over: an empire had been all but lost and won during a scuffle in a barrack-yard of Strasburg.

80. When the telegraph first announced this audacious enterprise, the Government at Paris were thrown into the most mortal apprehension, which was hardly removed by the intelligence which soon after arrived of its speedy suppression. The defection of so large a portion of the troops, and the magical sway which the name of Napoleon evidently exercised over them, revealed the brink of the precipice on which they stood. Their conduct towards the chief of the conspiracy, however,

was humane and judicious in the highest degree. He expected nothing but death. Before engaging in the enterprise, he had intrusted to a tried friend two letters to his mother,—one sealed with red wax, announcing his triumphant success; the other with black, bidding her an eternal adieu. The latter had already been sent, in conformity with his instructions; but the mournful herald proved fallacious—another destiny awaited the young aspirant for the throne. Arrived at Paris, where he expected the fate of the Duke d'Enghien, he found that the Bourbons, if inferior to his uncle in capacity, were his superiors in generosity. After an examination of two hours before the chief of the police, he was informed that his punishment was restricted to banishment to the United States of America for ten years, whither he was to be conducted on board one of the government vessels. The Prince conducted himself with dignity in these trying circumstances, expressing his gratitude to the King for his clemency, but preferring no petition but for his companions in misfortune. He soon after embarked for the place of his destination; but his career was not destined to be terminated in the New World, and ere long he returned to Europe, to visit his dying mother—the scene of his ambition, his perils, and his ultimate greatness.

81. The course of events soon demonstrated that the Government had acted not less wisely than humanely in adopting this course towards this formidable competitor, and that any attempt to punish him would have produced such a convulsion as would, in all probability, have overturned the throne. On the 6th January 1837, the principal parties, other than the Prince himself, concerned in the Strasburg revolt, were brought to trial before the ordinary court of assizes of Strasburg, and the proceeding excited the utmost interest in every part of France. Among the accused were both civilians and military persons. In the former category were found MM. de Persigny, Lombard, and Gros; in the latter, Colonel Vaudrey, Lieutenants Laity

and Querelles,—in all seven. The former were condemned for non-appearance, but the latter were all in custody; and, as if the Government specially desired to give the whole proceeding a theatrical air, there was brought to trial along with them a young and handsome actress, Mademoiselle Gordon, who had entered into the conspiracy with all the enthusiasm of her sex and profession. The evidence against the military was perfectly clear, for they had been seized in open rebellion against their sovereign; and that against their fascinating female accomplice was not less decisive, for she had been taken in the very act of burning a number of letters which compromised herself not less than others. So strong, however, was the popular feeling on the subject in Alsace, that from the first it was evident that a conviction was impossible. The trial speedily became, as all political trials do in France and Ireland, not a judicial investigation into guilt or innocence, but a civil tournament or wager of battle between the chiefs of contending parties, who exchange deadly thrusts at each other, with a scaffold or civic ovation hanging on the issue. After several days' suspense, during which the interest and enthusiasm of the people went on hourly increasing, they were all acquitted, in the face of the clearest evidence, amidst universal applause. Lamartine afterwards said with truth, in the Chamber of Deputies, that the issue of this trial was a lasting disgrace to the administration of justice in France; and, with many others in that country and Ireland, as well as some in the Highlands of Scotland, suggests the doubt whether trial by jury is suited for the ardent temperament of the Celtic race, and whether it can safely be intrusted to any other than the Teutonic.*

* Prince Louis Napoleon, who acted most generously and honourably in this whole affair, was extremely desirous to have shared the trial and fate of the other conspirators at Strasburg, instead of being sent to America. He composed, during the few days he was in prison at Strasburg, a speech in his own defence, intended for the jury, which concluded with these remarkable words:—"J'ai voulu faire la révolution par l'armée, parcequ'elle

82. The Government were extremely disconcerted by this acquittal, the more especially as the evidence, especially against the military, was so decisive, and their conviction before a court-martial would have been certain.

offrait plus de chances de réussite, et pour éviter aussi les désordres si fréquentes dans les bouleversements sociaux. Je me suis gravement trompé dans l'exécution de mon projet, mais cela fait encore moins d'honneur à des vieux militaires qui revoyant l'aigle n'ont pas senti le cœur battre dans leur poitrine. Ils m'ont parlé de nouveaux serments, oubliant que c'est la présence de douze cent mille étrangers qui les a déliés de celui qu'ils avaient prêté. Or un principe détruit par la force peut être rétabli par la force: JE CROIS AVOIR UNE MISSION A REMPLIR: JE SAURAI GARDER MON RÔLE JUSQU'A LA FIN."—*Histoire de Louis Napoléon*, i. 29, 30.

The idea of a destiny, and his having a mission to perform, was throughout a fixed one in Louis Napoleon's mind. No disasters shook his confidence in his star, or his belief in the ultimate fulfilment of his destiny. This is well known to all who were intimate with him in this country after he returned from America in 1837. Among other noble houses the hospitality of which he shared was that of the Duke of Montrose at Buchanan, near Loch Lomond, and the Duke of Hamilton at Brodick Castle, in the island of Arran. His manner in both was in general grave and taciturn; he was wrapt in the contemplation of the future, and indifferent to the present. In 1839, the present Earl of W——, then Lord B——, came to visit the author, after having been some days with Louis Napoleon at Buchanan House. One of the first things he said was, "Only think of that young man Louis Napoleon; nothing can persuade him he is not to be Emperor of France: the Strasburg affair has not in the least shaken him; he is thinking constantly of what he is to do when on the throne." The Duke of N—— also said to the author in 1854: "Several years ago, before the Revolution of 1848, I met Louis Napoleon often at Brodick Castle in Arran. We frequently went out to shoot together; neither cared much for the sport, and we soon sat down on a heathery brow of Goatfell, and began to speak seriously. He always opened these conferences by discoursing on what he would do when he was Emperor of France. Among other things, he said he would obtain a grant from the Chambers to drain the marshes of the Bries, which, you know, once fully cultivated, became flooded when the inhabitants, who were chiefly Protestants, left the country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and what is very curious, I see in the newspapers of the day that he has got a grant of two millions of francs from the Chambers to begin the draining of these very marshes." All that belongs to Louis Napoleon is now public property, and these noble persons will forgive the author if he endeavours to rescue from oblivion anecdotes so eminently illustrative of the *fluctu of purpose*

A strong sense of the necessity of the case, and of the impossibility of intrusting juries with the trial of military men in political cases, induced them in consequence to bring forward a measure on the subject, which excited a very warm opposition, and presented the only feature worthy of notice in the legislative session of 1837. To understand this subject, it is necessary to premise that, by the French law, when several persons were to be tried for their accession to an offence committed in common by several persons, some civil, some military, they required all to be tried before the *same tribunal*; and it was on account of this necessity that so many political cases embracing both sets of defenders had been sent to the Supreme Court of the Chamber of Peers, which was competent to both. As the proceedings of April 1835, however, had sufficiently proved the inconvenience attendant on trials before that tribunal, Count Molé now brought forward a bill, the object of which was to allow civilians to be tried before the ordinary jury-courts, and military men before courts-martial, in the case of political offences committed by them in common. This proposal was certainly no great violation of the liberties of the subject, for it only proposed to subject military persons to the trial of their military superiors, and civil to that of the ordinary tribunals. It excited, however, the most violent heats and animosities, and, like all other proceedings at that period in France, whether judicial or legislative, speedily ran into a debate

which is the most remarkable feature in that very eminent man's character. This idea of destiny, of a star, or a mission, which are only different words for the same thing, will be found to have been a fixed belief in most men who attain to ultimate greatness. Whether it is that the disposition of mind which leads to such a belief works out its own accomplishment, by the energy and perseverance which it infuses into the character, and which enables its possessor to rise superior to all the storms of fate, or that Providence darkly reveals to the chosen instruments of great things—"the vessels of honour" to which the working out of its purposes in human affairs is intrusted—enough of the future to secure its accomplishment, will for ever remain a mystery in this world.

between the Movement and Conservative parties.

83. "Why," said M. Dupin, "when a political offence has been committed by a soldier in conjunction with citizens, is the former to be subjected to a peculiar and exceptional tribunal? Is it that a jury is indifferent to discipline in the army? Is it that it prefers disorder? Is it that the proprietor, the merchant, do not know that without order their labour is valueless, and that the discipline of the army is its sole guarantee? Military law, it is said, requires prompt execution. Be it so. Will you renounce confronting the witnesses with the accused? If, on the other hand, you delay the case for bringing them forward, the proposed witnesses may in the interim be condemned to death. And if not, what can be more cruel than to keep a man during three or four months under the stroke of death? Is not his punishment quadrupled by such barbarity? And if the courts-martial do their work, I see something still more terrible; the public accuser presenting himself with bloody heads in his hand to demand those which have not yet fallen. The proposed law destroys the sentiment which makes a good soldier. What attaches the soldier to his country? It is the memory of the home of his ancestors, of the field of his infancy, of the cemetery which contains the ashes of his father, and is to receive his own. It is the memory of his little country which attaches him to the great one. It is good citizens alone who make good soldiers. 'Justice,' said Napoleon, 'is one only in France—the citizen precedes the soldier.' Thence it is that the crimes of the soldier should be submitted to the civil courts; to the jury, which is an epitome of the nation. If you make of the army a body apart, as was formerly the case with the clergy—if, after having put arms into their hands, you invest them with the right to employ them in self-executed justice, you abdicate the right of judging; you invest them with a terrible right, which may ere long be

turned against your country and yourselves."

84. "Every one is agreed," said M. Lamartine in reply, "that the trials at Strasburg were scandalous in the extreme; but each party seeks to throw the odium off itself upon its opponent. One party accuses the jury, another the Government; all agree that some one is to blame. If the Government were to blame in bringing to trial the subordinate conspirators when the principal was allowed to escape, did that authorise the jury to violate their oaths by acquitting the persons clearly proved to be guilty who were brought before them? Is there any parity of situation between a simple citizen invested with no powers, charged with no responsibility, executing no functions, and a military commander, who can with a word dispose of two or three thousand bayonets, and at once overturn a government, pillage a city, or violate the whole sanctities of private life?—who can, by displacing a battery, cause the loss of one hundred thousand men, or, as at Strasburg, seduce his soldiers to violate all laws, trample under foot all oaths, and light the flames of civil war in a happy land? There is no parallelism between the two cases; there should be none between the courts which are to try them. The military man has joined to the crime of which the civilian has been guilty, one of a still deeper dye, which is exclusively his own—an offence against military honour and subordination; that crime which the common consent of all nations has stigmatised with the name of treason. The proposed disjunction of the trials is therefore justified by the still more marked disjunction between the crimes with which the civil and military accused are severally charged; it is marked out by the immense difference which the nature of things has established between them."

85. There was much force in these able arguments on both sides; but the question was not determined by any such considerations. It was in reality

a trial of strength between the Ministerial and united Opposition parties; for the Royalists on this question united with the Liberals against the Centre, which had hitherto commanded the majority. The result was, that the bill was thrown out by a majority of two; the numbers being 211 to 209! It was the same minute majority which had overturned the Administration of M. Thiers, and introduced that of Count Molé. The excitement, therefore, upon this division was very great, and it was generally thought the Ministers would resign. The Ministerial papers, however, announced next morning that the Government would not retire before so small a majority; but it was nevertheless foreseen that it had received a mortal stroke, and that it was only a question of time, when a fresh combination would be necessary to regain the majority in the Chamber. It was emphatically a *new combination*, not an entire change of ministry, which was required. No one thought of either M. Berryer and the Extreme Droit, or M. Odillon Barrot and the Extreme Gauche, being intrusted with the formation of an administration. It was a slight modification in the Centre, which might change a few votes, which alone was thought of or required, to found a ministry of the ephemeral duration which alone was now practicable;—a state of things precisely analogous to that which, at the same period, obtained in the British House of Commons. It was, however, in both assemblies, fatal to all projects of important legislation, and deprives their debates for a series of years of much of the interest which had previously attached to them.

86. The crisis of the Ministry, which Government foresaw, but strove to postpone, was, however, not long of coming on. After struggling on several weeks, without any real majority in the Chamber, and consequently reduced to the necessity of postponing or abandoning every measure on which opposition might be expected, Ministers found their situation too uncom-

fortable, and Count Molé resigned his office. It was at first proposed to form a new Cabinet, in which Count Molé should resume his position as Premier, and Marshal Soult, Count Montalivet, and M. Hermann, might lend him their support. It was soon found, however, that such a combination offered no chance of success, and, on Count Molé's advice, the King sent for M. Guizot, and that accomplished statesman offered a list in which M. de Broglie was to be Prime Minister, M. Guizot Minister of Public Instruction, and M. Thiers of the Interior. This project, however, also failed, chiefly in consequence of the strong views which M. Thiers still entertained on the subject of Spanish intervention. Various other combinations were proposed, with no better success; indicating in the clearest manner that the object was not to supplant one party by another, or change one policy for another, but to form such a Ministry as might, by a skilful combination of the leaders of parties, secure a small majority for Government among their followers. At length, after nearly a month spent in vain endeavours, the *Moniteur* of 16th April announced the definitive selection, which was, that Count Molé resumed his place as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. de Barthé Minister of Justice, in room of M. Persil; M. de Montalivet Minister of the Interior, instead of M. de Gasparin; M. de Salvandy Minister of Public Instruction, in room of M. Guizot; and M. Lacune Laplaque Minister of Finance, instead of M. Duchatel. By this arrangement, both the Gauche and Doctrinaires were excluded, and the Ministry was more completely conservative than any since the Revolution of 1830.

87. More fortunate in foreign diplomacy than in internal legislation, Count Molé had, before this period, arranged what was deemed an advantageous marriage for the Duke of Orléans. The times were far distant when the hand of the heir-apparent of France was an object of ambition to

all the crowned heads in Europe: it was deemed a fortunate move when the son of the Citizen King obtained the daughter of a third-rate German prince. The vision of a Prussian or Austrian princess—of the daughter of the Archduke Charles, or the royal house of Brandenburg—had melted into thin air; and the young Prince, with every amiable and attractive quality, underwent the penalty of his father's doubtful title to the throne. M. Bresson, however, the French minister at Berlin, at length succeeded in arranging a marriage between the Prince-Royal and the Princess Helen-Louisa Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick Louis, Grand-duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Born on the 24th January 1814, the princess was in her twenty-fourth year, and endowed with every quality which could fit her for the brilliant but eventful career for which she was destined. She had been bred up in the Lutheran faith; but this, which would have been an insurmountable objection to the old family, was little regarded in the tolerant ideas of more recent times. The Chamber of Deputies, with the economical feelings of the class from which they sprang, made considerable difficulties about the settlement on the prince, and the dowry and jointure of the princess; but at length this delicate matter was arranged, if not to the satisfaction, at least with the concurrence of all parties. The allowance to the prince was fixed at 2,000,000 francs (£80,000) a-year, with 1,000,000 (£40,000) for the marriage expenses, and the jointure of the princess at 300,000 francs (£12,000) a-year. A more serious opposition arose upon a proposal for a dowry to the Queen of the Belgians, which had never been definitely fixed; but at length it was settled at 1,000,000 francs (£40,000)—less than many private gentlemen in England give their daughters.

88. This marriage was fixed to take place in the end of May; and the prince signalled it in the most suitable way, by the magnificent donations which he made, and establish-

ments which he set on foot, for the succour of the indigent and relief of the poor. The sums gifted in this way amounted to 370,000 francs (£15,000), and this was accompanied by a great promotion in the army, and profuse distribution of honours and dignities by the Crown. A still more important act accompanied the marriage, which the King had long meditated, and which came with peculiar grace on this joyous occasion. This was a general amnesty for all persons in custody for political offences, which was published by royal ordonnance on May 8. This wise and humane act was accompanied by one commuting the punishment of death pronounced against Victor Boirier and François Meunier—who had been convicted of an attempt on the King's life by firing into his carriage, though happily without effect, as he was going in state to the Legislative Body, on the first day of the session, accompanied by his two sons—into ten years' banishment. With truth did M. Barthé, the Keeper of the Seals, say in the report which preceded the ordonnance: "Sire, a great act of clemency has long been the wish of your heart; but, before yielding to the impulse, it was necessary that the vanquished parties should not be able to ascribe the oblivion of their faults to any other motive but your generosity. Now order is confirmed: your Government is armed with the salutary laws which have saved France, and would save it anew should fresh attempts be made. The national guard and the army have just testified their loyalty by their acclamations. The entire nation will join in testifying their gratitude for a step which confirms your throne by founding it in clemency. Such an act cannot but be regarded as a magnificent testimony to the power of the laws. Your Majesty, after having combated more and punished less than any other sovereign, will now have pardoned all."

89. The princess was received in France with the universal burst of joy which had saluted Marie-Antoinette sixty years before. Like her, she

seemed to tread on air from the time she crossed the Rhine till she arrived in Paris. Her reception there was magnificent in the highest degree, and was assimilated in the minutest points of ceremonial to those observed on that memorable occasion. Unhappily the identity went still farther; and a calamity of mournful presage concluded the festivities on the last as on the first occasion. On the 14th June, the Champ de Mars was filled with an immense crowd, to witness a superb military fête which was held there, and which excited the utmost enthusiasm. The spectacle was over, and the crowd, which had been scattered over the Champ de Mars, was returning to Paris, when the pressure at the wicket of the Ecole Militaire became so great that numbers of persons were thrown down, and trodden under foot or suffocated. Four-and-twenty people perished on this occasion: a catastrophe deplorable amidst a scene of public rejoicing, but doubly so from the analogy which immediately struck every mind to the similar disaster which overshadowed the festivities at the marriage of Marie-Antoinette.

90. Amidst the rejoicings consequent on this marriage was completed a design which the King had long had in preparation, and which consisted in converting the stately pile of Versailles into a museum of the fine arts, especially devoted to the illustration of the military and civil glories of France. The project was nobly conceived, and carried out in the grandest manner. The first storey was devoted exclusively to the illustration of the reign of Louis XIV., the founder of the palace: in it were assembled the portraits of the victorious paladins, statesmen, and poets of that brilliant epoch, executed by the artist whose genius has done so much to perpetuate its lustre. The era of the Revolution next succeeded: in it were represented the principal events of that heart-stirring period, with portraits of Kleber, Carnot, Lafayette, and the other eminent men who signalled its course. The glories of the Empire, the victories of

Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram, were next represented, with portraits and statues of the Marshals of France, the statesmen and warriors who illustrated that immortal epoch. Nor were the Revolution of 1830, the siege of Antwerp, and the recent victories in Africa, forgotten; they stood in bright prominence beside the king, princes, statesmen, and warriors of the present time. The idea was a magnificent one, and it was magnificently executed; combining thus, in one splendid structure, the recollections of the past with the glories of the present, history with philosophy, war with peace, art with science, the *chef-d'œuvres* of Lebrun with those of Le Gros and Horace Vernet, and presenting to the mind a vast accumulation of the whole efforts of genius, during many generations, in every department of human achievement. The museum thus grandly conceived has survived the throne of its author, and it now remains one of the most interesting of the many interesting objects which attract the youth of the whole civilised world to the French capital. To a bourgeois legislature, intent on economy, it was no small recommendation that this sumptuous collection had been made by the King without any grant from the Chambers, and by mere savings on the civil list.

91. While these splendid spectacles were dazzling the Parisians, more passionately fond than any people in Europe of exhibitions of this description, the ground was still stirred beneath their feet by political societies, and the vigilance of Government was unceasingly exerted in discovering and counteracting conspiracies for its own overthrow. The political societies, struck at by the laws of September 1835, had for the most part been dissolved, but they had been re-formed under different names, and ceaseless efforts were made to enlist large numbers of the working classes in their ranks. Unfortunately, the condition of the manufacturers of France at this period was miserable in the extreme, and formed a lamentable contrast to the splendour exhibited in the higher

classes of society. The consequences of the monetary crisis which commenced in England during this year, the causes and effects of which will be explained in a future chapter, had now extended to France; bankruptcies were frequent among the trading classes, and the operatives in the great towns were at the lowest point of depression. In a single week, in the city of Paris, the cash drawn out of the savings banks amounted to the enormous sum of 1,766,000 francs (£70,000)! Facts of this kind demonstrate at once the existence of some great evils in society, and the precarious foundation on which, in spite of its apparent security, the Government in reality rested—as the chinks on the surface of a volcano sometimes give the trembling passenger a glimpse into the furnace which is glowing beneath his feet.

92. These sufferings, however, were chiefly felt among the working class, to whom the suffrage did not extend; and Count Molé, feeling the extreme difficulty of carrying on the Government with so very slender a majority as he could at present command, determined on a dissolution. The moment appeared favourable to such a measure. The present Chamber had sat only two years; but the aspect of public affairs, and public opinion itself, had materially changed during that period. The great contest with the Republicans, for the present at least, was over; the secret societies, though still existing, were intimidated; the amnesty had diffused universal satisfaction; the temper of the National Guard was excellent; and the fêtes on occasion of the marriage of the Duke of Orléans had both diffused general pleasure, and, by the expenditure among the different orders they had occasioned, had materially alleviated, at least for a time, the distress of the workmen. The King entered into these views, and soon after the prorogation of the Chamber, it was dissolved by proclamation. The result, though it somewhat ameliorated the condition of the Minister, was far from giving him a fair working majority: it amounted only to

fifteen votes. This number, in the divided state of the Chamber, was so small that it could not be relied on in any serious crisis, and left the Government of France in the same pitiable state of weakness in which, from the same cause, that of England had been for two years.*

* The calculation made of the result of the elections of September 1837 was as follows:—

<i>Ministerialists.</i>		<i>Opposition.</i>	
Doctrinaires Purs,	13	Extrême Droit,	18
Sous-Doctrinaires,	21	Socialists,	4
Legitimistes ralliés,	25	Extrême Gauche,	19
Banc de la Cour,	16	Gauche Modéré,	62
Ministériels quand-même,	50	Centre Gauche,	119
Ministériels,	82		
Douteux,	30		222
	237	—CAPEFIGUE, ix. 339, note.	

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE FRENCH IN ALGERIA, TO THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINE IN 1837.

1. It is now time to resume the thread of the colonial history of France in Africa, which had become interesting and important in the very highest degree. The gradual progress of the French from the sea-coast of Algeria had brought them in contact with more formidable and sturdy tribes in the interior, as the advance of the English from the coast of Malabar had brought them into collision with the Mahrattas and Sikhs of Hindostan. The expedition to Algiers had been nobly conceived by the Government of the Restoration, and ably executed by its generals; and the French possessions, when Louis Philippe succeeded, extended all along the sea-coast from Bona on the east to Oran on the west. This was nearly the extent of ancient Libya, so long the granary of the Roman empire, and which in its flourishing days contained twenty millions of inhabitants. The land was still as fertile, the sun as bright, the climate as salubrious, as when it was the mainstay of the ancient masters of the world; and such were its resources that it might, under judicious management, have been ren-

dered a most valuable offshoot of the French empire, and have for ages to come furnished a safe and capacious outlet for the swarms of prolétaires which crowded its cities and endangered its tranquillity.

2. A very curious circumstance facilitates the colonisation of this fruitful region, and has often rendered the possessor of the sea-coast, in the end, master of the interior to the foot of the Atlas, which rears its lofty head into the clouds, and separates Libya from the parched wilderness of the Sahara Desert. The fertile district in the north, adjoining the coast, still called from its Latin name *Tell* (Tellus), is inhabited by tribes of Arabs, who acknowledge, according to the Eastern ideas consecrated in the Koran, no property in land but in the actual cultivators. Living in tents, and cultivating now one piece of ground, now another, they were truly a *nomad agricultural race*, and in every age, from Jugurtha downwards, they have defended their country with courage and vigour. But farther to the south, on the slopes and ridges and lofty plateaus which ascend towards the

Atlas, the inhabitants were of a still more migratory character. Shut out by the sterility of the soil and the variable nature of the climate, where storms of rain and snow, attracted by the cold summits of the Atlas, are frequent, from the labours of agriculture, they dwell in the mountains with their flocks and herds only in the winter and spring; and when the heats of summer set in they migrate regularly, with camels laden with dates and wool, to the land of labour in the north, where they assist in getting in the harvest, with a portion of which they return on the approach of winter to the moist pastures and fruit-bearing slopes on their native hills. Thus Nature has established a lasting and beneficial industrial intercourse between the cultivators of the plain and the nomads on the high table-lands in the interior; and the possessors of the former enjoy the means of establishing the most durable of all influences which man can acquire over man—that which arises from furnishing employment and giving subsistence.

3. After many ages of harassing and almost incessant warfare, the Romans had established a permanent dominion over these migratory tribes. They had penetrated their fastnesses, bridged their ravines, and established strongholds on all their most important heights. So complete had been the military possession thus acquired, that subsequent conquerors have done little more than advance on their footsteps, take advantage of their highways, and erect fortresses on the foundations of their walls. From the sea-coast to the inaccessible ridges of the Atlas, fifty leagues in the interior, the country is traversed by Roman roads and covered by Roman monuments; the Arabs, the Turks, the Europeans, have successively fought on the ancient fields, traversed the ancient bridges, and restored the ancient fortresses. When the Osmanlis established by force and fraud the sway of the Crescent in the regions for which Jugurtha contended, they erected their bastions on the hills which the successors of Scipio had fortified, and with the materials of which

their strongholds had been constructed; and when the Spaniards in one age, and the French in another, brought the resources of civilised skill and science to bear on the fortitude of barbarian valour, the principal difficulty with which they had to contend arose from the judgment with which the ancient masters of the world had selected their points of defence, and the skill with which they had prepared them against the attacks of any assailant.

4. Had the French Government, after the Revolution, been actuated by prophetic wisdom, or even inspired with the ordinary feelings of patriotism, it would have been an easy matter, comparatively speaking, to have established their authority over all the immense and valuable territory between the Mediterranean and the Atlas which in former times obeyed the Roman sway. All that was required was vigour and perseverance in the outset, followed by protection and paternal government, and the Arabs equally with the natives would have submitted to them as the appointed of God, and blessed their dominion as a deliverance from evil. Any change from the desolation of Ottoman oppression must always be felt as a blessing. But unfortunately neither did the French Government, after the Restoration, possess the means of exerting the requisite strength to fascinate the minds and subdue the resistance of the Orientals, nor was the French character suited to the lasting labours or pacific duties of colonisation. The Chamber of Deputies could not be persuaded, by any efforts on the part of the Ministry, to vote the sum necessary to establish a powerful dominion in Africa. A considerable party regarded their possessions there as an unprofitable and useless burden bequeathed to them by the folly of the Restoration; another thought they should be reduced to the narrowest limits, and restricted to a few fortified posts on the sea-coast. The few who regarded them in their true light as a valuable outlet for the surplus urban population of France, which should be extended to its natural limits between

the ocean and the Atlas, were regarded as mere dreamers, and constituted only a fraction of the Assembly. The consequence was, that this noble colony was allowed to languish for want of adequate support; and while not less than 40,000 men were requisite to place it on a respectable footing, the whole armed force intrusted with its defence, for some years after the Revolution, was under 10,000 men.

5. This ruinous reduction of force, the result of the contracted views and economical ideas of the class who, in France as in England, had been elevated to supreme power, was the more disastrous from the character of the tribes with whom, as they advanced into the interior, the French were brought in contact. Unlike the laborious inhabitant of the fertile fields of the Tell, the Arabs of the interior have inherited all the warlike qualities of their Numidian predecessors, so often felt as formidable by the Roman legions. Mounted on swift steeds of the Arab breed, which they manage with extraordinary skill and dexterity, they are equally embarrassing to an advancing, and formidable to a retreating army. Like the Cossacks, and indeed all Eastern nations, they ride with very short stirrups, and seated on saddles generally nine inches above their horses' backs; a state of things altogether foreign to the rules of the European *manège*, but which gives them such command of their steeds, and of their own weapons, that they can pull the former on their haunches in a few seconds when at full speed, and make use of the latter in the saddle with the coolness and precision of foot-soldiers. Their dress, consisting of a shawl fastened round the body by a girdle, and going over the head, where it is wrapped into a turban, appears at first sight incommodious, but experience has proved it is well adapted to temper the rays of the sun in that burning climate. Intrepid in attack, sturdy in retreat, they are splendidly armed, and can, when required, charge with the utmost impetuosity. But they attach no dishonour to flight; on the contrary, it is one of

their principal manœuvres, and one in which, like the Parthians of old, they often face about and discharge their weapons at their pursuers. Like all Asiatics, they do not charge in a mass, but in a swarm, and are generally far from each other when they reach the enemy. But when they do so, none are more swift with their yataghans, or formidable in single combat, and none more ready to descend for a second from their steeds, and cut off the head of a prostrate enemy, which they carry off in triumph at their saddle-bows.

6. From the moment when Marshal Clausel, after the Revolution, set foot in Africa invested with the supreme command, he had endeavoured to carry out the system by which the Romans and Turks had subdued and retained the government of this difficult country and these formidable tribes, which was by establishing a series of armed and fortified posts communicating with each other by roads, and garrisoned by adequate forces. But the troops at his disposal were so much diminished by great numbers being recalled, that so far from carrying out this system, he was barely able to maintain his ground on the sea-coast against the Arabs, whose chiefs had preached a "holy war" against the infidel invader. General Berthozenc, who succeeded him, was still further weakened; and the result was, that a body of 4500 French, half the effective force of the colony, on its return from an expedition to Medeah, in the interior, was attacked in a rocky defile by the Arabs, and defeated with the loss of three hundred men. This disaster led to a change in the government, and the Duke of Rovigo (Savary) was invested with the supreme command. But although 5000 fresh troops were sent to Bona, and the tribe of El-Ouffia, which had revolted against the French, was, by a frightful abuse of military power, *totally destroyed*, no material progress was made in the reduction of the country; and in March 1833, when the Duke of Rovigo, seized with a malady which ere long proved mortal, returned to France, the French power

extended in reality little beyond the environs of Algiers in the centre, Bona on the east, and Oran on the west.

7. At this time there arose in the interior of the latter province one of those remarkable men so frequent in every page of Eastern story, who, by their single vigour and capacity, reinstate the fortunes of their country, and not unfrequently change the face of the world. ABD-EL-KADER, the son of a marabout or chief, renowned for his piety in the neighbourhood, had been long regarded by the tribes in his vicinity as the future liberator of Africa, and avenger of Islamism. Ambitious, but yet prudent; enthusiastic, but calm; decided, but cautious, he presented that combination of fanaticism with dissimulation which forms the foundation of the Muscovite character, and which has so often prevailed over all the intelligence and ability of the West. Impressed, as so many other great men in all ages have been, with the idea of a Divine mission, he pursued the path requisite to work it out with equal patience, perseverance, and vigour. Like his countrymen in a charge, he knew when to feign a retreat, and when to give the reins to his force, and thunder with resistless vigour in pursuit. The maxim of Machiavel, "*Qui non sa dissimulare non sa regnare*,"* expresses his character, as it does that of most savage chiefs, whether under the Arab turban or the Muscovite uniform. But this power of dissimulation was combined in him, as it often is in others, with ardent patriotism, and a religious devotion to the cause of Islamism.

8. At the voice of this intrepid warrior, the religious zealots and the ardent patriots of the province of Oran took fire; and Abd-el-Kader, taking advantage of their enthusiasm, ventured on the decisive step. He proclaimed himself Emir of Tlemsen, detached a body of men to the harbour of Arzew, of which he got possession, and marched on Mostaganem, which also fell into his hands. The least hesitation would now have ruined the

* He who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign.

French power in the west of Algeria. But General Desmichels showed himself equal to the emergency. Instead of waiting to be attacked in Oran, he issued from its gates, regained Arzew and Mostaganem, and twice defeated Abd-el-Kader in pitched battles. Had he possessed an adequate force he might have then crushed the Emir, and terminated the war in Africa. But his numbers were so few that nothing of the kind could be thought of, and he deemed himself fortunate in being able to conclude (February 26, 1834) a peace with him, which, like all others between the Christians and Mohammedans, is only to be regarded as a truce, and confirmed rather than weakened the Emir's authority, by recognising him as an independent power, with whom alliances were to be formed and treaties made.

9. The French Government at this period was undecided whether to retain or abandon their possessions in Africa, and the consequence was that the war was starved in every quarter. The effects of the ruinous reduction of force, which the Chambers had forced upon the Government, were soon apparent. Abd-el-Kader, on whose pacific disposition General Desmichels had too confidently relied, now openly threw off the mask, crossed the river Chelif, the boundary between the French territories and his own, received the submission of Miliana, and advanced to Medeah, which he entered in triumph amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the inhabitants. General Trezel advanced to meet him with 2300 men, and encountered, on the 26th June 1835, the Mussulman army, 8000 strong, posted at La Macta in very advantageous ground. After a sanguinary encounter the French were obliged to fall back. The retreat, as is ever the case in presence of the redoubtable horsemen of the East, proved disastrous in the extreme. The Arabs charged the wearied Europeans with the utmost vigour and loud cries, giving them no rest night or day. At length, after having performed prodigies of valour, the French corps was entirely broken; a small party, consisting of some hun-

dreds, only succeeded in reaching Arzew; while the Arabs celebrated their victory, after their barbarous manner, by erecting a ghastly pile of heads on the scene of their triumph on the banks of the Habra.

10. At the intelligence of this success, a universal burst of acclamation was heard over the north of Africa, of grief and indignation over France. The Arabs flocked in crowds to the standard of the victorious Emir: penetrated with sorrow, the French loudly called for Marshal Clausel to be restored to the command, to redeem the national honour. He was sent back, accordingly, with ample powers, and a considerable augmentation of force; and the Government, finding the national feelings now fairly roused, ventured on a firm proclamation, in which they declared that the honour of France required that the possessions in Africa should be maintained. As soon as the Marshal landed in Africa, he organised an expedition of 10,000 men against Mascara, the capital of their formidable enemy. It set out on 26th November 1835, and marched straight on that town, accompanied by the Duke de Nemours, who shared the dangers and honours of the enterprise. The Arabs, of equal force, under Abd-el-Kader, soon presented themselves, but they were not in sufficient strength to stop the march of the French; and after two unsuccessful encounters, the Emir took the resolution of abandoning his capital. Clausel arrived at nightfall before the walls of Mascara, and they were preparing for a desperate assault on the morrow, when a few soldiers, who had penetrated into the suburbs, arrived with intelligence that the place was abandoned. The French troops immediately advanced into the town, which they found entirely deserted. The streets were desolate, the houses evacuated; and instead of the ten thousand warriors of Abd-el-Kader, they found no living creature in his capital but an old woman seated on torn fragments of mats.

11. Finding Mascara abandoned and ruined, Clausel, after completing its destruction by fire, re-

treated to Mostaganem, which he strongly garrisoned, and established as the centre of the French power in that quarter. Deeming the campaign over, the Duke de Nemours returned to Oran, from whence he immediately embarked for Toulon; while Marshal Clausel put his wearied troops into winter-quarters. But the indefatigable Emir gave them no repose. Irritated rather than weakened by the destruction of his capital, he moved towards Tlemsen, in which town he had numerous partisans, by whom he was admitted within the walls. He immediately laid siege to the citadel, which was still in the hands of the French party, and was on the point of reducing it, when Clausel, having broken up from his winter-quarters, advanced to its relief. The French troops, with their wonted spirit, marched over a desert plain for thirty-five leagues, until at length Tlemsen appeared, splendidly situated on the summit of a hill covered with olives, surmounted by mountains, whose snowy summits were, in that wintry season, lost in the clouds. Like Mascara, Tlemsen was, on a nearer approach, found to be abandoned: Marshal Clausel entered it on the 13th, and immediately imposed a contribution of 500,000 francs (£20,000) on the inhabitants, as a punishment for their perfidy, and retired, after having reinforced the garrison of the citadel with 500 men. A brigade was detached in pursuit of Abd-el-Kader, and followed him so closely that he was indebted for his escape to the fleetness of his horse. Not a fifth part of the heavy contribution imposed by the French ever could be extracted from the unhappy inhabitants, and the attempt to levy it only increased the dislike generally felt at their rule by the natives of Africa.

12. While fortune was thus alternately inclining to one side and another in the province of Oran, the western of the French possessions in Africa, a new enemy, hardly less formidable than the indefatigable Emir, was arising in its eastern extremity. Hadgi-Ahmed, Bey of CONSTANTINE, was

there as actively engaged as Abd-el-Kader in organising resistance to the French domination; and with such success were his endeavours attended, that their real dominion was confined to the range of cannon-shot round the walls occupied by their troops. Even in the central province of Algiers, the bey established in the French interest by Marshal Clausel at Medeah and Miliana had found it impossible to retain their authority. In a word, the people were everywhere against their invaders, and, animated by the double spirit of religious zeal and patriotic devotion, they were, along the whole north of Africa, linked together in a secret league, like the Spaniards in the former war, for their expulsion. The French Government, in consequence, wisely determined to strike at Constantine, the heart of hostility in the east, as Tlemsen was in the western provinces. But the Chamber of Deputies, governed by the wretched spirit of short-sighted economy, threw such difficulties in the way of the requisite grants, that Marshal Clausel, in the middle of April, embarked in person for France, to lay before the Government the real state of affairs, and the absolute necessity of large reinforcements.

13. During his absence on that necessary mission, important operations had taken place in Western Algeria. Clausel had there directed the construction of a fortified camp on the banks of the river Tafna, and near its mouth, to form the centre of communication between the garrison of Tlemsen and the sea-coast of Oran. To effect this object, General d'Arlander moved with 3000 men and eight guns to the banks of that river, where he commenced the construction of the requisite works. Abd-el-Kader attacked him with 10,000 men, and was vigorously repulsed; but meanwhile the situation of the garrison of Tlemsen, which was sorely straitened for provisions, became so alarming, that the French general gallantly advanced with half his force to see if he could discover any mode of throwing in relief. Attacked imme-

diately by the Emir with greatly superior force, the little band of heroes were speedily enveloped on all sides by the Arab horse, and only made their retreat good to the fortified camp with infinite difficulty, and with the loss of 250 men killed and wounded, among the latter of whom was General d'Arlander himself. The intrenched camp was immediately blockaded by the victorious Arabs, and the lines drawn still closer round Tlemsen, while General Rapatel, who, in the absence of Marshal Clausel, commanded in Algiers, was himself too hard pressed to be able to render any assistance. In this extremity it would soon have been all over with the French in the province of Oran, when deliverance came, and victory was again chained to their standards by the succour which the urgent representations of Marshal Clausel had extorted from the French Chamber. In the end of June, when the blockaded French on the Tafna were reduced to the last extremity, GENERAL BUGEAUD appeared on the coast of Oran with 4500 men, and immediately made his way to the beleaguered garrison. Having relieved it, he proceeded to Tlemsen; but on the way thither he was met at the passage of the river SICKAK by Abd-el-Kader at the head of 7000 men, of whom 1200 were foot-soldiers disciplined in the European fashion. A furious conflict ensued, in which both parties evinced the greatest resolution, and the Emir the genius of a consummate commander. At length the discipline and courage of the Europeans prevailed over the impetuous valour of the Orientals; the Arabs were entirely defeated, and driven headlong over the precipitous sides of a ravine, where great numbers of them perished. The Emir himself escaped with a few followers, but so broken in fortune and ruined in general estimation that many of his allies deserted him. Tlemsen was revictualled, the blockade of the camp of La Tafna raised, and the French power in the west of Algeria established on a solid foundation.

14. When Marshal Clausel arrived at Paris, he demanded 30,000 effective regular troops, and 4000 irregulars. "With such a force," said he, "I will subdue the interior; if you confine yourself to the sea-coast, you will soon be driven into the sea." Notwithstanding the obvious truth of these words, they were far from meeting with general concurrence. "Algiers," said M. de Broglie, "is nothing but a *box at the opera*;" a phrase which was warmly applauded by the Doctrinaires, and drew from Talleyrand the cutting remark, "Nothing is more light than a heavy Doctinaire." A large part of the Chamber embraced these ideas; but the King, whose sagacious mind saw in Algiers an invaluable outlet for his Republican enemies, and field of glory for his soldiers, adopted the opposite views, and strongly urged the necessity of supporting the African settlements. "I love," said he, "to listen to the cannon in Algeria: it is not heard in Europe." M. Thiers, who was still in power, and whose mind was imbued with Napoleon's ideas of making the Mediterranean a French lake, strongly supported the same views. But such was the infatuation of the Chamber, and their belief in the saying of M. Dupin, that "Algiers was a fatal legacy bequeathed to us by the Restoration, which must be abandoned if we would not see our last man and last sous swallowed up," that all that their united efforts could extract from the Chamber was 30,000 men for the colony, not 30,000 combatants—a difference which reduced the effectives in the field to little more than 23,000.*

15. The memoir which Marshal Clausel presented to the Cabinet, and which induced them to sanction the expedition to Constantine, stated: "To avoid the great heats of summer,

we must not begin the campaign before the month of November. The distance from Bona to Constantine is twenty-eight leagues, or eight days' march, allowing for unforeseen accidents and partial combats: the country is admirably intersected by ravines, the inhabitants agricultural rather than warlike: you find in that oasis a sort of reflection of the mild manners of Tunis. An expedition would have great chances of success in its favour, and would necessarily be crowned by the capture of Constantine." Impressed with these ideas, and anticipating no serious opposition, Marshal Clausel undertook the expedition, though the whole force he could command was only 7000 men, with a few field-pieces of the lightest calibre, and *no siege artillery*. With this force—perfectly inadequate, as the event proved, to the enterprise undertaken—the French commander commenced his march for Constantine on the 12th November, carrying provisions for fifteen days.

16. The morning on which the army began its march was clear and bright; the day's journey proved in the highest degree agreeable; the natives hastened to bring them offerings of vegetables and provisions; and at night they bivouacked on the borders of a cool stream, amidst laurel-roses, wild thyme, cactuses, and fragrant blossoms. Every one went to sleep in the highest spirits, but the wakening was very different. A terrible storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning, arose during the night; the rain fell in torrents; and one-half of the oxen employed in dragging the stores took fright at the lightning, broke loose from their fastenings, and disappeared. Cold and wet, the army resumed its march in the morning, and in the evening of the 15th reached and rested amid the Roman ruins of Ghelma. But their condition was daily becoming more deplorable, and the most sinister presentiments had already got possession of the minds of the soldiers. The inhabitants, indeed, were peaceable, and intent only on their flocks and herds. But the rigours of the season were hourly increasing. The rain, ac-

* "Je suis convaincu, malgré tous les rêves de colonisation, que nous ne ferons jamais rien de bon en Afrique, surtout en agissant sur une aussi vaste échelle d'opérations,—quand il aurait dû suffire d'y garder seulement quelques points pour empêcher la piraterie de renaître et entretenir des relations paisibles et honorables avec les indigènes."—M. DUPIN *au* MARÉCHAL CLAUSEL, Dec. 23, 1836; CAPEFIGUE, ix. 202.

accompanied by violent gusts of wind, fell in torrents; night and day the troops were dripping wet; and the cold, felt the more severely that the troops had so long been exposed to the rays of an African sun, became so oppressive that great numbers of the men perished, or fell out, unable to continue the march. The roads, mere horse-tracks, required to be repaired by the sappers before the carriages could be dragged over them, and even then it was with the utmost difficulty they could be got forward. The thermometer, as they ascended to the higher regions of the Atlas, sank to 25° of Fahrenheit; the country around was covered with snow; and in the interior of Africa the severities of an arctic winter began to be experienced. At length, on the morning of the 20th, after eight days of fatiguing march, and undergoing the severest hardships, the long-wished-for towers of Constantine appeared.

17. Situated on the summit of a conical hill, which the military genius of the Romans had converted into a stronghold of the utmost importance, Constantine presented a magnificent spectacle to the French soldiers. The Ciritha of the Numidians and Romans, it recalled, at a distance, from the multitude of its domes and minarets, the aspect of Toledo, or the Moorish cities in Andalusia; but its substantial means of defence were much more formidable than those of any of these cities. Surrounded on three sides by a ravine 100 feet deep and 150 broad, with precipices on either side, it was provided by nature with a natural fosse, impossible to pass, save on a bridge of great elevation, which entered the town through strong iron gates, powerfully defended by artillery and loopholed walls. The south was its only vulnerable point. There the ravine ceased, and level ground, commanded by the plateau of Condiat-Ali, ran up to the walls. The houses were, for the most part, handsomely built, with flat roofs, after the Eastern fashion, and the environs adorned by the cemeteries and cypresses which give such a picturesque air to Oriental cities. The French troops

established themselves on the opposite plateau of Mansoura, from whence they gazed with the utmost anxiety on the splendid spectacle, which was illuminated by a passing gleam of sunshine, when the red flag of defiance was hoisted by the Arabs, and several shots from pieces of heavy calibre issued from the ramparts.

18. It was now evident that a surprise was not to be looked for; and as they had neither supplies nor siege artillery for regular approaches, nothing remained but to try a *coup-de-main*. A desultory attack of the Arabs, who hovered in the vicinity, having been easily repulsed by the troops on the plateau of Mansoura, the few field-pieces which were with the army were brought forward to the front, and began to fire against the defences of the gate at the end of the bridge, but they were speedily dismounted by the 24-pounders on the ramparts; and an attempt to run mines under the gates to blow them up failed from the hardness of the rock on which they stood. In despair of being able to effect the reduction of the place by any other means, Clausel, after carrying the plateau of Condiat-Ali, ordered an assault on two points—one from the plateau of Mansoura against the gate on the bridge; another from Condiat-Ali against the south gate. Two regiments were formed in close column, and advanced over the bridge with the utmost intrepidity. But such was the strength of the inner gates, cased in iron, that they resisted all the efforts of the sappers to force them open; and after sustaining a heavy loss from the fire of the place, which was still wholly unsubdued, the troops, in deep dejection, were obliged to withdraw. The attack on the south gate proved equally unsuccessful.

19. Nothing remained now but to retire; but how to conduct a retreat during eight days, in the face of a cloud of pursuing Arabs, at that inclement season, it was not easy to see. In those elevated regions, several thousand feet above the sea, and among the first ridges of the Atlas, the ground was covered with snow, and the march back, from the very outset, exhibited

on a small scale the horrors of the Moscow retreat. The retrograde movement was covered by a rear-guard under the orders of GENERAL CHANGARNIER, who, like his immortal predecessor, Marshal Ney, amidst the Russian snows, exhibited alternately the capacity of a general and the courage of a private soldier. On one occasion, when a cloud of Arabs was preparing to charge his little band, formed in square, he said, "My friends! look at those people there; they are 6000, you are 300: the sides are equal." Immediately after, the thundering charge was met by a volley within pistol-shot, which speedily sent the assailants to the right-about. But notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers, discipline was relaxed, and disorder appeared in the column; the severity of their hardships, as is always the case in similar circumstances, broke through all rules. The casks of wine were forced open by the starving multitude, and numbers sank on the snow, and perished in the midst of the howling wilderness. On the 28th, the army reached Ghelma, when the sick and wounded were left under the charge of a strong garrison; and at length, on December 1, the long-wished-for minarets of Bona appeared, and the troops enjoyed the sweets of cover and repose after their excessive hardships. They brought back with them their guns and part of their caissons, but they had to lament the loss of 472 killed, or dead of cold and fatigue, and 288 wounded.

20. The war of the sabre and musket over, that of recrimination in France commenced, and it was so violent as for a time to drown every thought of the real nature of the disaster in the anxiety to discover to whom it was to be ascribed. The Liberals, headed by M. Dupin, were clear that it was all owing to the attempt to retain Algiers, that fatal bequest of the Restoration, and loudly demanded that it should be instantly evacuated. The Ministerialists laid the whole blame on Marshal Clausel, a favourite Republican chief, who had,

they alleged, commenced the operation in the most tempestuous season of the year, without any information of the enemy he was going to attack, and no heavy artillery to subdue his defences. In the midst of this general recrimination, *all felt, but few ventured to say*, that the real fault lay with the Chamber of Deputies, and the constituencies which had returned them, who had starved the national forces in Africa, till they were rendered incapable of effecting anything decisive, and, governed by little and economical considerations, rendered the nation incapable of achieving anything great.

21. Amidst this tumult of passion and selfish recriminations, when every party was striving to turn a public disaster to their private advantage, the King and the Cabinet acted a noble part, and showed the world that, to governments not less than individuals, "sweet are the uses of adversity." Instead of being discouraged by misfortune, they took counsel of it only to shun error: they followed the advice given to Æneas, not to yield to evils, but resist them the more vigorously.* In opening the Chamber, the King said: "While I regret with you the losses of the army, I have the consolation of thinking that my second son has shared its dangers; and if success has not crowned its efforts, at least its heroism, patience, and perseverance, have sustained its ancient reputation; and I doubt not that the Chamber will take such steps as will secure in Africa the preponderance of our arms, and put our possessions in that quarter in a state of entire security." These gallant words produced the greater impression, that a few minutes before they were uttered intelligence had been received in the Chamber that an attempt had been made to assassinate the King in passing through the archway of the Tuileries to come to the Chamber, by the murderer Meunier, and that the Prince-Royal had been slightly wounded in

* "Tu ne cedes malis, sed contra audentior ito." —VIRG. *Æneid*.

the face by the splinters from the shot.

22. This intrepid conduct electrified the country, and overpowered the selfish by the national feelings. The Chamber voted larger supplies, and the force put at the disposal of the generals was made more considerable, amounting to 30,000 effective men. Marshal Clausel was recalled, and the command of the province given to General Damremont, an able and intrepid officer, thoroughly abreast of the times, and whose honour and sincerity had been evinced by his fidelity to the fallen dynasty, to which he had been attached. General Bugeaud commanded in the province of Oran, where he was opposed to Abd-el-Kader; and he had so long been accustomed to a separate command, and was at such a distance from headquarters, that he was in a manner the chief of a separate principality, and little inclined to receive orders from his superiors. The consequence was, that an unfortunate rivalry got up between the two commanders; and General Bugeaud, fearful that General Damremont might forestall him in effecting the pacification of the western province, and the submission of the redoubted Emir, was induced to go into measures attended in the end with disastrous effects to the French interests in Algiers.

23. The force in the western province had been considerably augmented since the calamitous expedition to Constantine had opened the eyes of France to the absolute necessity of voting larger forces for the war, and they amounted now to 10,000 men, occupying the strong posts of Tlemsen, La Tafna, Arzew, and Mostaganem. The Arabs under Abd-el-Kader were posted in the open country, and, without pretending formally to invest these places, contented themselves with simply blockading them at a distance, and interrupting all the convoys destined for their supply. Such a state of things could not be prolonged without hazard to the interests and discredit to the honour of France; and both General Damre-

mont and General Bugeaud were very anxious to bring it to a termination. The former had written in the strongest terms to the latter, to the effect that no pacification was to be entered into but on the basis that the Emir was not to pass the river Chelif, and that a ten years' war in Africa would be preferable to such an alternative.* Bugeaud, however, fearful that his commander would take the matter into his own hands, and get the credit of pacifying the west, hastened his preparations, and in the beginning of May, having formed his army into three divisions, set out from Oran at the head of 8000 men, with which he moved towards Tlemsen, with the view of re-victualling that fortress, and driving the Emir, sword in hand, into the wilds of the interior of Africa.

24. Alarmed at the approach of forces so considerable, which he was in no condition at the moment to oppose, Abd-el-Kader had recourse to the usual Asiatic resource of dissimulation. He professed an anxious desire for peace, and for that purpose proposed an interview with the French general. To this Bugeaud, who was a better match for the Emir in the field than in the cabinet, consented, and the interview took place near the camp of La Tafna, each general being accompanied by a fixed number of attendants. Faithful to the Asiatic principle of impressing the imagination, the Emir kept General Bugeaud waiting some hours before he came up to the agreed-on place. At length the advanced posts made their appearance, and information arrived that the chief was a little behind. General Bugeaud immediately advanced to meet him,

* "Il faut que Abd-el-Kader s'engage à ne jamais dépasser le Chelif, et qu'il contribue à établir à Titteri une puissance régulière indépendante de lui, et soumise à la France. Nous ne devons consentir pour rien au monde à ce que Abd-el-Kader établisse sa domination dans le province de Titteri, d'où il peut sans cesse menacer celle d'Alger et prêter son appui à Achmet Bey. Une guerre de dix ans serait préférable dans l'intérêt de nos établissemens en Afrique, à une paix qui mettrait Abd-el-Kader dans Médeah."—GEN. DAMREMONT *au* GEN. BUGEAUD, April 8, 1837; CAPEFIGUE, ix. 342, 343.

and the Emir appeared at the head of 3000 cavalry, surrounded by horsemen in magnificent attire. Their splendid trappings formed as great a contrast to the modest garb of the French escort, as those of the followers of Agesilaus did in former days to the guards of Tisaphernes. The figure of the Emir was slender, and his stature small, his face pale, and expression melancholy; but the fire of his eye, and the delicate make of his hands and feet, revealed the genuine and pure Arab descent. The conference lasted an hour, and at one time bore an unpromising aspect, for the Emir made no concealment of his sense of superiority. At length, however, it was concluded, and the terms of peace agreed on. The Arab chief shook hands with General Bugeaud on parting, and assured him of his fidelity. "I have visited the tomb of the Prophet," said he, "and my word may be trusted."

25. Abd-el-Kader had good reason to be satisfied with the result of this interview, for he gained more by it than he could have hoped from the result of the most successful campaign. It stipulated that Abd-el-Kader was to recognise the sovereignty of France, but in return for this he was to receive large accessions both of territory and influence. In the province of Oran, France reserved to itself only Mostaganem, Mazagran, and their respective territories, with Oran, Arzew, and a small country adjacent to each. The disputed fortress of Tlemsen, with all its territories, was ceded to the Emir. In the province of Algiers, nothing was retained but the fortress of that name, the district of Saheld, and a part of the plain of the Metidja. The whole province of Tittery, which General Damremont said a ten years' war should be incurred rather than cede, was abandoned to the Emir. By this treaty the French possessions were substantially limited to a few fortresses on the sea-coast, with very circumscribed adjacent territories; and the vast district of the interior, with the fortresses which guarded the approach to them, was left in the hands of the Arab chief, in consideration of which,

all that he did was to bind himself to furnish to the French army 30,000 fanegues of wheat, as many of barley, and 5000 oxen.

26. When the terms of this treaty were known in France, one universal cry of indignation arose from one end of the country to the other. General Bugeaud was loudly accused of having compromised the dignity of France by consenting, as he did, to a conference on terms such as no general should have admitted, and abandoned its interests by the terms finally agreed to. What! it was said, is France then so far reduced as to be compelled to consent to terms so humiliating? Has she no army in Africa to assert the honour of her arms? Where are the 15,000 men who have been assembled with so much difficulty in the province of Oran, and by whom war to the knife was to be carried on against the presumptuous Emir? Is it from the midst of such formidable preparations that a peace, at once humiliating and injurious, is to arise? What do we retain of all our boasted conquests in the province of Oran but a few towns on the sea-coast, which, separated from each other, and surrounded by hostile tribes, may be regarded as in a state of permanent blockade? What can be expected from such a treaty but a long train of disasters?—and after having recognised the Emir as an independent power, how do we expect to be able to prevent him, swelled as his influence will be by our concessions, to re-establish the sway of the Crescent over the whole north of Africa.

27. The discontent, with reason excited by this ill-judged treaty in the west of Algeria, only rendered the Government more desirous to redeem their credit by a dazzling exploit in the eastern part of the province. The disaster sustained in the preceding year at Constantine had roused both the Chamber and the nation to the absolute necessity of largely reinforcing the army in Africa, and the number which Marshal Clausel had in vain requested was now without difficulty conceded. Preparations, on a great scale, for a fresh expedition were made during the

whole summer : a camp of 15,000 men was established on the plateau of Medjez-Amar, on the road from Bona to Constantine, which was amply provided with artillery and ammunition, and the want so grievously felt on the preceding occasion of siege-guns completely supplied. Instead of a few light field-pieces, sixty pieces of cannon, chiefly heavy, with 2000 horses to drag the siege-equipage, were provided, and the expedition was undertaken at a more suitable period, before the approach of winter had brought the storms of the Atlas down into the plain. On the 1st October the army commenced its march, 13,000 strong, under the immediate command of General Damremont, the commander-in-chief, having the Duke de Nemours as one of his generals of division, who had come from Paris to share the dangers and glories of the expedition.

23. The first night the troops bivouacked amidst the laurel-roses, fig-trees, and olives, which had charmed the soldiers of Marshal Clausel at the commencement of the first expedition ; but though they encountered some bad weather when they ascended the higher ridges of Mount Atlas, where rain is so frequent, they were far from experiencing the dreadful hardships undergone on the former occasion. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 6th October the leading column reached the plateau of Mansoura, and beheld the far-famed cupolas and bastions of Constantine. The ground was strewn with the skeletons of those who had fallen in the former assault ; and the troops, seeing the bastions filled with the enemy, and the preparations made for a vigorous defence, were filled with the most gloomy forebodings. But the general gave them no time for reflection, and ere long drowned melancholy by activity. The garrison consisted of 6000 regular troops, besides the militia of the place, who were 1500 men, and their spirit had been greatly raised by the glorious defeat of the former attack. "These men," said Achmet Bey to his troops, "are not invincible ; small in stature, fa-

tigued with long marches, they may easily be put to flight, for they are the enemies of the Prophet."

29. Damremont formed his army into four divisions, and determined to attack the south front of the place from the plateau of Condiat-Ali ; whilst heavy batteries, established on that of Mansoura, enfiladed the face assailed. The divisions of General Rulhières and Colonel Combes were to occupy the heights of Condiat-Ali, which overhung the town, while to the Duke of Nemours was intrusted the perilous duty of conducting the approaches meant to batter in breach, and directing the assault. The operations, however, were grievously impeded by the heavy rains, which fell without intermission from the time the troops took up their ground, filled the trenches with water, and so soaked the powder that little of it would go off. The fascines were filled, not with earth, but liquid mud, which escaped through the interstices of the wood ; and the guns, which repeatedly stuck fast in the tenacious mire, were only dragged out by the almost superhuman efforts of the Zouaves. By immense exertions, however, these difficulties were overcome, and on the 9th October a sufficient number of guns were got into position to open fire, which was done amidst a shout from the whole army, which drowned even the roar of the artillery. General Damremont, after the fire had continued twenty-four hours, summoned the place to surrender ; but the governor returned this noble answer : "If the French have no longer any powder or bread, we will give it them ; but we will defend our houses and town to the last extremity. No one shall be master of Constantine till he has put to death its last defender."

30. A sad event soon after occurred, which, without stopping the progress of the operations, filled the soldiers with the most melancholy feelings. General Damremont, who, from the commencement of the siege, had exposed his person like the meanest grenadier, had taken post, surrounded by his staff, on a prominent point on Condiat-Ali,

to reconnoitre with his own eyes the ground, with a view to the final direction of the assaulting columns, when a ricochet-shot, starting from a rock in the vicinity, struck him on the breast. He fell, and instantly expired; dying thus, like Turenne, on the field of honour, and on the eve of victory. This calamitous event did not, however, for a moment suspend the progress of the siege. General Vallée took the command, and proved himself worthy of the trust. The following day was a Friday, and an ancient prophecy had announced that a Friday was to be a fatal day to the Mussulman domination in Africa. The signal for the attack was given at seven in the morning, and the troops, divided into three columns, under the orders of GENERAL LAMORICIÈRE, Colonel Combes, and Colonel Corbin, advanced to the assault. With breathless impatience the troops not engaged, from the heights of Mansoura and Condiat-Ali, beheld the columns running with impetuosity to the breaches, amidst the rolling of drums, the flourish of trumpets, and the shouts of the whole army. Lamoricière soon, by a rapid rush, gained the summit of the breach without much difficulty; but there, as in other Turkish fortresses, began the real difficulty of the struggle. The Turkish yatagan maintained a desperate contest with the European bayonet; from every roof-top and every window issued a shower of balls, and it was only hand-to-hand, and by a series of desperate personal encounters, that the assailants were able to maintain their ground in the pass they had so bravely won. In front of the assaulting column the officers, even of the highest grade, were seen: Colonel Serignay was killed at the head of his battalion; Generals Perregaux and Lamoricière, and Colonel Combes, were severely wounded. In the midst of the tumult a mine was fired, and great numbers, both of the assailants and defenders, were blown into the air. But the supports were rapidly brought up; a continual stream of armed men ascended the breaches, and ere long the steady courage of the

Arabs yielded to the heroic intrepidity of the French. Gradually the besieged were forced backward; house after house, street after street, bastion after bastion, were successively won; and at length the armed multitude, forced to the extremity of the town, was driven over the ramparts, and a frightful human avalanche rolled over the cliffs which formed the southern defence of the city. Constantine was taken, and the French power in Algeria firmly established. From the summit of a neighbouring hill Sultan Achmet beheld, with tears in his eyes, the capture of his capital, the ruin of his power, and, turning his horse's head, fled into the solitudes of the desert.

31. In this desperate strife the Duke de Nemours exhibited the coolness of a veteran joined to the ardour of a young soldier. Colonel Combes was brought to him mortally wounded; two shots had passed through his lungs. Concealing his suffering and danger, he said, "Those who are not wounded mortally will feel joy at this success." To General Boyer he said, "Receive my last adieu; I ask nothing for my wife or children, but I would recommend the following officers of my regiment." These were his last words. Death closed his lips. After a short time had elapsed, the desolation of the storm disappeared, and such of the inhabitants as survived returned to their houses; the breaches were repaired, a garrison of 2500 men was left in the place, and the army returned to Bona. General Vallée was made Governor of Algeria and a Marshal with the general approbation of the army, and an extensive promotion rewarded the inferior officers who had contributed to the success. But while the army had thus gloriously discharged its duty, the conduct of the Chamber of Deputies afforded a melancholy proof of the sway of parsimonious ideas among them, and how unworthy the bourgeois class was to rule the empire. Government proposed to the Chamber of Deputies to settle a pension of 10,000 francs (£400) a-year on General

Damremont's widow: they reduced it to 6000 francs (£240); and to the widow of the heroic Colonel Combes they refused even the moderate pension of 3000 francs (£120), proposed by the Ministers! This economy was the more discreditable, that at the same time the Chamber voted 1,200,000 francs (£48,000) a-year to the theatres of Paris for the amusement of themselves and their constituents.*

32. "It was the fashion," says Macaulay, "to call James II. a tyrant, and William a deliverer; yet before the deliverer had been a month on the throne, he had deprived the English of a precious right which the tyrant had respected. This is a kind of reproach which a government sprung from a popular revolution almost inevitably incurs. From such a government men naturally think themselves entitled to expect a more gentle and liberal administration than is expected from old and deeply-rooted power. Yet such a government, having, as it always has, many active enemies, and not having the strength derived from legitimacy and prescription, can at first only maintain itself by a vigilance and a severity of which old and deeply-rooted power stands in no need. Extraordinary and irregular vindications of public liberty are sometimes necessary, yet, however necessary, they are almost always followed by some temporary abridgments of that very liberty, and every such abridgment is a fertile and plausible theme for sarcasm and invective." Louis Philippe was no exception to these just and forcible observations; on the contrary, they furnish the true explanation both of the increased rigour of his Government and the unbounded animosity which it excited among its former supporters. A very simple reason explains both—it was necessity. A government which has risen by revolution can only main-

tain itself by suppressing the spirit from which it sprang; and the more violent that revolution has been, the more severe and lasting will be the measures of repression to which it must have recourse. England will feel the consequences of the Revolution of 1688 as long as the National Debt endures; France that of 1830 as long as its huge standing army is kept on foot, and that is not likely ever to be diminished. Had any of the early conspiracies against Louis Philippe's government proved successful, the only consequence would have been that the liberties of the country would have been more completely prostrated even than they were by the bayonets of the Citizen King. A Cabinet composed of Fieschi, Alibaud, and Meunier, would only have been distinguished from those of Count Molé or M. Thiers by being more despotic, more expensive, and more bloody. If any one doubts this, let him reflect on the selfish character, lavish expenditure, and grinding oppression of the democratic governments of France in 1793 and America in 1862.

33. A great revolution was going on in the affairs of the world when France was the theatre of these convulsive throes. From the contests of the European states with each other, emerged a Power which soon came to overshadow all the other countries of the world. Ever since the date of the fall of Napoleon all the great conquests of nations were those of the Christians over the Mohammedans; from the infidelity of the French Revolution arose the lasting superiority of the Cross over the Crescent. In 1816, Algerine slavery was terminated by the cannon of Lord Exmouth; in 1829, Turkey narrowly escaped subjugation at the hands of the Muscovites; in 1830, the power of France was permanently established on the coast of Africa; in

SUMS VOTED TO THE THEATRES IN 1833.

Grand Opera, . . .	620,000 francs, or	£25,000
Opera Comique, . . .	240,000 "	10,000
Opera Italien, . . .	70,000 "	2,600
Théatres, . . .	270,000 "	10,400
	<hr/>	
	1,200,000 "	£48,000

1832, the Grand Seignior was only saved from destruction at the hand of his rebellious vassal by the dangerous protection of the Russians; in 1840, that very vassal was driven, by the broadsides of the English, delivered at the foot of the Lebanon, within his own dominion. Hardly had the sound of the French cannon ceased to re-echo in the mountains of the Atlas, when the British guns were heard in the Kyber Pass amid the Himalaya snows, and their standards were seen in Ghuznee, the cradle of Mohammedan power in Central Asia. Subsequent events have not belied these appearances; all the interests of mankind are now wound up with the destinies of the Oriental world. The greatest strife which modern Europe has witnessed has occurred on the shores of the Euxine, between powers contending for the protection of the decrepit Mohammedan conquerors of the East. There is something in these marvellous events succeeding one another so rapidly, and so different from the former long equal balance of the Cross and the Crescent, which cannot be ascribed to chance; they betoken a decided step in the Divine administration. The tide of conquest, which long flowed from east to west, has now set in in an opposite direction; civilisation is returning to the land of its birth, and the descendants of Japhet, in the words of primeval prophecy, are about to "dwell in the tents of Shem."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FRANCE, FROM THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINE IN OCTOBER 1837 TO THE REVOLT IN ALGERIA IN OCTOBER 1839.

1. THE storming of Constantine and restoration of the lustre of the national arms on the coast of Africa, diffused universal satisfaction in France, and powerfully contributed to strengthen the throne of Louis Philippe. In proportion to the grief and mortification which had been experienced at the preceding reverse, was the joy at the glorious and decisive manner in which it had been expiated. The Liberal party in Paris, indeed, had never been favourable to the occupation of Algeria, and had repeatedly, both in the Chambers and the press, urged its entire abandonment. But none could be insensible to the glory of the French arms; and the romantic incidents of the siege of Constantine, with its heartstirring assault, acted like the sound of a trumpet on the hearts of that warlike and imaginative people.

2. The general election of 1837 had

somewhat, as already mentioned, though not materially, augmented the majority of Count Molé and the Administration in the popular Chamber; they had now a nominal majority of twelve or fifteen in the Deputies. But this majority, small as it was, was composed of so many and such divided sections of parties that it could hardly be relied on in any decisive crisis, and was likely entirely to fail on any question which strongly agitated the public mind. The Cabinet therefore felt the necessity of strengthening themselves in the Upper House by a fresh creation of peers, and they had recourse to another of those desperate acts which purchased present ease at the expense of the future respectability and influence of the Chamber of Peers. By an ordonnance of 3d October 1837, *fifty-two* additional peers were created, and took their seat on the benches of the Upper House. This

was the fourth great creation which had taken place within a few years; and, combined with the limitation of the titles to life, and their exclusive appointment by the Crown, it deprived the Peers of all respect or influence, either as a check on the Executive or a barrier against the people. The object of this new creation was to form a sort of *juste milieu* in the Chamber, which might counterbalance a possible coalition of the Legitimists, headed by M. de Montalembert and M. de Dreux-Brézé on the one side, and the Liberals under MM. Villmain and Cousin on the other. It is remarkable that a system which in this manner proved utterly destructive of the mixed constitution and balance of power in France, had been so recently before earnestly pressed upon the English Government by the popular party, and that not only by political leaders in the heat of conflict, but by sagacious philosophers in the solitude of rural life.*

3. As the parties in the Chamber of Deputies were so nearly balanced, the greatest efforts were made by both sides in the elections, especially in those for the city of Paris. With a view to organise an effective opposition against the Government, a central committee was formed in the capital to watch over and promote the Liberal interest in the elections; and so narrow was the division of parties, that an ample field was afforded for this, for out of 13,982 voters, 6303 were ranged on the side of Opposition. At the head of the committee in Paris was placed M. ARAGO, a man scarcely less eminent in political strife than in the peaceful walks of science. Indomitable energy and perseverance were his great characteristics, evinced at every period of life, as they are by almost all who do great things in the world. At the age of twenty, having been despatched by

the Bureau des Longitudes at Paris to complete the measurement of an arc of the meridian in Spain, he passed six months on the inhospitable summit of one of the Castilian mountains. Sent by Napoleon as envoy into Spain at the commencement of the Peninsular War, he was thrown into the prison of Valencia, and subsequently of Rosas, where he declined the opportunity of escape presented to him, rather than separate from his beloved scientific instruments. What distinguished him in an especial manner was the variety and extent of his acquirements. While renowned as a scientific man in every country of Europe, he brought to bear on his political adversaries a nerve, an eloquence, and an extent of information which created universal astonishment, and rendered him one of the most popular leaders of the Liberal party, to which he was strongly attached. Ardent in everything, he turned alternately, and with equal vigour, from the calm contemplation of nature to the stormy affairs of men, and, like Wallenstein, as figured by the poet, sought relief from the contests of the forum in the study of the celestial bodies.

4. These eminent qualities in Arago, however, were not without a certain intermixture of alloy. He had more vehemence than perseverance, and often did injustice to his great powers by the variety of objects to which they were applied. He was so keen in every pursuit that he was often distracted by the multiplicity of those in which he was engaged. More skilled in books than men—the child of thought, not of experience—he was little qualified to be the leader of a party, and often created jealousy by his neglect of the inferior agents, upon whom the fortune of every public man must in great part be built. His temper was violent, and often very irritable; and he was far from possessing that coolness in debate which so frequently gives practised speakers so great an advantage over men, in other respects their superiors, who have been trained only in the

* See in particular Sydney Smith's Letters to Earl Grey, urging, in the strongest terms, a creation of sixty or eighty peers to force the Reform Bill through the House of Lords, in May, June, and July 1832, in Lady Holland's very interesting Life of that eminent man.

closet. Impetuous in all things, he often sacrificed his ultimate end for a momentary impulse; and was diverted from an important object by the vehemence with which he assailed an adversary, or the warmth with which he resented the injuries of a friend.

5. With this illustrious philosopher and orator, however, were united others of more practical character, and who supplied what he wanted in the management of a political party. M. LOUIS BLANC, to whose genius and eloquence this History has been so often indebted, brought to the guidance of the democratic committee the energy of a powerful mind, the skill of an accomplished orator, and, what was of still more value to them, a devout belief in human perfectibility and the unbounded improvement of the people, under the influence of Socialist principles and the sway of the most ignorant, inflammable, and destitute of the community. With him was associated M. Dupont de l'Eure, who was equally sincere in his hatred of the *bourgeoisie*, now in possession of power, and in his belief of the disappearance of all social evils before the rising sun of democracy. M. Lafitte, also, was a member who, disappointed in the result of his dream of a "throne surrounded by republican institutions," and essentially injured in fortune by its effects, was now inclined to go all the lengths of pure republicanism. From the character and talents of these leaders it was evident that, though the social contest was for the time hushed, and the thirst for gain had come, in the middle class, to supersede the passion for power, yet the revolutionary principle was far from being extinct, and that nothing was wanting but general distress or extraneous circumstances to fan the embers, and cause the fire to blaze up again with fresh fury, and embrace the whole monarchy in its flames.

6. The session of 1838 met on the 18th December 1837, and the King, with reason, congratulated the Deputies on the improved internal condition of the country, and the glorious event

which, externally, had added so much lustre to the French arms. "France," said he, "is free and tranquil; its prosperity rapidly increases, its institutions are consolidated, it has daily more confidence in their stability. The supremacy of the laws has permitted me to realise the dearest wish of my heart—a great act, the memory of which will always be pleasing to me; the amnesty has demonstrated the force of my government. That act has calmed men's minds, weakened the influence of the bad passions, isolated more and more the projects of disorder. I have, in these auspicious circumstances, desired that the electoral colleges should be called together. My confidence in the country has not been misplaced. I feel assured that I shall find in you the firm support which I have received from the Chambers for seven years past, to secure to France the benefits of order and peace." These words were, in the circumstances, undoubtedly well founded; but the first division in the Chamber proved how strong, despite the general prosperity, the democratic feeling was in the bourgeois class, of which the majority of the constituencies was composed. The address, in answer to the speech from the throne, was indeed carried, after a stormy debate of three weeks' duration, by a majority of 100—the numbers being 216 to 116; a victory which exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the Ministerialists. And on the question of the secret-service money, which was a still truer touchstone of Government influence, the majority was even more considerable—the numbers being 249 to 133. But on other occasions the state of parties was very different, and on one vital question the Government underwent a signal defeat. The vexed matter of a reduction of the interest of the public funds having been again brought forward, the majority for the Government proposal was carried in the Deputies by 251 to 145; but so great was the public clamour on the subject, that it was rejected in the Peers, notwithstanding the recent creation, by a majority of 124 to 34.

7. A matter of vast social importance, and far more momentous ultimate consequence than any of these party divisions, was brought forward by the Government in this session, and occupied the Chambers several months. This was the matter of RAILWAYS, and whether they should be left, as in England, to the enterprise and direction of private companies, or taken at once into the hands of Government, and regulated, like the Post-office and the Chaussées, by its direction. This question could no longer be avoided, for the demand for more rapid and useful modes of conveyance was rapidly developing in all quarters; and the growth of capital in the country, joined to the increased confidence in the stability of Government, had not only provided ample funds for the construction of the lines, but inflamed to a very high degree the mania for speculation in them. The societies which proposed to undertake them were established on the principle of *commandite*, or limitation of the liability of partners to the stock subscribed, which, as it lessened the risk of such undertakings, increased the favour with which they were regarded by small capitalists, and the avidity with which, as a matter of speculation, the shares were sought after by the public. In the two months of January and February 1838, no less than sixty-seven societies of this description were set up with the requisite legal formalities, in France, with a subscribed capital of 118,222,000 francs (£4,730,000), divided into 219,212 shares; and in March the fever of speculation had increased to such a degree, that companies with a capital of 274,572,000 francs (£11,000,000) were established in addition, divided into 399,635 shares. It may be readily conceived what important interests were at stake when undertakings so vast were suddenly brought forward, and how great must have been the public interest excited in their success, when numbers so immense had embarked their credit or their capital in their prosecution.*

* The number of companies having movable and saleable shares in France was very large.

8. M. Arago presented the report of the committee to whom the matter had been referred on the subject, which was drawn by himself, and, as might have been expected from such a hand, was a very able and luminous document. It proposed to establish a network of nine trunk-lines, whereof seven were to terminate in Paris, and to run from that capital to Belgium, to Havre, to Nantes, to Bayonne, to Toulouse, to Marseilles by Lyons, and to Strasbourg by Nancy. Two other lines were to unite Marseilles on the one side with Bordeaux by Toulouse, and on the other with Bâle by Lyons and Besançon. In the mean time, however, only four lines were to be begun—viz., those from Paris to Belgium, from Paris to Rouen, from Paris to Bordeaux by Orleans and Tours, and from Marseilles to Avignon, which were to embrace in all 373 leagues of railway. It was wisely proposed not to go farther in the mean time, both in order to test by experience, before going too deep, the probable success of the undertakings, and in order to be enabled to take advantage, in any future lines that might be constructed, of the improvements that might be adopted in the neighbouring states, and especially in England. It was not deemed expedient to undertake the formation of these lines on the part of Government, especially at a period when the budget was to be charged with 49,000,000 francs (£1,960,000) for canals, roads, and other improvements, and therefore they were to be left to private companies. Government, however, reserved to itself the

From 1816 to 1838, the number was 1103, divided in the following manner:—

Journals and periodicals, . . .	401
Manufactures, . . .	93
Coaches and carriages, . . .	93
Iron-works, . . .	61
Internal navigation, . . .	52
Banks, . . .	40
Insurance companies, . . .	27
Agricultural and draining, . . .	23
Theatres, . . .	24
Miscellaneous, . . .	289

1103

—CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, ix. 382, note.

right of requiring adequate security from the subscribers for the completion of the undertaking, and of preventing competing lines from interfering with the fair profits that might be expected from them. This report was adopted, with certain modifications, by the Chamber, and formed the foundation of the railway system in France. It were to be wished that an equally wise one had been simultaneously set on foot in Great Britain.

9. It must be confessed that a more favourable time could not have been found for these undertakings, for an extraordinary flood of prosperity had set in upon France. The exports, imports, and revenue increased steadily during the three years subsequent to 1835; the public funds rapidly rose; and the national industry, sustained by a plentiful supply of the precious metals, and a liberal issue of paper by the Bank of France, diffused general ease and happiness over the community. The same effect took place then which had ensued in England upon the subsiding of the Reform agitation, though, from tranquillity being longer of being restored to the south than to the north of the Channel, the prosperity of France was two years later of becoming decided than that of England had been. But when it did arrive, it was equally signal and progressive, and in like manner led to undertakings of the most extravagant kind, and a fever of speculation which recalled the days of Law and the Mississippi Scheme a century before. A change in society, and the objects of general interest, came over France, so extraordinary that it could not be credited, were it not attested, as the former had

been, by contemporary evidence of the most unquestionable description.*

10. The thirst for gain, fed by the immense rise of the shares of some fortunate companies, and the colossal fortunes made by a few speculators, often without capital or apparent risk, led to a universal mania, seizing all classes of society. It swept away all heads, pervaded all ranks, and for a season almost absorbed all interests. It was difficult to say whether the sober shopkeeper, whose life had been spent in counting small gains, and pursuing a sober steadfast line of conduct—the zealous scholar, whose thoughts had been set on the contemplation of the celestial bodies or the ideal world—the intrepid soldier, who had hitherto dreamed only of visions of glory—or the volatile woman of fashion, who had ever glittered in the sunshine of rank and opulence,—were most carried away by the torrent. All that was recounted in the memoirs of the Regent Orleans, but hitherto hardly believed, of the prostration of all celebrities, the destruction of all feelings of pride, the oblivion of all the privileges of rank or sex, before the altar of Mammon, was now more than realised. Morning, noon, and night the offices of the bankers, merchants, or companies who had the shares of the undertakings most in request for sale, were besieged by files of carriages and clamorous crowds pressing forward to acquire what they felt assured would, in a few weeks, without expenditure, trouble, or risk, put them in possession of an ample fortune. Ladies of the first rank and fashion hastened to bestow their smiles, and sometimes more than their smiles, on

* INCOME, EXPENDITURE, EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND TONNAGE OF FRANCE FROM 1837 TO 1841, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

Years.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Commerce General.		Tonnage inwards.
			Exports.	Imports.	
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.	
1837	1,027,572,203	1,027,059,018	758,097,450	807,792,965	1,494,580
1838	1,056,302,461	1,039,318,931	955,907,656	937,054,479	1,671,804
1839	1,051,880,917	1,021,682,404	1,003,331,788	946,971,426	1,244,092
1840	1,115,765,222	1,099,913,487	1,010,922,514	1,052,286,026	1,741,915
1841	1,211,885,666	1,187,842,234	1,065,375,603	1,121,424,216	1,823,360

those who had the means of opening an early and secret door to the magic scenes, where riches, exceeding those at the disposal of the geni of the lamp and the ring, awaited the first fortunate entrant. And such was the astonishing rise of shares, sometimes to the amount of 1200 and 1500 per cent in a few months, that the expectations, extravagant as they were, in many instances were almost realised.*

11. Immeasurable were the frauds perpetrated on the credulous and senseless public during this brief period of general insanity. Mines which never existed became the subject of companies, the shares of which were, for a few weeks before the bubble burst, sold at extravagant profits. Inventions which had never been realised even in the brain of the most speculative mechanic, became the subject of eulogistic advertisement and eager purchase. France was inundated with impostures, which in many instances made the fortunes of their lucky fabricators. A dramatic piece got up at this period entitled *Robert Macaire*, which exposed the follies of the day, but at the same time turned into equal ridicule every generous or elevated sentiment which could fill the human breast, was interdicted at the theatre from the immensity of its success. "Society had reached," says the analyst, "that point, the lowest in the scale of social degradation, when the selfish and degrading sentiments have ceased to be an object of shame even to those influenced by them, and the theatres are crowded to hear those

* "Telle action constituée à 500 francs s'était élevée par la fiction du cours à 8000 francs."—CAP. ix. 335.

PUBLIC FUNDS IN PARIS AND BANK SHARES.

		Five per cents.		Actions de la Banque.
Jan. }	1837	..	{ 109	.. 2430
Dec. }			{ 107	.. 2560
Jan. }	1838	..	{ 109	.. 2542
Dec. }			{ 110	.. 2710
Jan. }			{ 110	.. 2650
Dec. }	1839	..	{ 112	.. 3000
Jan. }			{ 112	.. 3150
Dec. }	1840	..	{ 111	.. 3230
Jan. }			{ 112	.. 3260
Dec. }	1841	..	{ 116	.. 3420

—*Ann. Hist.*, xx. 371; xxi. 419; xxv. 316.

feelings expressed as common and unavoidable, of which all are conscious in the recesses of their own breasts."

12. The prevailing passion for gain comes soon to affect both the higher and the more ephemeral branches of literature. M. Guizot, whose great powers were not absorbed in the less durable objects of office, wrote three articles in the *Revue Française* on the state of society in France, which revealed its dangers, and displayed his usual impartiality and sagacity of thought. M. Lerminier abandoned his former extreme democratic opinions, and by several articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in favour of Count Molé's Government, incurred the lasting hostility of his former republican allies. At the theatres a number of popular pieces, which fell in with the frivolity of the times, attracted crowds to the comic boards; while the rising genius of RACHEL, who had made her first appearance on the stage, occasioned in some cultivated minds a reaction in favour of the elevated style of former tragedy. The young actress, however, met with a formidable rival in the *Caligula* of Alexander Dumas, which brought before the eyes of the admiring Parisians the manners of the Romans under the Empire, their armies, gladiators, and amphitheatre. History laboured with success to portray the glories of the Empire, as if to cry shame on the selfishness and frivolity of modern ideas; and we owe to that period many of the most remarkable works which characterise the era of Napoleon. The universal object was to be amused or to make money; and the daily press, despairing of political change, adapted itself to the taste of its readers, and, abandoning the asperity of former political discussion, glided down the broad stream of social enjoyment or individual gain.

13. The effect of this change, which had occurred also nearly in a similar degree in Great Britain shortly before, was to remove in a most material degree the difficulties of Government. The passions of men having taken a different direction, and the thirst for

individual gain having come to supersede that for political power, it became a comparatively easy task to manage them. Nothing was required but to adopt a prudent popular course of administration, which might eschew the resuscitation of the political passions, and meanwhile to disarm hostility by a plentiful diffusion of those material advantages which had become the object of general and passionate desire. The immense patronage at the disposal of Government, which amounted to 140,000 offices in the civil service of the State, besides the commissions in the army and navy, gave them ample means of gratifying the prevailing thirst for gain; while the Chamber of Deputies and their constituents designated at once the channel in which the golden stream should flow. Influence, exerted not by the bestowing of bribes, as was the case for seventy years after the Revolution of 1688 by the Whig Government of England, but by the disposal of patronage, became the established means by which the administration of affairs was carried on; and the majority which it commanded, though sufficiently large on general questions, gave token of its origin when any change touching the pecuniary interests of the *bourgeoisie* was brought forward. Thus it threw out in the Peers the project of reducing the interest of the national debt, and took to itself from Government the administration of railways. This system has been openly admitted by M. Guizot, and defended on the footing of absolute necessity. When Government has neither the hereditary loyalty felt towards an ancient race of sovereigns to rest upon, nor the rude despotism of a soldier of fortune to enforce its mandates, it is compelled to have recourse to the thirst for individual gain, which never fails, after a time, to make itself felt in every community. This necessity was felt, and this effect followed, in England after the Revolution of 1688, and in France after that of 1830; and those who object to a government being established on

such a basis, would do well to pause before they overturn that which rests on another.

14. But although it may be easy to see how it happened that the government of corruption came after the Revolution in France to succeed that of force, yet the effects of the change were not the less injurious, or the less debasing to the national character of the people. The worst corruptions of the old monarchy anterior to the first Revolution were revived on a more extensive scale, and made to descend to and degrade a far greater number of men. The *pots de vin*, so well known as the *douceur* which followed the bestowing of an office on a minister, or a farmer-general of the revenue, under the old regime, came to be a regular and established part of almost every transaction, not only between Government and the people, but between all in authority or possessed of influence, and the recipients of what they had to bestow. Two celebrated trials which ere long occurred—that relating to the vessel *Ville de Paris*, and another to the alleged maladministration of M. Giquet, the Minister of Police—revealed in all their turpitude the base transactions of this venal period. It was judicially proved that, in consideration of shares allotted, money bestowed, mistresses bribed, actions promised, offices conferred, political opposition was bought up, journals silenced, and men of powerful talent gained to the cause of Government, or the great railway or mercantile companies which shared with it the distribution of patronage. So far did this system of universal corruption go, that it even tarnished the glory of that branch of the public service which had hitherto stood pre-eminent in purity as well as lustre; and the catastrophe attending the first attack on Constantine led to strange revelations in the mutual accusations of the generals, which it would have been well for the honour of the French arms to have buried in oblivion.

15. The effect of this state of things was, that before the end of the session the Doctrinaire party, disgusted with

the venality and corruption with which the Government was surrounded, diverged from Count Molé. The elder of the party were dissatisfied at not being admitted into the Administration, and the younger were alienated by the open establishment of government on the basis of venality and selfishness. Finding his position in the Chambers becoming daily more critical, Count Molé attached himself more strongly to the court; and in a magnificent fête given by him in his splendid chateau, and surrounded by his ancestral trees of Champlatreux, he was honoured by the presence of royalty, the queen, princes, and princesses. Everything there was redolent of the olden time: on the walls of the saloon were the pictures given by Louis XV. to one of Count Molé's ancestors; in the gardens were the marble fountains, shady alleys, and overflowing *jets d'eau* which recalled the splendour of Versailles. Surrounded here by the memorials and reminiscences of the past, in which he so much delighted, and basking in the fleeting sunshine of the present, the monarch felt for a brief period the enjoyment of real felicity, which was soon enhanced by the accouchement of the Duchess of Orleans, who on 24th August gave birth to a son and heir, who received the title of the Count of Paris, and promised to perpetuate in future times the new-born monarchy.

16. The war establishment of 1838 and 1839 was fixed at a high standard, which the Chamber, alarmed by the first disaster of Constantine, voted without opposition. It amounted to 319,348 men, and 63,173 horses. Of this large force 38,000 men and 8779 horses were assigned to Africa. The men voted in Great Britain in the same year for the army were to be 81,000 men, and 37,000 sailors for the royal navy;—forces miserably inadequate when the immensity of the force within a day's sail of the southern coast of England is taken into consideration. Some very curious facts were brought out in the debates in the Chamber on the state of the poor, and the proportion of legitimate to illegitimate births in Paris. It appeared that, out of every

1000 births, 316 were illegitimate, and that "33,000 orphans, abandoned by their parents, passed annually through the hospitals of the country." The heavy expense consequent on this mass of infant pauperism being complained of, and a measure of relief proposed, M. de Lamartine, in an eloquent speech, declaimed against the measure in progress to suppress or diminish those establishments, which went to rescue from death or ruin the unhappy beings thus brought into the world only to encumber it. "Foundlings are for us," said he, "for all modern societies, one of those sacred necessities for which we must provide, if we would eschew a dissolution of morals, an inundation of crime and popular agitation, which no one can contemplate without trembling. Do not trust to those fatal measures which go only to conceal an evil which will immediately burst forth in other quarters. Insensate are they who are alarmed at the increase of population, if we take sufficient steps to implant and organise it. Man is the most precious of all capitals; and to those who are alarmed at its increase I would say, what would you be at? Are you prepared, as in China, to provide against the dreaded superabundance of population by immersing the children in rivers? It is a noble task to replace the care of a family for those unhappy children whom God has placed in your hands. That task the charity of St Vincent and the genius of Napoleon have rendered easy: you have nothing to do: beware lest you undo what they have done; rise superior to those who would inflict a mortal wound on the honour, the morality, the security of the country; recollect that there are higher duties than those of property or economy, and that those who are born have the right to live."

17. While the Legislature was engaged with these important topics, public attention was for a brief period arrested by the last illness and death of a man who had played an important part on the theatre of nations in the last generation. On the 17th May, M. Talleyrand died. Arrived at the

advanced age of eighty-two, his life had exceeded the ordinary term, and he retained his faculties to the last. Before his death, he had felt a desire to be reconciled to the Church to which he had originally belonged, and in which he had held the rank of bishop; and at the earnest entreaty of his young and beautiful relative, Mademoiselle de Dino, who watched his last days with pious care, he had on 10th March written a recantation of his errors, both religious and political, but which, with characteristic caution—an instance of “the ruling passion strong in death”—he kept by him, and only signed a few hours before his decease.* At the same time he addressed a penitent letter to the Pope, in which he professed his entire adherence to the tenets of the Romish Church. Shortly after signing his recantation, the King paid him a visit, and inquired anxiously after his health. “This,” said the dying penitent, “is the highest honour my house has ever received.” Books of devotion were frequently, at his own desire, in his hands during his long deathbed illness, one especially, entitled “The Christian Religion studied in the true Spirit of its Maxims.” “The recollections which you recall,” said he to the Abbé Dupanloup, “are dear to me, and I thank you for having divined the place they have preserved in my thoughts and in my heart.” Shortly before his death he received extreme unction; and on hearing the names of Charles, Archbishop of Milan, and Maurice, his patron saint, he said in a feeble voice, “Have pity on me.” M. Dupanloup having related to him that the Archbishop of Paris had said, “I would give my life for M. de Talleyrand,” “He might make a better use

of it,” replied the dying man; and with these words he expired.

18. Belonging to, and celebrated in, another age, M. de Talleyrand had outlived his reputation and his influence; but he is too important an historical character to be permitted to depart this earthly scene without an obituary notice. That he was a man of remarkable abilities is sufficiently proved by his career: no man rises so high, even amidst the storms of a revolution, without the aid of those talents which are peculiarly adapted to the times in which he lived. It was to the possession of these talents that the ex-bishop of Autun owed his elevation, and the long duration of his influence through all the mutations of political fortune. He was neither a great nor a good man: had he been the first, his head would have been severed from his shoulders in the early part of his career, in consequence of the changes which he so warmly supported; had he been the second, he never would have emerged into the perilous light of political, from the secure obscurity of ecclesiastical, life. He was an accurate observer of the signs of the times, and a base accomplished time-server. It is such men who in general alone survive the storms of a revolution, and reap the fruits of the courage and magnanimity, the ambition or recklessness, of others. Essentially selfish and egotistical, he never hesitated to sacrifice his religion, his oaths, his principles, to the necessities or opportunities of the moment: adroit and supple, he contrived to make himself serviceable to all parties, and yet not the object of envenomed hostility to any. Having sworn fidelity to thirteen constitutions, and betrayed them all, he lost no character by his repeated tergiversations; no one expected consistency or honour from him, but all expected from him, and most in power received, valuable secret information and useful obsequiousness. His manners were courteous, and had all the polish of the old school; his colloquial powers constituted no inconsiderable part of his reputation. His memory, stored with anecdotes of the many eminent men of all parties with

* “Touché de plus en plus par de graves considérations, conduit à juger de sangfroid les conséquences d’une Révolution qui a tout entraîné, et qui dure depuis cinquante ans, je suis arrivé au terme d’un grand âge, et après une longue expérience, à blâmer les excès du siècle auquel j’ai appartenu, et à condamner franchement les graves erreurs qui dans cette longue suite d’années ont troublé et affligé l’Eglise Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine, et auxquelles j’ai eu le malheur de participer.”—*Dernière Piece de M. DE TALLEYRAND*, May 17, 1838; CAPEFIGUE, ix. 468.

whom he had passed his life, rendered his conversation always amusing, often interesting; but there was nothing original in his ideas, or elevated in his conceptions. His celebrity as a talker, like that of Rochefoucauld's Maxims, arose chiefly from the casual felicity of expression and uniform tracing of all actions to the secret workings of selfishness in the human breast which characterised his remarks. Judging from themselves, both these far-famed observers were doubtless in the right. The reputation of Talleyrand was greater with his contemporaries, to whom his witty sayings were known, than it will be with posterity, which will form its opinions from his actions; and both conspire to demonstrate that intellectual powers, even of the highest kind, cannot compensate for the want of those still more lofty qualities which spring from the pure fountains of the heart.*

19. This year brought to light another of those dark conspiracies which revealed the extreme hatred of Louis Philippe that pervaded the republican classes of society. On the 8th December 1837, a man, landing from the English packet-boat on the quay of Boulogne at ten at night, accidentally let fall a portfolio of papers. It was picked up by one of the customhouse officers, and, not being claimed, opened to discover to whom it belonged and should be sent. It was found to con-

tain several letters, particularly one signed "Stiegler," which seemed to indicate a conspiracy formed against the Government. It concluded with the words, "The whole *matériel* has been collected in Paris. I bring the plan which is desired." A man named Stiegler was upon this arrested, and in the crown of his hat was found the drawing of an infernal machine, similar to that which had proved so fatal in the hands of Fieschi when Marshal Mortier was killed. Some papers found on Stiegler, whose real name proved to be Hubert, led to the discovery of several accomplices in the plot; and in May 1838, Hubert, Mademoiselle Laure Gronville, Jacob Steublé, and several others, were brought to trial before the assize court of the department of the Seine at Paris. M. Emmanuel Arago, Favre Ferdinand Bruat, and several other counsel of eminence, conducted the defence; and the trial soon assumed that dramatic air, and produced those impassioned scenes, which at that period characterised all the state trials in France. The accused conducted themselves with a courage bordering on frenzy. It appeared that Mademoiselle Gronville was so ardent a character, that she alternately was engaged in the pious offices of a *sœur de la charité*, and occupied in dressing with flowers and funeral ornaments the tomb of Alibaud. The trial terminated in the conviction of Hubert, who was sentenced to transportation, and of Laure Gronville, Steublé, and several others, who were sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Laure Gronville died during her confinement, in a state of insanity.

20. Louis Napoleon, as already mentioned, had returned from America in August 1837, to see his mother, the Duchess of St Len, who was in a dying state. Although the prudent lenity with which he had been treated by Louis Philippe seemed to impose at least an implied obligation on him to abstain from any attempt to disturb the Government of France, yet the Prince was too strongly impressed with the hope of ultimate success, and the belief of his mission, to abstain

* Some of M. de Talleyrand's sayings which have become most celebrated were not his own, or at least they had been said by others before him. That in particular which has made the round of the world, "The principal object of language is to conceal the thoughts," was probably original in him, for it exactly painted his mind; but it is to be found long before in several English authors. Thus in Young's *Night Thoughts*,—

"Where Nature's end of language is declined,
And men talk only to conceal their mind."

"The principal end of language," says Goldsmith, "according to grammarians, is to express our wants so as to receive a speedy redress. But men who know the world maintain very contrary maxims. They hold, and, I think, with some show of reason, that he who knows best how to conceal his necessities and desires, is the most likely person to find redress; and that the true use of speech is not so much to express our thoughts as to conceal them."—GOLDSMITH'S *Bee*, No. iii., Oct. 20, 1769; Works, iii. 37.

from the attempt to realise them. The Government, deeming him utterly discredited, made no attempt to disturb him in his retreat. After the death of his mother, accordingly, he remained at Arenenburg, which again became the centre of political intrigues. There was drawn up a pamphlet, shortly after published by Lieutenant Laity at Paris, on the Strasbourg attempt, and which was so hostile to the existing Government that the author was brought to trial for it, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 10,000 francs (£400). The Cabinet of the Tuileries, having received authentic intelligence that the young Prince was renewing his attempts to organise conspiracies in France and to shake the fidelity of the army, addressed energetic remonstrances through their minister at Berne to the Swiss Government, calling on them to remove Prince Louis Napoleon from their territories.* This demand was warmly supported by Prince Metternich on the part of Austria. The demand was resisted by the whole strength of the united Republican and Napoleonist parties in Europe, and excited the warmest and most acrimonious debates in the Swiss Assembly, where the loudest declamations were heard against this "unheard-of stretch of tyrannic power." The strength of France and Austria, however, was too much for the Helvetic confederacy: the significant hint that the *débouche* for their cattle by the Ticino and the St Gothard would

be closed if the demand was not complied with, was not lost on the Swiss farmers; and after some hesitation, the Government, in courteous but decided terms, intimated to the young Prince that he must select a new asylum. He made choice of Great Britain, and arrived there early in November 1838. Great events were linked with this change of scene; it led to the Boulogne attempt, the captivity of five years in the chateau of Ham, and was indirectly instrumental in producing the alliance of France and England which has since wrought such wonders.

21. The cordial union of France and Austria on this attempt of Prince Napoleon led to the removal of the most serious apple of discord which still remained between them. It had never been intended by the French Government that the occupation of Ancona should be permanent; it had only been adopted as a temporary measure to counterbalance the influence of Austria in Tuscany and the Roman States. Now, however, this necessity had in a great measure ceased, and the troops employed in Ancona were loudly called for on the opposite coast of the Mediterranean. Italy was tranquil. An amnesty, with very few exceptions, had been wisely proclaimed by the Austrian Government on occasion of the coronation of the Emperor at Milan, as sovereign of the kingdom of Lombardy and Venice; and the attention of the French Government was so evidently absorbed by the affairs of

* "Après les évènements de Strasbourg et l'acte de généreuse clémence dont Louis Napoléon Buonaparte avait été l'objet, le Roi des Français ne devait pas s'attendre à ce qu'un pays tel que la Suisse, et avec lequel les anciennes relations de bon voisinage avaient été naguère si heureusement rétablies, souffrirait que Louis Buonaparte revint sur son territoire, et au mépris de toutes les obligations que lui imposait la reconnaissance, osât y renouveler de criminelles intrigues, et avouer hautement des prétentions insensées, et que leur folie même ne peut plus absurde depuis l'attentat de Strasbourg. Il est de notoriété publique que Arenenburg est le centre d'intrigues que le Gouvernement du Roi a le droit et le devoir de ne pas tolérer. Vainement Louis Napoléon voudrait-il les

nier; les écrits qu'il a fait publier tant en Allemagne qu'en France, celui que la Cour de Pairs a récemment condamné (Laity), auquel il était prouvé qu'il avait lui-même concouru, et qu'il avait distribué, témoignent, assez que son retour d'Amérique n'avait pas seulement pour objet de rendre les derniers devoirs à une mère mourante, mais aussi bien de reprendre des projets et d'afficher des prétentions auxquelles il est démontré aujourd'hui qu'il n'a jamais renoncé. La Suisse est trop loyale et trop fidèle alliée pour permettre que Louis Buonaparte se dise à-la-fois l'un de ses citoyens, et le prétendant au trône de France."—*Duc de Montebello au Gouvernement de la Suisse*, Oct. 8, 1838; *CAPEFIGUE*, ix. 429, 430; *Moniteur*, Oct. 10, 1838.

Northern Africa, that no danger was to be apprehended from their ambitious designs in Italy. The moment, therefore, seemed favourable for the evacuation, and it was brought about without difficulty. The French Cabinet at first insisted on some stipulations in favour of the constitutional regime in the Legations being forced upon the Pope, but this was not persisted in, as derogatory to his dignity as an independent power; and in the end an order from General Bernard, Minister of War at Paris, removed the little garrison of Ancona to Bona, on the opposite coast of Africa. The evacuation was made as quickly as possible, to avoid exciting the revolutionary party in Europe, and show the appearance of the French eagles openly receding before the Imperial standards.

22. While everything was peaceful in the south of Europe, and the evacuation of Ancona removed the last ostensible cause of difference between the French and Austrian Governments, affairs were embroiled in the north, and the senseless obstinacy of the revolutionary party in Belgium had well-nigh lighted up again the flames of a general war in Europe. The affairs of that state had been definitively settled by the capture of Antwerp in 1832, and subsequent treaty by which the limits of the new state were exactly defined. Leopold had signed that treaty, and accepted the twenty-four articles agreed to by the Conference at London. By them the territories of Limbourg and part of Luxembourg had been assigned to the King of Holland, in his right as Prince of Nassau, and member of the German Confederation. Upon various pretexts, however, the cession of these provinces to the Dutch authorities had been evaded, and they still remained in the hands of the Belgians. The disturbances in the Rhenish Provinces of Prussia, in consequence of the dispute between the Government and Archbishop of Cologne, relative to the religious education of the children of mixed marriages, already mentioned, now awakened new hopes in the leaders of the revolution in Flanders; they

aspired to nothing less than uniting the Rhenish Provinces of Prussia with the newly-erected kingdom of Belgium, and forming a state which should be able to maintain its ground against either France on the one side, or Prussia on the other. The strong feeling in favour of the Romish Church which animated both countries, appeared to form a basis of an indissoluble union. "The moment has come," said they, "when the idea of a *Rhenish-Belgian* Confederation will pass from Utopia to realisation. It had been already mooted in 1831 at Brussels. An advocate of Cologne, sufficiently authorised by the great body of the devoted and influential patriots of his country, made proposals to us of a union, which were prudently rejected by the equivocal or irresolute men who at that time were at the head of affairs. The moment has now come when it is possible to renew the ideas with far greater chances of success; to deliver ourselves for ever from all anxiety on the side of Prussia; to enter into a confederacy with a neighbouring people, whose strength will guarantee us from the double danger of a Prussian or a French invasion; to secure peace without commencing war, and to anticipate the necessity of a strife by exercising a propagandism incomparably more powerful than that of bayonets."

23. The prevalence of these ideas, which were strongly supported by the Catholic clergy, ever possessed of so great an influence in Flanders, explains the tenacity with which the revolutionary party there clung for so long a time to the possession of Limbourg and Luxembourg. These provinces were of some value in themselves, but they were of far more as a link to connect them with Cologne, the stepping-stone to the Rheno-Belgian Confederacy. In vain was it represented to these heated republicans that these provinces were part of the Germanic Confederacy, which would not yield them without a struggle, and could bring 300,000 men into the field. In vain did the Government point to the treaty to which the signature of

the King was attached, which provided for the cession of these provinces to the King of the Netherlands. To the first it was replied that principles were more powerful than bayonets, and that the first approach of the German armies would be the signal for a general war of opinion, which would terminate in their entire discomfiture; to the last, that treaties made by despots could not bind the free and enlightened Belgians. To such a length did the ferment proceed, that the Chamber of Deputies at Brussels, on the motion of M. Metz, the deputy for Luxembourg, adopted unanimously a resolution, praying the King not to consent to the separation of the provinces in dispute from Belgium, to which he returned an evasive answer.* Inflamed with these extravagant ideas, they, by their influence in the Chambers, forced warlike measures upon Leopold; and the Belgian enthusiasts, trusting to their tumultuary levies, ill disciplined and scarcely equipped, ventured, with a force which had sunk before the troops of Holland, to throw down the gauntlet to the united strength of Germany, France, and England.

24. The great powers were now, however, united on the Belgian question, and the prospect of divisions in a more momentous interest made them all desirous to be done with its discussion. THE EAST had opened with its complicated interests and boundless prospects; the difficulty of solving its questions was present to every mind; and the cabinets, anticipating a coming struggle in the Levant, were all desirous of leaving no source of disquietude behind them on the banks of the Rhine. All parties were tired of the Belgian question, and desirous, with a view to a more momentous

struggle, to be done with it. "I have seen Lord Palmerston," said General Sébastiani, the French ambassador in London, "and he is desirous, with the English Government, to arrange on any terms the Belgian question, in order to be able to give his whole attention to the affairs of the East." Count Molé, in reply, enjoined the General to endeavour to obtain a modification of the territorial cessions to Holland; and Sébastiani's answer was: "I have again seen Lord Palmerston, but I could not prevail on him to modify the views of the English Cabinet. King Leopold must accept, purely and unconditionally, the twenty-four articles." The German powers, through M. Bresson, the French ambassador at Frankfort, wrote in like manner, that no modification of the treaty as to the frontier was possible, and that Austria, Prussia, and Russia would insist on the full payment of the indemnity stipulated to Holland by Belgium. An official announcement to the same effect was made to the Belgian Government, in the strongest terms, by Russia and Prussia.*

25. Notwithstanding these decided

* "Sire! En 1831 des circonstances malheureuses menaçaient la Belgique, du douloureux sacrifice de nos frères du Limbourg et du Luxembourg; peut-il se consommer aujourd'hui que sept années d'existence commune les ont attachés à la Belgique? La Chambre, Sire, ose espérer que dans les négociations à ouvrir pour le traité avec la Hollande, l'intégrité du territoire Belge sera maintenue."—*Moniteur*, May 17, 1838.

* "Les soussignés, plénipotentiaires d'Autriche et de Prusse, conjointement avec ceux de la France, la Grande Bretagne, et la Russie, ont remarqué avec regret, dans les actes publics qui viennent de paraître à l'ouverture des Chambres Législatives à Bruxelles, un langage annonçant hautement le dessein de se refuser à la restitution des territoires qui d'après le second des 24 articles arrêtés par la Conférence de Londres, le 18 Octobre 1831, doivent continuer à appartenir au grand-duché de Luxembourg, ainsi que de la partie de la province de qui, conformément au quatrième des dits articles, doit appartenir à sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas, soit en sa qualité de Grand-Duc de Luxembourg, soit pour être réunie à la Hollande,—actes contre lesquels le Gouvernement Belge a omis faire valoir les engagements contractés par un traité solennel, et les droits d'un tiers qui s'y oppose! Egalement, les soussignés peuvent d'autant moins s'empêcher de voir dans ces manifestations une atteinte portée aux droits de la Confédération Germanique, qu'elles émanent d'une partie qui ne se trouvant que dans une possession provisoirement tolérée des territoires mentionnés, prétend de son propre chef convertir le fait de cette possession en un droit permanent, ce qui constitue dans le présent cas, un envahissement implicite. SEM. BULOW."—CAPEFIGUE, ix. 417, 418, note.

remonstrances from the great powers which surrounded them on all sides, the Belgian Chambers still held out. Their reliance was on the numerous malcontents in the very countries from whom these remonstrances emanated. They were in close communication with the secret societies and republicans of France, who, although quiescent at the moment, were unceasingly carrying on their dark machinations: they relied on the profound feeling of discontent occasioned by the religious dispute in the provinces of Rhenish Prussia, and fomented in Ireland by the efforts of O'Connell and the Catholic Association; and they trusted to the co-operation of the English Radicals, whose ranks had been immensely swelled by the general suffering which had long prevailed from the contraction of the currency, and the numerous strikes among workmen in consequence of the fall of wages resulting from it, which amounted to little short of open insurrection. In a word, the Belgian republicans counted on a general revolt and war of opinion in all the states with which they were surrounded; and not without reason, for now, for the first time in history, by a strange combination of circumstances, the Papacy and Democracy were drawing in the same direction. In spite of all the warnings they had received, the Belgian Chambers abated nothing of their haughty spirit, and their military preparations continued without intermission. The allied powers in consequence also took up arms. A French army 25,000 strong was collected at Compiègne, and 30,000 Prussians were concentrated on the Meuse. Still the Belgian Chambers stood firm. "France," said M. Simmons, the deputy of Limbourg in the Chamber, "can never see with indifference a people sacrificed at its gates, which has lent it the hand. It is time to enter into more energetic relations with France and England, and, if their Governments abandon us, to appeal to the people."

26. Everything breathed hostility, and possibly, notwithstanding the apparent hopelessness of the contest, a

European war of opinion might have arisen at this period, instead of ten years later, when it was averted by an event which, although the natural consequence of the monetary crisis which was now producing such distress in England, had not been anticipated by the party which was calculating on its effects, and utterly disabled them from carrying their designs into execution. This was the failure of the Bank of Brussels, which took place when the political crisis was at its height, and at once deprived the malcontents of their resources and means of action. For once insolvency produced effects the very reverse of those with which it generally is attended; it became the herald of peace, not the harbinger of war. In a manufacturing and industrious community, where credit was the soul of enterprise, and an adequate currency was the life-blood of the nation, the effects of this failure were incalculable. They were much enhanced by the failure of the Savings Bank of Brussels, which immediately after ensued, and the panic produced by which was only appeased by the Government instantly and wisely coming forward and guaranteeing the sums in the Savings Bank, which amounted to 1,500,000 florins (£150,000). This seasonable relief, however, only assuaged the terrors of the working classes; it did not restore the credit of their employers, which, participating in the monetary crisis, then at its height in England, was violently shaken. In these circumstances, to maintain the contest further on the part of Belgium was impossible. Silence succeeded to the vehement declarations of the tribune, and the Belgian standards were quickly replaced by the Dutch in the disputed territory. On December 11, a fresh protocol was signed at London by the representatives of the four great Powers, by which it was stipulated that Holland should renounce all claim to the arrears of the 8,400,000 florins (£840,000) agreed to be paid to her by Belgium, from the day on which the adhesion was given, and the payments in future to be reduced to 5,000,000 (£500,000). The

territorial limits were left as before. This protocol was immediately accepted by the King of Holland, and on 18th February 1839 it was presented for acceptance by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Belgian Chamber. A violent opposition was made,* but at length the necessity of the case prevailed; the merchants of Ghent, Liege, and Antwerp represented that they would be ruined by war; the Finance Minister admitted the public funds could not support it; and on the 18th March the adhesion to the treaty was carried by a majority of 58 to 42. It was immediately afterwards signed by the Belgian Minister, and the Belgian question, at one time so threatening to Europe, finally set at rest.

27. The foreign transactions of France in this year were signalised by an event honourable to the French arms, as well as creditable to their vigour, and which went far to raise the prestige of the kingdom in the eyes of foreign nations. This was the successful bombardment of ST JUAN D'ULLOA in Mexico, by a fleet under the command of Admiral Baudin, under whose orders the King's youngest son, the Prince de Joinville, made his first essay in arms. The French Government had become involved in a serious dispute with the Mexican, in consequence of some piratical acts committed on French subjects by the inhabitants, who, ever since their revolt against Spain, had been in a state of anarchy, and a refusal on the part of their Government to admit the French to the privileges enjoyed by other nations. Negotiations having failed to produce any effect on those hot-headed republicans, who were as ignorant of the strength of their enemies as they were incapable of developing any of their own, a squadron, consisting of three line-of-battle ships, *La Néréide*, *La Gloire*, and

L'Iphigénie, the Creole frigate, and two bomb-vessels, approached Vera Cruz; and not having succeeded in bringing the Mexican authorities to terms, Admiral Baudin prepared for an immediate attack on the fort of St Juan d'Ulloa, which commanded the entry to that town. The vessels approached the fort at 2 p.m., and opened their fire. Such was the vigour of the cannonade that at six the white flag was hoisted, the walls being a mere heap of ruins. During the four hours that the fire lasted, the five ships engaged threw 8000 round shot and 520 bombs into the place: the *Iphigénie* alone, from its broadside of 50 guns, discharged 3400 balls, or, on an average, *fourteen a-minute*, during the whole time! Not content with this success, Admiral Baudin landed a strong body of marines, under the command of the Prince de Joinville, which, advancing towards Vera Cruz, soon compelled the submission of that city. It was stipulated that all the Mexican troops, excepting a thousand, should leave the city, and the French evacuate St Juan d'Ulloa, and the privileges contended for by the French for their subjects were conceded.

28. The experience of war has not yet determined whether or not the improvements of fortification, which have been so signal of late years, especially among the Russians, have enabled works at land successfully to resist the most formidable attacks from ships. Many considerations may be urged, and many examples cited, on both sides. On the one hand, it is certain that a powerful three-decker of one hundred or one hundred and twenty guns can concentrate a weight of metal, in her broadsides, superior, at short range of one hundred or one hundred and twenty yards, to any battery, even of three tiers, which can be brought to bear upon it, and that the splintering of stone from ordinary embrasures is more dangerous to life than from the wooden sides of a ship. Add to this, that, by the application of steam to ships of war, a concentrated fire from several vessels can be brought to bear on a single bastion;

* "Notre cause est celle des peuples; ils se lèveront en masse pour nous soutenir. Le premier coup de canon tiré en Europe sera le signal d'une conflagration générale. L'exemple sera dangereux pour l'absolutisme, qui redouterait le bien-être d'une nation vivant sous un régime de liberté. Dans l'intérêt de mon pays, et pour le repos de ma conscience, je vote contre le projet."—*Paroles de M. le Comte de REYNIE; Ann. Hist.*, xxii. 257.

and the flank fire of other bastions can be taken off till the requisite impression is produced on the main point of attack, by the fire of the ships specially charged with that part of the undertaking. On the other hand, a three-decker, which will burn or sink, seems hardly a match for a stone bastion which will neither burn nor sink; and when a defensive armour of iron plates is introduced, then there is a limit to the weight of the iron defences of a ship or the size of the guns it can carry, in the necessity of floating; but there is no corresponding limit either to the weight of the defences of a land-battery or the size of the guns planted on it.

29. The examples of this species of attack are almost equally divided. Two instances occurred during the war, three after it, but none of them can be considered as altogether decisive. Nelson's attack on Copenhagen was an assault on a strong naval line of defence, supported by heavy batteries; but the principal contest was with the ships, and the Trekroner battery was unsubdued at the close. The bombardment of Flushing in 1809 was a joint land and sea operation, which was headed on the latter side by Sir R. Strachan with seven sail of the line; and it was to the effect of the fire of the ships, which was kept up, as the French governor expressed it, "with uncommon vigour," for four hours, that the necessity of capitulating was by him mainly ascribed. The attack on Algiers, in 1816, by Lord Exmouth, was entirely successful, though with very heavy loss; but the besieged there were Turks, not Europeans; and their allowing the English to come in and take up their stations within pistol-shot of the batteries without firing a shot, proved that, however individually brave, the Mussulmans at that period were little skilled in the art of defence. The capture of Acre by Admiral Stopford and Sir Charles Napier was a lucky accident, owing to the casual blowing-up of the Egyptian magazine, and the Turks having levelled their pieces of artillery wrong, so as to go over the

attacking ships; and that of St Juan d'Ulloa by Admiral Baudin can hardly be considered as an instance in point, as the defenders of the fortress were Mexican revolutionists, not European soldiers.

30. During the war in after times with Russia, the instances of this species of warfare present an equally indecisive result. The capture of Bomersund cannot be ascribed to the navy, for it was effected, not by the ships, but by six guns on shore, planted within 600 yards. The successful bombardment of Sweaborg was effected, with scarcely any loss, by the gunboats and mortar-vessels having artillery on board, which threw shells at 4500 yards into the town when almost beyond the reach of the Russian guns; and as it was, though great damage was done in the inside of the town, not a defence was injured, and hardly a piece of artillery dismounted in the place. The failure of the allied fleets with an immense force before Sebastopol on the 17th October 1854, despite the signal gallantry of Sir Edmund Lyons and the ships under his command, seems a weighty precedent against the possibility of successful naval attack; but it cannot be considered decisive, because the shallowness of the water before Fort Constantine compels the vessels to anchor at nine hundred yards' distance, the most advantageous range for land-batteries, and the least for naval fire, which is most powerful at short distances. The fort of Kinburn was crushed in an hour by the concentric fire of the allied floating-batteries and mortar-vessels; but the attacking force was there overwhelming, and the Russians had only sixty-six guns on the bastions of the besieged fortress. In America, the complete failure of the attack on Charleston by the iron-clad monitors of the Federals in 1863 would seem decisive in favour of land defences, were it not that there is reason to believe that the armour of the assailing ships was of inferior quality.

31. Where considerations and precedents are so equally divided, it seems

difficult for any one, especially one not professionally versed in such matters, to form a decided opinion on the subject. Possibly experience may ere long resolve it one way or other. So far as conclusions can be safely drawn from what has already occurred, it would rather appear that powerful ships of the line, if they can approach *near enough*, are more than a match for the ordinary fortresses hitherto constructed in war; but that, if either they cannot get near, or the fortress is defended in the new fashion—that is, with the guns entirely covered, save at the mouth, by iron plates of great thickness, and with pieces of the same calibre lying under cover beside each gun, to replace such as may be disabled, and an ample supply of men to fill up the gaps of the killed and wounded—the chances are very great that the vessels will be sunk or burnt before the batteries are silenced. With regard to bombardment from a *distance* with mortars and bombs, the case seems to be different. If a number of such vessels, propelled by steam, and firing as they move, commence a bombardment at four thousand yards, the mark presented to the land-batteries is so small compared with that to which the fire of the ships is directed, that fifty shots will take effect on the one side for one on the other. This mode of attack, however, leaves the real defences uninjured, however fatal to the magazines or buildings within rang; and even that danger may be avoided, in a military point of view, by having the magazines under bomb-proof cover, or so far off as to be beyond the range of the ships' guns.

32. The session of 1838 was closed without any further incident, for the state of parties was such as to render any measure of importance impossible. A coalition had been formed between the Gauche and the Centre Gauche, which rendered the majority for Government on any material question doubtful, if not hopeless. When the Chambers met, the coalition presented a very formidable aspect, and the Government received convincing

proof of its strength from the divisions on the President's chair. M. Dupin, the Opposition candidate, had 183 votes; M. Passy, the Ministerialist, only 178. A long and animated debate ensued on the Address, and it was carried by a majority only of 13, the numbers being 221 to 208. This majority, however, was so small that it revealed the approaching downfall of the Government, and they resolved accordingly to have recourse to the last resource of a dissolution, which was done by ordonnance of 31st January. But their condition, so far from being improved, was rendered much worse by this step, for the calculations made on the result of the elections showed a majority of 50 for the Opposition.* In these circumstances the Ministry felt it was all over, and they accordingly threw up their situations, and their resignations were finally accepted.

33. A long and painful interregnum ensued upon this change, which was only at last terminated by another of those insurrections which had so often reunited parties and strengthened the hands of Government. The avowed object of the coalition which had now obtained the command of the Chamber, was to force their own policy upon the King, to terminate the individual direction which the capacity of Louis Philippe had for years enabled him to assume, and to realise their favourite maxim, “*Le Roi règne, et ne gouverne pas.*” Unwilling as the King was to adopt such a system, he had no alternative, for by no other Ministry than that which embraced it could a majority in the Chamber be obtained, and he accordingly, by the advice of Marshal Soult, whom he consulted on the

* STATISTIQUE DE LA NOUVELLE CHAMBRE.

<i>Opposition.</i>			
Députés restés,		192	
„ nouveaux,		62	
		—	254
<i>Ministeriels.</i>			
Députés restés,		183	
„ nouveaux,		22	
		—	205
Majorité de l'Opposition, . .			49
—CAPEFIGUE, x. 25, 26.			

occasion, sent for M. Thiers. This aspiring leader of the Centre Gauche, however, was too ambitious, and felt too strongly the advantage of his present position, not to turn it to the best advantage, and the negotiation with M. Guizot and the Doctrinaires broke off from his declining to give that very eminent man the position to which he was entitled in the Ministry.* He submitted to the King a series of propositions as the conditions of his adhesion, which went to change in a fundamental manner the existing system of government. The first was that the King was henceforward to abstain from any direct or personal interference with his Government, and to act only through his responsible Ministers; the second, that a certain qualified interposition in favour of the Liberal Government in Spain was to be permitted; the third, that M. Odillon Barrot was to be selected as President of the Chamber, and M. Dupont de l'Eure obtain a seat in the Court of Cassation. The King, yielding to necessity, was inclined to have accepted these conditions;† but, on the other hand, this concession disconcerted Marshal Sout and M. Guizot, who were by no means inclined to go such lengths in favour of the Gauche, and still clung to the idea that, by means of a skilful selection of Ministers, it might be possible to form a combination of the Centre and Centre Droit, which should command a majority in the Chamber. The result was that the negotiation with M. Thiers and the Centre Gauche went off; and on the recommendation of M. Guizot and the chiefs of the Doc-

trinaires, who insisted that a provisional cabinet should be nominated to try the temper of the Chamber on this point, which could not be done without a cabinet, a Ministry avowedly temporary only was appointed.*

34. The position of the interim cabinet, when the Chamber met again, was not such as to inspire any well-founded hope that a government formed of the Centre and Droit could command a majority. On the 16th April a division took place on the question of the presidency of the Chamber, and on that occasion the Conservatives voted for M. Passy, in the hope of detaching him from the Gauche; and the manœuvre proved so far successful that he obtained 225 votes, while M. Odillon Barrot had only 193. In consequence of this division, a fresh attempt was made to form a ministry, from which both M. Guizot and M. Odillon Barrot were excluded: M. Thiers was Minister for Foreign Affairs. This arrangement was very near succeeding, and on 29th April the Carrousel was filled with a crowd expecting to see the new Ministers, for whom carriages were in waiting, make their entry to the Tuileries. But the hours passed, and no one appeared; and at length M. Dupin announced that the negotiation had broken off, from the parties, through mutual jealousy, being unable to agree on a president of the council, without whom neither would have a majority in the Cabinet. Upon this everything was thrown adrift, and the public anxiety redoubled. "At the time of the contest of Pitt and Fox," said the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, "England was some weeks without a ministry, and the crisis would have continued longer, had not George III., worn out with their difficulties, declared he would go to Charing Cross, and take for ministers the first seven gentlemen he met." Possibly Louis Phil-

* "Si M. Odillon Barrot," dit M. Guizot, "veut le Ministère de l'Intérieur, je le lui cède, à condition qu'on me donnera la Présidence de la Chambre. Est-ce trop exiger? La coalition a trois chefs, et j'en suis un: il y a trois grandes positions à occuper, et je ne demande que celle dont MM. Barrot et Thiers ne voudront pas; rien de plus légitime."—LOUIS BLANC, v. 396.

† "Mon cher M. Thiers,—J'ai été appelé ce matin par le Roi, au moment où vous m'adressiez votre lettre: le Roi accepte toutes les conditions du programme, qui lui a été remis. J'ai même été étonné, d'après ce qui s'était passé hier, de trouver sa Majesté dans une disposition semblable."—*Maréchal SOUT* à M. THIERS, March 20, 1839; CAPEFIGUE, x. 30.

* Ministère du 31 Mars 1839:—M. Gasparin, Pair de France, Ministre de l'Intérieur; Girod de l'Ain, Pair de France, Justice et Cultes; Le Duc de Montebello, Affaires Étrangères; General Dupans Cubières, Guerre; M. Parant, Instruction Publique; M. Gautier, Finance.—*Moniteur*, 31st March 1839.

ippe might have been reduced to a similar necessity, had not the crisis been terminated by an unexpected event, which diffused general consternation, and for a time stifled the jealousy of parties by the dread of another revolution.

35. Unknown to the police, unsuspected by the Government, a society had long existed in Paris, which was of the more dangerous character that its proceedings were conducted with secrecy and caution. It began in 1834, after the suppression of the insurrections of that year. It was entirely military in its organisation and plans, and proposed to overturn the Government, not by the press or influencing opinion, but by force, kept carefully concealed till the moment for action had arrived. The better to conceal its designs, it was styled *La Société des Familles*, and professed to be entirely occupied with projects of mutual succour and assistance. Like all the other secret societies of that period, it obeyed the orders of an unseen and unknown authority. The unit of the association consisted of six members, who received the name of a "family;" six families, which obeyed one chief, formed a "section;" and three sections formed a "quarter." The chiefs of the "quarters" took their instructions from a "revolutionary agent," who was the instrument for conveying the orders of an unknown committee which directed the whole. The operations of this secret society had been so vigorous, that in the beginning of 1836 it contained twelve hundred men, for the most part of the most intrepid and dangerous character. It had collected several dépôts of ammunition, and formed dangerous ramifications in two of the regiments stationed in Paris.*

* The oath taken by the entrants into this society was in these terms:—"Au nom de la République, je jure haine éternelle à tous les rois, à tous les aristocrates, à tous les oppresseurs de l'humanité. Je jure dévouement absolu au peuple, fraternité à tous les hommes, hors les aristocrates. Je jure de punir les traîtres. Je promets de donner ma vie, de monter sur l'échafaud, si ce sacrifice est nécessaire pour amener le règne de la souveraineté du peuple et de l'égalité. Que je sois puni de la mort des traîtres, que je sois percé

36. In spite, however, of all the precautions taken to insure entire secrecy, the police got a clue to this association; several of its chiefs were arrested, and an attempt at open insurrection failed. The society in consequence was dissolved, and its members reunited in a new one under the name of the *Société des Saisons*, which professed to be entirely occupied with fruits and flowers, and the varied productions of the earth in all seasons. In that society, which, like the former, was entirely of a military character, it was determined, on the motion of M. Martin Bernard, to have frequent reviews of the forces of the society, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, always in the dark, and with the utmost secrecy, without any one de ce poignard, si je viole mon serment."—*Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes*, ii. 56; and CAPEFIGUE, x. 48, note.

Those about to be initiated were subjected to the following interrogatories:—"Que penses-tu du Gouvernement actuel?—Qu'il est traître au peuple de ce pays. Dans quel intérêt fonctionne-t-il?—Dans celui d'un petit nombre de privilégiés. Quels sont aujourd'hui les aristocrates?—Ce sont les hommes d'argent, les banquiers, les fournisseurs, monopoleurs, gros propriétaires, agioteurs; en un mot, les exploités qui s'engraissent aux dépens du peuple. Quel est le droit en vertu duquel ils gouvernent?—La force. Quel est le vice dominant dans la société?—L'égoïsme. Qu'est ce qui tient lieu d'honneur, de probité, de vertu?—L'argent. Quel est l'homme qui est estimé dans le monde?—Le riche et le puissant. Quel est celui qui est méprisé, persécuté, et mis hors la loi?—Le pauvre et le faible. Que penses-tu du droit d'octroi, des impôts sur le sel, et sur les boissons?—Ce sont des impôts odieux, destinés à pressurer le peuple en épargnant les riches. Qu'est ce que le peuple?—Le peuple est l'ensemble des citoyens qui travaillent. Comment est-il traité par les lois?—Il est traité en esclave. Quel est le sort du prolétaire sous le gouvernement des riches?—Le sort du prolétaire est semblable à celui du serf et du nègre; sa vie n'est qu'un long tissu de misères, de fatigues, et de souffrances. Quel est le principe qui doit servir de base à une société régulière?—L'égalité. Faut-il faire une révolution politique, ou une révolution sociale?—Il faut faire une révolution sociale. Nos tyrans ont proscrit la presse et l'association, c'est pourquoi notre devoir est de nous associer avec plus de persévérance que jamais, et de suppléer à la presse par la propagande de vive voix, car les armes que les oppresseurs nous interdisent sont celles qu'ils redoutent le plus, et que nous devons surtout employer."—CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, x. 53, 54.

knowing, till an hour before the orders were given, where they were to meet. It was resolved also that there should be no dépôts of ammunition, which only excited suspicion, and were liable to detection; but that when the moment for action had arrived, it should be distributed in small quantities by trusty agents to the members in their march to their different rallying-points. Manufactories of cartridges, however, were going on, and one was discovered in 1838 by the police; but so skilfully was the design managed, that they got no clue to the chiefs or centre of the conspiracy. In April 1839 the society had one thousand armed men on its rolls, and twelve thousand cartridges distributed in small magazines. It was directed by Armand Barbès, an enthusiastic chivalrous young man; Martin Bernard, a resolute, determined soldier; Blanqui, an ardent conspirator, and several other persons of lesser note but similar character. Such was the spirit with which they were animated, that the cry was unanimous among the conspirators for immediate action, and not a doubt remained among them that decisive success would attend their first movement.

37. The insurrection began on the 12th of May, the conspirators calculating, not without reason, that during the interregnum of the Ministry the resistance of Government could not be so formidable as might otherwise be apprehended. The insurrectionists assembled first in the Rue l'Abbé, where a gunsmith's shop was broken open, and the corps were speedily armed. Followed by a band of devoted adherents, Barbès moved amidst cries of "Vive la République!" and the chorus of the "Marseillaise," to the Palais de Justice, where he summoned the officer in command to surrender, and upon his refusal he was shot dead. The post was then carried; but the alarm being now given, the prefecture of police was put in a posture of defence, and troops began to arrive from all sides. By a sudden rush, however, the conspirators succeeded in making themselves masters of the Hôtel de Ville, where Barbès with a loud and

firm voice read his proclamation. At the same time a bold attack made them masters of the Place St Jean, and the united corps proceeded to the Mairie of the 7th Arrondissement. But the troops and National Guard now crowded in on all sides; the alarm was spread through the whole town, the *générale* beat in all the streets; the conspirators, feeling their enterprise hopeless, gradually slipped off, and at length they were reduced to three hundred, who retreated into the narrow streets in the neighbourhood of the Rue Transnonain and the Cloître de St Méri. In the midst of their blood-stained pavements the "Marseillaise" was heard chanted in mournful strains, and the utmost efforts were made to strengthen the position. Three barriers were erected in the Rue Trinitat; but the conspirators in raising them only dug their own graves. They were speedily surrounded on all sides, and forced to surrender. The chiefs were nearly all wounded; Barbès was taken with his hands black with powder, and his figure covered with blood from a wound in his head.

38. The immediate effect of this audacious enterprise was to terminate the ministerial crisis. Matters had become too serious to admit of any further delay; the jealousies of chiefs, the ambition of parties, yielded to the stern reality of danger. The *bourgeoisie*, terrified for their property, and disquieted by these repeated and alarming breaches of the public peace, rallied, as they had so often done before, around the throne. The King felt the necessity of a firm and intrepid ministry, with an undaunted soldier at its head, and he was not long of forming it. On the very day on which the insurrection broke out, and before the firing had ceased in the streets, an ordonnance was signed, appointing Marshal Soult President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Duchatel Minister of the Interior, and M. Villemain Minister of Public Instruction. Neither M. Guizot nor M. Thiers were in the Ministry, which, doubtless, diminished its strength; but the jealousy of these two rival

chiefs had become such that the one could not be admitted without alienating the adherents of the other, and both, aspiring to the lead, would accept no inferior situation. The Cabinet was formed by a combination of the Centre with the Doctrinaires and a small fraction of the Centre Gauche.*

39. M. VILLEMMAIN, who was now for the first time brought forward in the important situation of Minister of Public Instruction, was a man who had risen to eminence chiefly from the brilliant works with which he had adorned the literature of France. A peer of France, and attached both by family and connections to aristocratic society, he yet depended mainly on popular support, and was passionately desirous of retaining the suffrages of the reading multitude. He had all the sensitiveness to criticism and love of praise which is so often the accompaniment of genius, especially of a poetic or romantic kind. While this turn of mind, however, rendered his literary works charming, and eminently qualified him to produce the beautiful sketches of French literature during the eighteenth century, and of contemporary characters, which have given such celebrity to his name, it in a great degree impeded his ability as a minister, by producing a nervous apprehension of the press, and a feminine desire of approbation. These qualities were inconsistent with the insensibility to everything but the calls of duty, which forms the noblest feature of the masculine character, and is more than anything called for in a minister of state in troubled times. He had acquired great popularity at the tribune of the Peers by his eloquent declamations in favour of the independence of Poland, and against the laws of September 1834; but on that very account he was the less qualified to have a

share in holding the helm in troubled times. Like Mr Canning, he looked more to the immediate applause of the newspapers than to the ultimate consequences of his actions, or the lasting opinion of thinking men,—a weakness common to him with most others who live on the breath of public applause, and one which so often disqualifies literary men from taking a place proportioned to their genius in the government of mankind.

40. The formation of this Cabinet, in a manner, cast the parties in the Chamber in a new mould, and drew the line more distinctly and irrevocably between them. M. Thiers became the avowed leader of the Gauche and Centre Gauche, and he aspired to nothing less than the premiership, with a Cabinet of his own formation, including M. Odillon Barrot. It was foreseen that the age and infirmities of Marshal Soult would disable him from long holding his present arduous post, and at any rate he was more a man of action than words, and better fitted to subdue an insurrection in the streets by grape-shot than win a majority in the Chamber by persuasive language. M. Guizot was the man to whom the Conservatives of all shades in the Legislature now looked to form the future head of an anti-revolutionary cabinet, and combat democracy in the Chamber, and with its own weapons of declamation and eloquence. The press followed this now decided line of demarcation of parties. The *National* declaimed violently against the ministerialists, and accused M. Odillon Barrot of having deserted his principles, and become lukewarm in the cause of democracy, since he had the prospect of a place in the Cabinet. The *Siccle* and *Courrier Français* in vain defended his cause. But meanwhile the Liberals, who made this violent assault on M. Odillon Barrot, were themselves attacked in rear by a set of journals (the *Moniteur Républicain* and *L'Homme Libre*) still more violent, which spoke the voice of the "Société des Familles" and the "Société des Saisons," and openly aspired to overturn the Government and

* "Président du Conseil et Secrétaire des Affaires Etrangères, Maréchal Soult; Garde des Sceaux et Ministre de la Justice et des Cultes, M. Teste; Guerre, General Schneider; Marine et Colonies, l'Amiral Duperré; Intérieur, M. Duchatel; Commerce, M. Cunin-Gridaine; Travaux Publics, M. Dufaure; Instruction Publique, M. Villemain; Finances, M. Passy."—*Moniteur*, May 13, 1839.

establish a republic. The *Constitutionnel* and *Temps* feebly defended MM. Dufaure, Passy, and Teste, and the Liberal part of the Cabinet,—while the *Journal des Débats* and *La Presse* openly supported the new Cabinet, as they had done that of Count Molé, with undiminished vigour and no small share of ability.

41. The Chamber of Peers was, by an ordonnance of 14th May 1839, charged with the trial of the parties accused of accession to the late revolt, and the proceedings commenced on the 27th June. Armand Barbès, Martin Bernard, Bonnet, and fifteen others, were first brought to trial, and the proceedings soon ran into that violent and impassioned duel between the opposite parties, which all the state trials of France at that period became. Barbès, with generous enthusiasm, took upon himself the whole blame of the proceeding, and strove only to exculpate his companions in arms. "I declare," said he, "that all the citizens, at three o'clock on the 12th May, were ignorant of our project of attacking the Government. They had been assembled by the committee without being informed of the reason of their convocation. They believed they were coming to a review, and it was only on arriving at the ground, whither we had previously sent ammunition and arms, that I put weapons into their hands, and gave them the signal to march. These citizens then were hurried away, forced by moral influence to follow that order. According to me, they are innocent. For my own part, I desire to take no benefit by this declaration. I declare that I was one of the chiefs of the association—I admit that I gave the order for the combat, and prepared the means of its execution—I admit that I took part in it, and fought against the troops. But while I assume on myself the entire responsibility of the general acts, I deny that I am responsible for acts of others apart from me, which I neither counselled nor approved. Among these is the death of Lieut. Drouineau, of which I am specially accused. That is an act of which I

am incapable. I did not slay M. Drouineau; had I done so, it should have been in open combat, as in the days of chivalry. I am no assassin—that is all I have to say. When an Indian falls into the hands of his enemy, he does not think of defending himself—he gives up his head to be scalped." "The accused," said M. Pasquier, "had reason on his side when he compared himself to a savage." "The pitiless savage," resumed Barbès, "is not he who gives his head to be scalped, but he who scalps."

42. In these circumstances it was evident that the only question on which there could be any dispute was the accession of the accused to the death of Lieut. Drouineau—as all the rest was admitted, and could not be denied, for they were taken with arms in their hands fighting against the Government. It was very material, however, to obtain a conviction of this offence, because murder was a crime which, unlike treason, it was understood the King could not pardon. After a long trial Barbès was found guilty of insurrection against the State, and "voluntary homicide committed with premeditation." He was in consequence sentenced to death, and the other accused to long periods of confinement, from five to twenty years. The utmost efforts were immediately made by the family of Barbès, which was in the highest degree respectable, to obtain a commutation of his punishment; but there was much difficulty felt on this point, as, however the Sovereign might pardon attempts on his own life, it was very doubtful how far he was entitled to do the same with the murderer of another. The Council of State were divided on the subject, and the majority were inclined to let the law take its course. At length, however, by the intercession of the Duke of Orleans, at whose feet the sister of Barbès had thrown herself, the King was so far strengthened as to feel authorised to give way to those humane feelings which formed so bright a feature in his character. The sentence of death against Barbès was commuted first into forced labour

for life, and then into imprisonment for the same term in the prison of Mont St Michel, on the coast of Normandy. Blanqui, another leader of the conspiracy, with eighteen others, were afterwards tried before the same court, and sentenced, the first to death, the rest to long periods of imprisonment. The capital sentence against the first was in like manner commuted, by the clemency of the King, into confinement for life in the state prison of Mont St Michel. There in the solitary chambers which the austerity of the monks in the dark ages had formed for the voluntary infliction of expiatory discipline, did these gallant but deluded men mourn incessantly over their fallen prospects, amidst a silence broken only by the ceaseless surge of the waves against the iron-bound rock on which their prison was built.

43. This conspiracy threw a light on the attempt of Louis Napoleon at Strasbourg in the close of the preceding year, and the obstinacy with which the Belgian revolutionists had braved the hostility of combined Europe, rather than relax their hold of a territory containing only three hundred thousand inhabitants in Limbourg and Luxembourg. Both looked for an outbreak at Paris, which, although directed to different objects from either, would have operated as a powerful auxiliary to both. Yet were the designs of Barbès, Blanqui, and the conspirators of the 12th May, in reality more at variance with those of the young scion of the Imperial house than even with those of the Government on the throne. Their ideas were an amplification of those of Robespierre and St Just, but without the belief of the latter in the necessity of blood to cement the social edifice. They had embraced the views of Babœuff in the conspiracy in 1797, which so severely tried the Directory; but they were influenced by more humane and philanthropic principles. Their code was founded on a misapplication of that of Christian morality. They applied to the social concerns of men, and the foundations of civil society, the words which our Saviour

delivered as a guide for private life, and to combat the innate and universal selfishness of human nature. "The last shall be first, and the first last," they thought was intended to designate, not the next world, but this; and the great object of legislation, in their opinion, in consequence, should be to bring society towards that desirable consummation. They openly inculcated, as a corollary from these principles, the abolition of all gradations of rank, of all capital, and of the invidious distinction of property. All should be equal; and to insure the continuance of that equality, all possessions should be equally divided, and never permitted to accumulate in the hands of one more than in another. The first precept of the Gospel, they observed, was "to sell all your goods and give to the poor." These doctrines are very remarkable, and they heralded another revolution, very different in principle from that of 1789, but perhaps still more formidable in practice. The world was far from the infidel and irreligious spirit which ushered in the first great convulsion: "LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ," was still the principle; but men now founded that principle, not on the denial, but on the misinterpretation, of the doctrines of the Gospel.

44. While the enthusiastic democrats of Paris were thus laying the foundation of the revolution which, nine years after, overturned the throne, the partisans of Napoleon were not less active in strengthening their own party, and preparing the way for that still more marvellous change, which enabled him to reap the whole fruits of the coming convulsion. In their anxiety to propitiate the Liberal majority in the Chambers, the Government unconsciously favoured the growth of the feelings which were favourable to the imperial dynasty. A pension of 100,000 francs (£4000) a-year was settled, with the cordial approbation of the Chamber, on the widow of Murat; monuments were everywhere erected or designed to perpetuate the

memory of the glories of the Empire. The press cautiously, but assiduously, inculcated the same ideas; and the very remarkable work of Prince Louis, *Des Idées Napoléoniennes*, in a skilful manner favoured them, by representing the incessant wars, which were the chief reproach against his memory, as a temporary and painful effort to secure that general and lasting peace which was the grand object of his desire. "Napoleon," it was said, "was always the friend of peace; he was the protector of commerce and industry: it was for this he waged war with England, the eternal oppressor of both: he was the civiliser of the world; the most pacific and liberal sovereign that ever reigned. It was for the interests of real freedom that he suppressed the Tribunate, its worst enemy, and chased the deputies who had betrayed it through the windows of St Cloud. If he went to Moscow, it was that he might conquer the peace of the world in the Kremlin; if he sacrificed millions of soldiers, it was because that peace could be purchased at no lower price." These ideas were not only sedulously inculcated in *Le Capitole*, a journal specially devoted to the Napoleon interests, but in several other publications, both in France and foreign states. The report was carefully circulated in secret, and therefore the more readily believed, that Prince Napoleon was in reality supported by Austria, Russia, and Great Britain. And in a pamphlet published at this time, which made a considerable sensation, it was openly asserted that the existing Government was incapable of providing for the security, prosperity, and glory of France, and that the Napoleon dynasty alone was equal to its requirements. Prince Louis at this period addressed a letter to the editor of the *Times*, in which he solemnly disclaimed any connection with the enterprise of Barbès, and declared that, if his friends engaged in any attempt in his favour, he would be found at its head.

45. While future events, however, were in this manner "casting their

shadows before," the Government of Louis Philippe was in the mean time greatly strengthened by the insurrection in Paris and defeat of Barbès. The question of the secret-service money came on for discussion on May 28th, a fortnight after the suppression of the revolt, and the sum of 1,200,000 francs (£48,000), proposed by Government, was carried by a majority of 262 to 71. It was, however, a reduction of 500,000 francs (£20,000) on the vote of the preceding year. This majority, on what was always the trying question for Ministers, confirmed them in office for the remainder of the session, and they were careful not to shake the advantage they had gained, by bringing forward any measure on which their majority might be less decided. Railway lines, then so much the object of interest, soon succeeded, and absorbed the principal attention of the Chamber, before which no other question of general domestic interest was brought during the remainder of the session.

46. Foreign affairs, however, were now beginning to occupy a large share of public attention, and debates, fraught with the dearest interests of humanity, and prophetic of future changes, took place on that all-important subject. Turkey had at that period been reduced to the last straits, in consequence of the victories of Ibrahim Pasha in Asia Minor, and the refusal of England and France to render her any aid, when applied to for succour, when the victorious Egyptian legions threatened Constantinople in 1832. The result had been, that Russia gave the required assistance, and extorted, as the price of it, the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, which excluded all ships of war, except the Russian and Turkish, from the Black Sea, and converted its waters into a Muscovite lake. The Western Powers had become sensible, when it was too late, of their extreme folly in thus throwing Turkey into the arms of Russia; and each was endeavouring to repair it, and regain its lost influence in the Levant,—France, by supporting Mehemet Ali in his Syrian con-

quests, England by upholding the decaying Ottoman empire against its southern enemy, so as to avoid all pretence for any further interference on the part of the Colossus of the North.

47. The system supported by the French Cabinet was to leave everything *in statu quo* in the Levant, neither disturbing the Russians in their influence at Constantinople, nor Ibrahim in his Syrian conquests. This policy met with a powerful opponent in Lamartine. "I understand," said he, "the system of *statu quo* for the integrity of the Ottoman empire before the treaties with Russia in 1774, 1792, and 1813—before the annihilation of the Turkish navy in 1827 at Navarino, that act of national madness of France and England for the benefit of Russia. But after the conquest of the Crimea by Catherine—after the Russian protectorate of Wallachia and Moldavia—after the emancipation of Greece, and its occupation by your troops, and the millions of subsidies you have still to pay to uphold its independence—after the subjection of the Black Sea to the Russians, and the erection of Sebastopol, where the Muscovite fleets are only twenty-four hours' sail from Constantinople,—after the treaties of Adrianople, Unkiar-Skelessi, and Kutaya, and the dismemberment of the half of the empire by Mehemet Ali and yourselves, who protect him,—after all this, to speak of the *statu quo*, is, allow me to say, as ridiculous as to speak of the existence of Polish nationality. What! are you about to arm for the *statu quo* of the Turkish empire, which is essential, you say, to the security of Europe, when that *statu quo* is the dismemberment, the annihilation, the agony, of the empire which you pretend to support? Be, then, consistent; and if Turkey is as material to you as you say it is, go to the support, not of the revolt in Syria, but of the imperial government at Constantinople. Lend your counsels, your engineers, your officers, your fleets, to the support of the generous efforts of Sultan Mahmoud to civilise his people; aid him to crush Ibrahim,

and to recover Egypt, and all the parts of his empire which are now detaching themselves from it. Instead of this, what are you told to do? Arm for the *statu quo*. That is to say, spend the blood and treasure of France to maintain what? Turkey in Europe and Constantinople under the power of Russia; Turkey in Asia under the sabre of Ibrahim and the usurpation of Mehemet.

48. "Are the Crimea and the shores of the Black Sea, covered with Russian fleets and military establishments, the Turkish empire? Are Wallachia and Moldavia, chained by the Russian protectorate, and where an Ottoman soldier does not dare to set his foot? Is it to be found in Servia, which has three times defeated the Turkish armies, and is now rapidly growing under the shade of liberty and the protection of its illustrious chief, Prince Milosch, the Washington of the East? Is it to be sought for in the four millions of Bulgarians, the Greeks of Epirus or Macedonia, or in the Peloponnesus or the Isles, torn by yourselves from the Turkish empire? In fine, are you to look for it in Cyprus, with its forty thousand Christian inhabitants, and sixty Turks in garrison; or in Syria, with its infinite diversity of races; or in Egypt, Candia, Arabia, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, which are all now more or less independent, and some of which you yourselves have wrested from the Ottomans? No! All these splendid territories must be deducted from the Turkish empire—that is to say, you must subtract three-fourths of its extent. What remains? Constantinople—the finest site for a capital, and the finest situation in the world, but on that very account the most coveted,—pressed on one side by the mouth of the Black Sea, where the Russians can debouch any hour they please, and on the other by the entrance into the Archipelago, where the English and French fleets may any day find an entrance. A capital without a territory, and constantly besieged,—that is the true state of the Ottoman empire. And in that capital we have an emperor, heroic, but powerless,

contemplating the insolent intrigues of the Powers who are disputing beforehand the spoils of his empire. It is the last scene of the Lower Empire, at the time of its overthrow by Mahomet II., a second time on the stage. There is the phantom on which you propose to rest your alliance; there is the pillar which, according to you, is to support the weight of the Russian Colossus.

49. "What is to be done in these critical circumstances, when the fate of the world, in a manner, hangs in the balance? We must take the initiative in the contest which is about to ensue. It is in vain to expect anything from the Arab domination. It was bold after victories, but it had neither a base nor a future. A hero is not there, as in the West, an expression of a people; he is a meteor, a speciality, which appears for a moment amidst the surrounding darkness, only to render it more impenetrable; a man who does great things with the thousand of slaves who surround him, but does nothing to elevate the level of the people below him; who founds nothing, neither an institution, nor a dynasty, nor a legislation; and of whom it may be said, that in dying he folds up all his greatness round himself, as he folds up and lays by his tent. Such, and no more, is Ibrahim Pasha. If to this you add the age of Mehemet Ali, and the health of Ibrahim, broken by war, it becomes evident that the realisation of an Arab dynasty is impossible. Even if it should for a moment succeed, the want of all unity among the people subjected to its power, the internal divisions and revolts always ready to break out, would put insurmountable obstacles in the way of a new empire. Yes! your Arab empire would have all the vices of the Ottoman empire, without its legitimacy; it would not subsist a day beyond the terror which has founded it.

50. "The system of *statu quo* would turn entirely to the advantage of England, mistress of the Mediterranean, of the mouth of the Nile, and of the Red Sea, those great stations on the road to India. It is not for a moment

to be thought of. But, without abandoning the English alliance, our policy in the East may be European, by supporting a partition of influence and territory among Russia, France, Austria, and England, who have an interest in and right to it. We should open a congress immediately, and negotiate on these principles; but if time presses, as it probably will, we should positively refuse to attack the fleet of the Sultan, and immediately take possession of some military station in the Levant, such as England possesses in Malta, and Russia in the Black Sea. By so doing we would acquire a commanding voice in the negotiations; in a word, gain what Casimir Périer did by seizing Ancona. The *statu quo* can never be maintained in the East, but, far from being alarmed, we should be rejoiced in the interest of humanity at the progress of civilisation; for rest assured, the first cannon-shot fired on the Euphrates will not be a signal of distress; it will be the signal which will call its different populations to liberty, to life, to organisation, to industry, and open to France a sphere of action worthy of itself."

51. It required all the talent and influence of the Ministry to withstand those eloquent arguments, which acquired additional force from the intimate acquaintance of M. Lamartine with the East, and the halo which his genius had shed over its romantic scenes. M. Villemain, however, made the attempt, and with much ability. "The conclusion," said he, "to which the eloquent speaker who has last addressed you has arrived, does not correspond either with the brilliancy of his exordium or his splendid ideas for the regeneration of the East. To what does it all amount? To this, that we should imitate Casimir Périer, and seek another Ancona in the East, from whence we might have a commanding voice in the approaching partition of the Turkish empire. Such a project cannot for a moment be entertained. It would render necessary the entire remodelling of the territorial divisions of Europe, and would itself be a measure of such obvious and flagrant in-

justice, as, like the partition of Poland, could not fail to recoil on the heads of all the states concerned in the spoliation. A general war would in all probability arise in the division of the mighty spoil; and even if the ambition and pretensions of rival states were adjusted at the moment, such a measure would leave the seeds of eternal discord and jealousies in all the states that had engaged in it.

52. "We all see the difficulties, perhaps insurmountable by human wisdom, with which the question of the East is enveloped; and the question really is not whether any particular plan that may be proposed is open to objection, but whether every other is not liable to still greater. Viewed in every light, it will be found that the proposition advanced by the Government is the safest one on the subject; and that proposition amounts to this, 'Great events are about to ensue in the East: an empire may be about to perish; it may survive, it may endure for a long time; let us be prepared for all the chances.' The eloquent speaker, who has such advantages in this debate, from having seen so much, and retained so much in his memory, and possessing such power of bringing it forth at the proper moment—is he aware how much of vitality there is, even amidst apparent decay, in every people? Has he been at Varna—has he been at Schumla? Has he seen how long the military genius of Europe, directing the military strength and enduring courage of the Russians, has been arrested before the weak walls of Varna and Schumla, defended by the intrepid Mussulmans? There is still the remains of a great power. The day when it should be attempted to tear up the Turks from the soil which they occupy—the day when you invade the tombs of their fathers and the mosques of their Prophet—may be the day when a great insurrection will burst forth on both sides of the Bosphorus, and possibly you may resuscitate the people in the midst of the ruins in which you would bury them.

53. "It is not proposed to set Europe

at defiance: no one wishes to engage in such a desperate project for the nationality of a people. God forbid, however, that in the anticipations which are common to us all, *I do not foresee a period when great changes are to be brought about.* Without interdicting to France the protectorate of Egypt and the East at some future time, it is wiser at present to be regulated chiefly by the experience of the past. The strongest guarantee for the future stability of the Turkish empire does not suppose any intention to restore to it that which time, force, or policy may have torn away; it is only meant to declare that such as it is it shall remain, and that no one has a right to tear fresh fragments from it. Are we to embrace the system of giving to him who has the power to take, and, if force is about to overspread the East, are we to open the gates to it? Infinite are the dangers of such a policy; for the power which advances towards the East may turn in another direction. Constantinople is far from central Europe, but Warsaw touches it."

54. This very interesting debate reveals both the extreme difficulty of the Eastern question, and the state of uncertainty in which the French Government was in regard to the policy which should be pursued concerning it. All the other powers of Europe, including England, were inclined to support the Porte against his rebellious vassal, while France conceived that its interests lay in maintaining the ascendancy which the Pasha of Egypt had acquired. These difficulties were increased by the intelligence received of the sailing of the Turkish fleet from Constantinople, and the resumption of hostilities at land by Ibrahim Pasha. Marshal Soult, to be prepared for any event, sent orders to the French fleet in the Levant to steer for the coasts of Syria, and despatched M. Caille, his aide-de-camp, to Cairo, to assure Mehemet Ali of the eventual support of France, and endeavour in the mean time to avert hostilities. He arrived, however, too late: he reached Cairo five days after the battle of Nezib. In the critical

circumstances the French Government demanded and obtained from the Chambers a credit of 10,000,000 francs (£400,000), to put the naval armaments on a respectable footing. The necessity of this precautionary measure was so obvious that no serious opposition was or could be made to it, but the debate revealed a very important tendency in the Chamber, which now appeared openly for the first time. This was the desire to intermeddle with the mysteries of diplomacy, and subject the Crown to the direct control of a popular assembly—an innovation fraught with the utmost danger to the ultimate interests of nations. The debate was closed by the following remarks on the part of Government by M. Jouffroy, the reporter of the commission :—

55. “The first consideration on this subject which strikes every one, is the danger of the exclusive occupation of Egypt or Constantinople by any European people; the second, that these two positions are so closely connected together, that to secure Constantinople you must defend it in Egypt, and to secure Egypt you must defend it in Constantinople. These two systems, though plausible, are equally false; the *Ottoman* or *Arab* policy will equally lead to disaster. The only way to avoid

it, is to assemble a European congress, the basis of whose deliberations is to be, that no power is to be permitted to aggrandise itself in the East. The initiative of such a policy belongs to France. It is not timid; it is disinterested. Should the Ottoman empire go to pieces, it can only be a transformation. Death does not authorise the seizure by a stranger of the property of the defunct.

56. “This great question and great debate impose on the Cabinet an immense responsibility. In receiving the credit of 10,000,000 francs which the Chamber has voted, the Ministry have contracted a solemn engagement, and that is to enable France, in the affairs of the East, to occupy a position worthy of herself, and which may not cause her to decline from the position which she occupies in Europe. That is a difficult task; the Cabinet feels all its extent and weight. It has only been recently formed; it has not had time to commence those acts which consolidate an administration. But fortune has thrown into its hands an affair so great, that if it directs the Government as becomes France, it will be, we venture to say, the most glorious Cabinet which has governed France since 1830.” The vote of credit passed by a majority of 287 to 26.

CHAPTER XL.

FRANCE, FROM THE REVOLT IN AFRICA IN OCTOBER 1839 TO THE
EASTERN TREATY IN JULY 1841.

1. THE difficulties of the Eastern question, sufficiently great in themselves, were much enhanced at this period by an outbreak which occurred in Africa, that could be compared only to the sudden raising of a pillar of sand by the whirlwind of the desert. It almost seemed to justify the assertion of M. Villemain, that if it were attempted to dispossess the Turks

from Constantinople, it might produce a storm which would restore the Ottoman power. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that, after the storming of Constantine, the dispossessed bey retired into the interior, and the French dominion was pushed farther into the Atlas, particularly to Stora, the ancient Roman station of Rusicada, which

was occupied by their troops, Djemilah, the old Roman Colonia, and Setif, the ancient Sitifis and capital. Modern Europe could not advance in Africa but by treading on the footsteps and resting in the stations of the ancient conquerors of the world. These conquests enabled the French to extend their dominions in the south of Algeria in a line which, going round from Constantine towards the sea on the one side by the frontier of Tunis, and on the other to the Bay of Stura, embraced a territory amply sufficient for the wants of the colony, and easily susceptible of defence.

2. While the French power was in this manner consolidating in the province of eastern Algeria, the war, in pursuance of the treaty of La Tafna, ceased in the western provinces of Algeria and Oran. It soon appeared, however, that the Arab and the French interpretations of that treaty were very different. The Arab chief, having obtained the provinces allotted to him by it in absolute sovereignty, soon began extending his dominions, laying siege to fortresses, and establishing or dispossessing subordinate emirs, in a way which gave early and serious disquietude to the French Government. Complaints were made on both sides, and on both with much reason: the French complaining of the ceaseless encroachments of the Arabs; the Arabs declaiming on the invasion of the Giaours, and calling on all true believers to rally round the standard of the Prophet. So threatening did affairs become in the province towards the end of 1839, that the Duke of Orleans proceeded to it; disembarked at Algiers on 27th September, and made his entry into Constantine on 11th October. From thence he advanced to Milah, Djemilah, and Setif, where, amidst the remains of the old Roman citadel, he received the homage of the newly-subjected tribes. From thence an expedition under the command of the Prince-Royal and the Governor-General was directed to the mountainous ridges of the Atlas, farther in the interior, by the awful

passes styled the Iron Gates, which were surmounted by the French army, which inscribed on the rocks the words "Armée Française, 1839." The French troops were with great vigour pursuing their conquests, when, on the body of an Arab chief who had been slain, was found a letter from Abd-el-Kader, calling all the faithful to a holy war against the infidels; and intelligence was received of a war on a great scale having commenced in the western provinces, where his authority was chiefly established.

3. The insurrection proved to be of the most formidable description. From the Straits of Gibraltar almost to the confines of Egypt, a secret league appeared to have been formed, and the French establishments were everywhere attacked by hordes of Arabs at the same time, and with inconceivable vigour. Several detachments were surprised by clouds of Bedouins, and after an heroic resistance entirely cut off. So sudden was the irruption, so unforeseen the shock, that the French establishments along the whole extent of the coast were wrapt in flames before it was well known that hostilities had commenced. Everywhere the French were driven back into their fortified posts, and soon reduced to the ground commanded by the guns of their fortresses. Sixty thousand Arabs, with the sword in one hand and the torch in the other, overspread the colony from one end to the other; and Algiers itself beheld their tents in the plain, and their yataghans gleaming in the evening sun.

4. At the first intelligence of these disasters, the French Government immediately took the most vigorous measures to repair them. Reinforcements to the amount of 12,000 men, 3800 horses, and 1500 mules, with immense stores in ammunition, guns, and material, were forthwith directed with the utmost haste to Toulon, from whence they were hurried over to Africa. By these means the effective force in the field was increased to 40,000 men and 12,000 horses; and the effect of this augmentation speedi-

ly appeared. The Arabs retired for the most part before the formidable forces which issued from the seaports, and in several detached actions they were worsted. In particular, on the last day of the year a body of 4000 French infantry attacked, near Blidah, the regular infantry of Abd-el-Kader, strongly posted on the edge of a ravine which covered their front, and after a sharp action drove them from it with the loss of one gun and 300 men slain. This success, though not on a great scale, was very important as restoring the spirit of the troops, and giving the turn to a long train of disasters.

5. The royal family were plunged into grief in the course of this year by the death of the Princess Maria, daughter of the King. Of a pious disposition, and endowed with every feminine virtue, she resembled those saintly characters which, during the violence and bloodshed of the middle ages, revealed the blessed effect of higher influences. She had been married some time before to the young Prince of Würtemberg; but she bore in her bosom the seeds of a mortal malady, which, after a lingering illness, brought her to the grave at Pisa in Italy, whither she had been conveyed for the benefit of a milder climate. This event, which was most acutely felt by the whole royal family, by whom she was extremely beloved, revealed the melancholy reality of the slender hold which the house of Orleans had of the sympathy or affections of the people. A few words only were addressed to the King by the Chamber of Deputies on the melancholy bereavement; and the funeral cortège traversed all France, from Mont Cenis to the place of sepulture at the Chateau d'Eu in Normandy, without one expression of condolence or sorrow either on the part of the legislature or the people.

6. If this mournful event was of sinister augury as to the loyalty of the French people to the throne, another was equally significant as to the irrecoverable wound which had been inflicted on the peerage, first, by the precedents of creating peers in batches

to get over particular difficulties or support a particular administration, and next, from the limitation of those honours *for life*. On 7th November appeared an ordonnance elevating to the peerage Generals Cavaignac and Borelli, Count Jules de Rochefoucauld, and several others, nearly all of the second order of merit. It is true, as peerages were now for life only, frequent additions were necessary to keep up their number; but the creation of a large batch at once, which had now become a usual step with every administration, especially when, as in this instance, they were appointed for political purposes rather than personal merit, tended daily more and more to degrade the Upper Chamber. It utterly destroyed its character as an independent branch of the Legislature, a check alike on the encroachments of the Crown and the vehemence of the Commons.

7. Seeing the Upper House irrevocably degraded by the system which they themselves had introduced, the Liberal chiefs began to agitate for a great extension of the powers and sphere of action of the Lower. Their efforts were directed chiefly to two objects: (1.) To obtain a great reduction of the electoral franchise, so as to let in a lower class of voters. The different sections of the Liberals, however, were much at variance as to where the line should be drawn: some, among whom were MM. Lafitte, Garnier Pagnès, and Dupont de l'Eure, contending that it should be fixed at fifty francs (£2) of direct taxes; and others, numbering Odillon Barrot and the majority of the Liberals, inclining for a higher standard at a hundred francs. The Legitimists, represented by the *Gazette de France*, contended that every person who had served in the National Guard, or paid any sum, however small, of direct taxes, should have a vote, resting on the belief that democracy is the passion of the *bourgeoisie*, and that *universal* suffrage would ere long restore the old influences. In this diversity of opinion no common measure could be agreed on, and a change was not immediately to be appre-

hended. But the seed was sown; men began to think and speak on the subject, and the foundation of a revolution was laid, destined, at no great distance of time, to overturn the throne, and restore, *by means of universal suffrage*, the Napoleon dynasty.

8. (2.) The second great object of the Liberal party was to obtain for its chiefs a direct control over the measures of Government, especially in diplomatic affairs. By this was meant not merely that they should have the appointment of a ministry, which is the inherent principle of constitutional government, but that they should have a direct control over the measures of the executive, and in the administration of affairs. In a word, they desired to erect the majority of the Chamber into a large cabinet, which was, of its own authority and at its own pleasure, to govern the country. This was the great object of the Liberal chiefs, and it was to effect it that so many combinations were made, and so many administrations of ephemeral endurance formed. M. Thiers in an especial manner was inflamed with the desire to acquire a direct control over the executive in the critical times evidently approaching, when the Eastern question was every day acquiring more colossal proportions, and France seemed to be destined to take an important if not decisive part in the conferences upon which the fate of the world was to depend. Around him, as the great diplomatic chief who was to carry the principles of the Left Centre into the affairs of nations, and open to themselves the advantages of office and power, the various shades of the Liberals out of office were grouped.

9. The session of 1839 closed without any further event or discussion of general interest, and that of 1840 commenced with the following speech from the throne: "My relations with foreign nations have maintained that pacific character which the general interest requires. Our flag, in concert with that of Great Britain, and faithful to the spirit of that union, always so advantageous to the interests of the two nations, watches over the security

and independence of the Ottoman empire. Our fixed policy is to uphold the integrity of that empire, the preservation of which is essential to the maintenance of general peace. Our efforts have at least succeeded in arresting in the East the course of hostilities which we would willingly have prevented; and how great soever may be the diversity of interests, I entertain a sanguine hope that the accord of the great powers will bring about a pacific solution of the question. A great change has been effected in the situation of Spain; and if I cannot yet announce that civil war has entirely ceased, yet the northern provinces are pacified, and the contest has lost the serious character which threatened the throne of Isabella II. In Africa other hostilities have broken out, which call for a decisive repression. Our brave soldiers and cultivators, to whom my son has gone as a pledge of my solicitude, have been perfidiously attacked. The progress of our establishments in Algeria and the province of Constantine is the real cause of that insensate aggression; it is indispensable that it should be punished, and a renewal of it rendered impossible, in order that nothing may hereafter interrupt the progress of settlements which *the French arms are never to quit*, and that our allies may find under our flag the most efficacious protection."

10. In the debate on the Address, M. Thiers made a brilliant speech, remarkable as the manifesto of the powerful parliamentary coalition of which he was the head. "I am," he said, "I admit it, a partisan of the English alliance, but that as a man who never forgets what is due to his country. I cannot renounce that noble alliance, which is founded not only on the union of material strength, but still more on that of moral principles. When alongside of England, we are not obliged to conceal our standards; they bear as a *device*, 'Regulated freedom and the liberty of the world.' And on what do the opponents of the English alliance rest? What has been the cause of the profound hatred, the envenomed strife, which has separated

France and England? I will tell you in one word. Democracy has exploded in France at one time with a bloody committee at its head, at another led by a great man, Napoleon. It has astonished the world, but at the same time alarmed it; and, as happens always when liberty alarms, an immense power was given to its enemies. Who has sustained the contest which the French democracy had provoked? Naturally that of all aristocracies which was the most powerful, the most rich, the most skilful. Aristocracy also found a great man, Pitt: the English aristocracy, on behalf of the terrified world, struggled, with a great man at its head, against French democracy with its great man. The strife was dreadful. Napoleon often said, 'I committed one error in my life, an error common to England and me. We might have been allies, and done much for the good of the world. I would have done so if Fox had been at the head of its affairs.' What did that mean, if not that it was the English aristocracy which sustained the contest with Napoleon?

11. "But behind that question of principle there was an immense material interest. France had not then abandoned the hope of being a maritime and colonial power of the first order. She had not renounced the brilliant dream of distant possessions. She had desired to get Louisiana, to keep possession of St Domingo, and even to attempt to effect a settlement in Egypt, of which the avowed end was to threaten the English possessions in India. To what object at that time did we make all our power bend? To coalesce all the nations of Europe against England. There were then good reasons for a desperate strife at that period. But happily nothing of that kind now exists. Moderated revolution governs France; moderated revolution governs England. The strife of interests has become as impossible as that of principles. France has become enlightened as to the true path of her greatness. Who among us now thinks of distant possessions? Whence this change? Because the mind of

France has altered—because all the world sees that our true grandeur is to be found on the Continent.

12. "Every one in Europe professes a desire for peace, and happily in a firm and decided way. That is the reason that Russia cannot come to an understanding with us. If the system of partition is impossible, what remains but that of precaution? But the system of precaution—that system which consists in taking a position which might enable us at once to adopt such a line as is consistent with the dignity and interests of France—can be carried into execution only in concert with one nation, and that is England. She is our natural ally in principles, always of importance in Europe, and not less so is she an ally *necessary* for the policy of observation and precaution. The power most interested in preventing Constantinople being occupied by any European state—the power which has always made the greatest efforts to prevent it—is England. It is no wonder it is so. The danger is at sea. England is a great maritime power, and France is one also. Russia menaces Constantinople from Sebastopol; to meet that danger it is necessary to take a defensive position in the Dardanelles, which communicate with France and England. How is that defensive position to be secured? By an Anglo-French fleet in the Dardanelles, for there we shall find an alliance alike in the object and the means. Russia has no need to hasten the period when she is to touch the shores of the Mediterranean. She already occupies the most beautiful shores of the Black Sea; and although the keys of that sea are to be found in Constantinople, yet they are there held by weak and feeble hands, entirely under her control. Russia, therefore, has no need to accelerate matters; her only interest is to prevent those keys falling into younger and more vigorous hands. Where are those younger and more vigorous hands to be found? Clearly in the Pasha of Egypt, and in him alone.

13. "The Pasha, however, does not desire the perilous honour of guarding

those Straits. He knows that if he attempted it, Russia would be there before him : 1833 has taught him that lesson. He knows that to provoke it would be to hasten the partition of the Turkish empire and his own ruin. There is no need, therefore, of trepidation or haste in the Eastern question—there is time to conduct it with prudence, deliberation, and skill. The course to be pursued is quite simple—it consists in placing a combined French and English fleet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and having done so, *not to substitute* PREMATURELY *for the question at issue between the Sultan and the Pasha, the question of Europe.* The Pasha demands an hereditary right to Egypt and Syria ; that is a mere word. Turkey is not in a condition to reconquer them ; she should not therefore wish to do so. It is necessary that Turkey, as she did with Greece, should make the sacrifice of Egypt and Syria. The victory of Nezib—the defection of the fleet—has decided the question. The death of Sultan Mahmoud has removed the most implacable enemy of the Pasha. Nothing is wanting for the entire pacification of the East but the cession, in hereditary right, of those provinces which are already his *de facto*, and by the right of conquest.”

14. It is one of the most interesting things in history to observe how great coming changes are anticipated in the thoughts of far-seeing men—how much more rapidly do events succeed each other in the realms of ideas than on the theatre of real life. One would have imagined from these words of M. Thiers that the great alliance between England and France, which afterwards worked such wonders in the East, was on the point of being formed, and yet thirteen years elapsed before it took place ; and in the interim, England and France were three times on the verge of a serious war ! M. Thiers the minister proved very different from M. Thiers the leader of the Opposition. In the mean time, however, all went on smoothly : the Address, which echoed the Speech, was carried by a majority of 212 to 43 ; and the King made a gracious answer, which con-

cluded with these words : “The concurrence of the three powers for the prosperity, the strength, and the dignity of France has always been the object of my most anxious solicitude. It is thus that can alone be displayed, *without and within*, the salutary action of the constitutional monarchy which we have all sworn to maintain. Your loyal and patriotic adhesion is a new pledge to me of the support which my Government will find in you for the true interests of the country, which are *inseparable from the rights and the ascendant of authority.*”

15. These flattering appearances, however, were entirely fallacious. The Chamber was not inclined to support the Ministry ; they were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to overturn it. A coalition, of which M. Thiers was the head, had been formed between the Left and the Left Centre, which calculated upon possessing a small majority in the Deputies ; but they were for some time at fault, from a difference of opinion as to the question on which the trial of strength should take place. At length it was agreed to make it on the settlement to be made on the Duke de Nemours, a marriage having been arranged between him and the Princess Victoire Auguste Antoinette de Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, sister of the King of Portugal, niece of the King of the Belgians, and cousin of Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria. The high connections and personal attractions of the bride, who was in her nineteenth year, and very pleasing, rendered the marriage a great object to Louis Philippe, and he proposed, as a suitable settlement for the young couple, a grant of 500,000 francs (£20,000) a-year. This income, which was not more than many English noblemen enjoy, was vehemently objected to by all shades of Liberals, and it was resolved to make the debate on it their *cheval de bataille* against the Government. Africa was at stake from the insurrection of Abd-el-Kader ; the fate of the East hung in the balance on the solution of the Eastern question ; but it was not on either that a coalition of

the Liberals of France could be formed. *That* could be effected in a bourgeois-elected legislature only by a pitiful combination against the marriage-settlement of the second son of their sovereign.

16. It must be admitted, however, that there was a great deal to say against the proposed settlement; and if it was unworthy of the legislature of a great nation to hold out on such an occasion against the request of the King, it was not less ill-judged on his part to make that request. By a law passed on 4th March 1832, it had been declared that, *in case of the insufficiency* of the private domain of the King, the provisions for his sons should fall on the State. This necessarily gave the Chamber a title to inquire whether the private domain of the sovereign was really inadequate for the proposed settlement, so as to entitle him to come on the State for the deficiency. The commission to whom the matter was referred reported in favour of the settlement, with the provision only that the jointure of the princess should be restricted to 200,000 francs (£8000) a-year. This report was rested mainly on the fact that, by the *senatus-consultum* of 1810, appanages were created for the younger sons of the Emperor Napoleon, and each was left a revenue of 3,000,000 francs (£120,000) a-year, and that a pension of 100,000 francs (£4000) had already been settled on Madame Murat. This, it was alleged, was an indication of the state necessity of providing in a liberal manner for the younger sons of the reigning sovereign. On the other hand, it was strongly urged, especially in a pamphlet by M. de Cormenin, which had an immense circulation, entitled *Questions Scandaleuses d'un Jacobin*, that the King had a large private fortune, which produced at least 3,000,000 francs (£120,000) a-year; and that no earthly reason could be assigned why the burdens of the people, already so great, should be increased to enable the King to augment the riches of his family. The question came on on the 20th February, and the vote was taken in deep silence and

amidst breathless expectation on both sides. The result was decisive: only 200 supported the proposal of the Cabinet, while 226 voted against it. A majority of 26 appeared against Marshal Soult's Ministry. The triumph of the coalition was complete—no ministry since 1830 had experienced such a defeat.

17. This vote necessarily induced a change of ministry, and there could be no doubt on what basis it required to be formed. A considerable majority of the Chamber, composed of the Left and Left Centre, had declared against the Government, and therefore its successors required to be taken from the chiefs of that coalition. The King, in the first instance, consulted Count Molé—the usual practice in a change of ministry being to take the opinion of the Premier who immediately preceded the one who had been displaced—and he recommended that the Duke de Broglie should be sent for. The Duke, however, was inspired with a reverence almost amounting to idolatry for M. Thiers, and in consequence he not only declined the office of premier himself, but earnestly pressed him as the successor of Marshal Soult. The King was not averse to M. Thiers individually, though he feared the party to which he belonged; but even if he had been hostile to him, he had no alternative, for the brilliant orator was the chosen of the majority of the Chamber. The King accordingly sent for M. Thiers, and professed the utmost confidence in him: the adroit minister pledged himself to combine the former system of government with his own principles, without any considerable change; and a list of ministers was forthwith submitted to the sovereign, approved of, and appeared next morning in the *Moniteur*.*

18. The new Cabinet contained some

* The new Cabinet stood thus:—President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Thiers; Minister of the Interior, M. Rémusat; Justice and Public Worship, M. Vivien; Finances, M. Pelet de la Lozère; Public Instruction, M. Cousin; War, General Cubières; Marine and Colonies, Admiral Roussin; Public Works, M. Joubert; Commerce, M. Gouin.—*Moniteur*, 25th February 1830.

of the Doctrinaires, in particular M. Joubert, but none of their chiefs. Rivals in politics and literature, M. Thiers and M. Guizot were too brilliant stars to shine in the same hemisphere. By this division of the Doctrinaires, however, a considerable accession of strength was gained for the new Ministry; and M. Guizot, though not included in the Cabinet, was appeased by the important situation of ambassador at the court of London. The skill with which the Ministry had been formed from the chiefs of the different parties into which the Chamber was divided, appeared in the first debate which took place after it had entered upon office, which was on a supplementary grant of 1,000,000 francs (£40,000) for the secret expenses of 1840. This subject elicited from M. Thiers a statement of the principle on which the Ministry was founded, and the necessities which had led to its construction. "The largest party in the Chamber," said he, "is that which supported the Ministry of the 15th April; but there are also several intermediate divisions, which are classed under the name of the Centre Gauche, and have lately gained much strength by what is called the Coalition, which has now formed the ancient majority; in fine, there is the old Opposition. The new Cabinet has sprung from these intermediate parties. Were any of these parties so compact, so determined, that it would not support any cabinet but such as came exclusively from itself, the Government, difficult under any circumstances, with the present Chamber would become impossible. What is to be done in such circumstances? Evidently to come to a compromise. Such an arrangement is allowed by all to be indispensable. Is it honourable? Yes; for during the last three years we have disputed more about words than things, and there is no such diversity of opinion between the middle parties as to render acting together discreditable." The justice of these remarks was universally felt; and the result was, that the ministerial proposition was carried by a majority of

246 to 160 in the Chamber of Deputies, and of 143 to 53 in the Peers. This majority was so considerable as to establish firmly the Administration of M. Thiers in power.

19. Although, however, the victory of Ministers appeared to be so complete in the legislature, yet it was far from being equally so in the country. On the contrary, the inherent weakness of a coalition administration appeared from the very first. The only real concession made to the Liberal party, which, in the person of their chief, had now ascended to power, was an ordinance which appeared on occasion of the marriage of the Duke de Nemours, which was celebrated at St Cloud on the 27th April. This ordinance extended the amnesty declared by the ordinance of 8th May 1837 to persons condemned *par contumace*—that is, in absence—as well as those actually convicted on trial. This was a very important concession to the Liberals, for the number of persons who stood banished by these sentences in absence was very considerable. But it was their last triumph; and such as it was, it was gained for persons, not things. When their general measures came to be brought forward, they were found to be scarcely distinguishable from those of the former administration. The question of parliamentary reform and an extension of the suffrage was adjourned indefinitely, upon the plea that the present was not a convenient time to bring it forward. A proposal of the Liberals, that all persons holding office under Government should be excluded from the Chamber, was, to use the expression of the day, "interred in the bureaux;" the conversion of the *rentes* adjourned, though M. Gouin, the great promoter of that measure, was Minister of Commerce; in fine, M. Odillon Barrot voted with Ministers on the secret-service money, though he had a hundred times denounced it as a scandalous engine of corruption. In short, it was soon evident that the Liberals, having succeeded in displacing their opponents from the helm by an outcry raised for popular measures,

and got quit of the sentences pronounced against their exiled adherents, were content to fall back into the former system of government as to general measures, and to bury in oblivion their favourite maxim, "Le Roi règne, et ne gouverne pas."

20. The same division among the Liberals, and tergiversation of many among their ranks, appeared in the public press, ever so influential in forming opinion, and placing and displacing administrations in France. The *Constitutionnel*, charmed to see its former contributor, M. Thiers, prime-minister, instantly became his ally, and on every occasion strongly supported his measures. The same course was adopted by the *Courrier Français*, also a Liberal journal, and the *Siècle*, the known organ of M. Odillon Barrot. On the other hand, the *Presse*, which was in the interest of Count Molé, vehemently denounced the Administration, and in particular accused M. Thiers, in no measured terms, of having gained the favour of such of the journals as supported him by the most shameful corruption and unscrupulous use of ministerial patronage. The *Journal des Débats*, though preserving a more measured tone in its opposition, was not the less powerful in declamation, and by its withering sarcasm inspired terror even in the highest depositories of authority. The extreme Radical and Republican journals assailed the Government of M. Thiers, as they did every other which promised vigour, with the utmost violence; while the Legitimists, without compromising themselves by openly attacking him, in secret indulged the hope that the distrust, insecurity, and anarchy which would be consequent on a semi-Liberal administration, would dispel the existing illusions, and pave the way for the restoration of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon.

21. The extension of manufactures, especially that of cotton, in France, led to a very long and interesting discussion on the limitation of the labour of children in various branches of manufactures. Experience had already proved in that country, what

had so long been known in England, that in this matter the feelings of nature were reversed in the progress of society, and that parents, so far from being the protectors, then became too often the worst enemies of their children. The indulgence of habits of intoxication, quarrels in families, profligacy on the part of both parents, or the inevitable misfortunes of life, had induced the practice of sending the little innocents, in order to swell the gains of the family, at so early an age to factories, that their health was ruined, and they became sickly or deformed, to the utter destruction of their prospects in life. Numerous petitions were presented to both Chambers, setting forth the enormity of these evils, and the absolute necessity of legislative interference for the protection of infant labour; but so great was the influence of the capitalists in both branches of the Legislature, that it was with trembling steps that the Government approached the subject. After long and anxious deliberation with the chambers of commerce from all parts of France, a bill was prepared by the Minister of Commerce, and introduced into the Chamber of Peers, where the opposition to it was expected to be less violent than in the Deputies. The measure proposed was of the mildest character, and in fact altogether disproportioned to the enormity of the evil with which it had to contend. It was limited to manufactories set in motion by a *continued* moving power, as water or steam, or making use of continued fires, as potteries or glassworks, and forbade absolutely the employment in such works of children below eight years; limited the hours of work between eight and twelve to 8 hours a-day, and between twelve and sixteen to 12 hours. It prohibited also, absolutely, labour during the entire night to children under twelve, and allowed it only for 8 hours out of the 24 between twelve and sixteen. Even these moderate safeguards were strongly opposed in the Peers, and only carried, after a long debate, by a majority of 91 to 35. It was not deemed prudent to attempt its intro-

duction this session to the Deputies; so that, in the mean time, the evils complained of remained entirely without a remedy. The Chamber of Deputies gave token of their parsimonious disposition, and insensibility to the strongest claims of national gratitude and honour, by limiting the pension awarded, on the recommendation of the ministerial commission, to the widow of Colonel Combes, who had met a glorious death in the breach of Constantine, to 2000 francs (£80) a-year, *including therein* the pension of 755 francs (£30) already enjoyed by her as the widow of a colonel in the army.

22. Essentially imbued with historical studies and associations, the mind of M. Thiers exhibited a strange mixture of democratic and imperial ideas. The historian of the Revolution, and of the Consulate and the Empire, appeared alternately at every step of his career. He was essentially democratic in his feelings, and his strongest impressions were in favour of the right of resistance, and the governments founded on its successful assertion; but his imagination had been warmly kindled by the study of the glories of Napoleon's reign, and his judgment told him that a strong military government was alone suitable to so fervid a people as the French, when excited by such ideas. His *beau idéal* of society and government would have been a community singing with enthusiasm the "Marseillaise," and prepared at any moment to rise in insurrection itself, or assist revolution in other states, and at the same time coerced by the iron hand of Napoleon, and kept in awe by the charges of his glittering cuirassiers, or the discharges of his redoubtable artillery. It was by this combination of strength in the moving, and weight in the restraining power, that in his opinion the interests of freedom and order could alone be reconciled. In pursuance of these views, one of his first public acts, after his accession to power, was to open a negotiation with Lord Palmerston for the transference of the bones of Napoleon, from their solitary

resting-place under the willow-tree in St Helena, to the banks of the Seine, "which he had loved so well." The British Foreign Secretary was too magnanimous not to accede to a request founded in such natural feelings, and too clear-sighted not to be sensible that the granting was a greater national triumph than the refusing it. He was too deeply engaged, also, at the time in forming a confederacy with Russia and Austria to check France in the Levant, not to avail himself gladly of the opportunity of lessening the animosity among its inhabitants, which, he was aware, would necessarily arise from the success of that attempt. He returned, accordingly, a courteous and eloquent answer to the request of the French Minister, expressing a hope "that all feelings of animosity between the two nations, should they still exist, may be for ever buried in the tomb of Napoleon."* The French Government, as well they might, were much gratified by this act of dignified courtesy; and, shortly after, the *Bellepoule* frigate was despatched from France to bring the remains of the immortal hero to their final resting-place on the banks of the Seine.

23. Not less solicitous to keep alive and fan the revolutionary flame than to restore the ashes of the great conqueror to their proper resting-place on the banks of the Seine, M. Thiers, soon after his accession to power, announced

* "My Lord,—Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté ayant pris en considération l'autorisation que lui demande le Gouvernement Français, de transférer les cendres de l'Empereur Napoléon de St Hélène en France, vous pouvez déclarer à M. Thiers que le Gouvernement de sa Majesté se fera un plaisir d'accéder à cette demande. Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté espère que l'empressement qu'il met à répondre à cette demande sera considéré en France comme une preuve du désir de sa Majesté d'effacer jusqu'à la dernière trace de ces animosités qui, pendant la vie de l'Empereur, avaient poussé les deux nations à la guerre. Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté aime à croire que de pareils sentiments, s'ils existaient encore, seraient ensevelis à jamais dans le tombeau destiné à recevoir les restes mortels de Napoléon. Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté se concertera avec celui de la France pour les mesures nécessaires à l'effet d'opérer la translation. PALMERSTON."—*Moniteur*, August 12, 1840; and CARFIGUE, x. 175, note.

a splendid fête, on occasion of the anniversary of the three glorious days, when the bones of the heroes who had perished in the strife for freedom on that occasion, should be removed to one place of sepulture in the Place of the Bastille, and a splendid column, surmounted by the Genius of Liberty, was to be erected over their remains, as an eternal monument of the lawfulness of insurrection. It may readily be conceived what enthusiasm this theatrical project, which was announced in the beginning of April, and the preparations for it immediately commenced, excited among the working-classes of Paris, in whom democratic principles were still so prevalent. It was an official recognition of the right of insurrection—a solemn inauguration of a monument to its triumph. The bones of those who had fallen in the civil strife were immediately begun to be collected, and conveyed with great pomp in funeral cars to the interim places of deposit, preparatory to their removal to the final place of sepulture in the Place of the Bastille, where the column was to be erected. These melancholy cars, each drawn by twelve horses, excited the deepest feelings of commiseration and anguish in the people; the number whose bones were thus collected was five hundred and four. On the 28th July the translation of the whole to the general place of sepulture in the catacombs, beneath the proposed column in the Place of the Bastille, took place with extraordinary pomp, in the midst of a splendid military cortège, and an immense crowd of spectators. The King, accompanied by M. Thiers, witnessed the procession from one of the windows in the Louvre. He was received with loud acclamations; but such was the excitement of the people, and the impulse given to the revolutionary passions by the scene, that the Government were under the most serious apprehensions, and the preparations made on both sides looked rather like the commencement of a new, than the celebration of an old insurrection. The “Marseillaise” and “Parisienne” were sung with enthusiasm; the excited and agitated look

of the groups in the streets betokened a coming storm; and already the breaking of lamps and commencement of barricades indicated a serious popular movement. Everything prognosticated a terrible strife; but the preparations of Government were too complete to permit its commencement. The streets were traversed by long trains of artillery and dense columns of infantry; huge bodies of cavalry, with horses saddled, and the bridles over the arms of the cavaliers, stood in all the squares. These preparations averted the dangers which the Ministers had so imprudently invoked; and the fête passed over without any other result but a great impulse to the revolutionary passions in the minds of the people, and an increased dread of their revival in that of the King.

24. These alternate encouragements to the Republican and Imperial passions again roused in the breasts of Louis Napoleon and his partisans the hope that the time had now come when their projects might, with almost a certainty of success, be carried into execution. A few days, accordingly, after the termination of the fêtes in Paris, the young Prince embarked in London on board the steamer Edinburgh, accompanied by forty of his comrades and attendants. He had prepared a proclamation, in which, alluding to the removal of the bones of Napoleon to France, he declared that it was regenerated France alone that was worthy to receive them. “Frenchmen,” said he, “the ashes of the Emperor should not come but into regenerated France. The manes of a great man should not be insulted by impure and hypocritical homage. Glory and liberty should stand erect beside the coffin of Napoleon. The traitors must disappear from the land. Banished from my country, I should not have complained had I been the only unfortunate; but the glory and honour of the country were exiled with me. Frenchmen! we will re-enter it together. To-day, as three years ago, I come to devote myself to the popular cause. If chance caused me to fail at Strasbourg, an Alsatian jury proved

that I had not miscalculated the feelings of the country. When one enjoys the honour of being at the head of such a people as the French, *there is a certain way to do great things, and that is to will them.* At present there is nothing to be found in France but violence on one side and licence on the other. I wish, in surrounding myself with the most eminent in the country without exception, and in supporting the interests and wishes of the masses, to form an imperishable edifice. I wish to give to France true alliances, a solid peace, and not to cast it into the perils of a general war. Frenchmen! I see before me a brilliant future for the country. I feel behind me the shade of the Emperor, which impels me forward. I will not stop till I have regained the sword of Austerlitz, and replaced the nations under our standards, the people in its rights. *Vive la France!*"

25. Solitary in thought, taciturn in habit, Louis Napoleon had communicated with no one when he planned this audacious enterprise; he took counsel of himself and his own intrepidity, and trusted in his star alone. He was accompanied by General Montholon, Colonels Parquin and Vaudrey, and thirty-six other inferior officers. During the voyage the young Prince, like his uncle in the voyage from Elba, frequently harangued his followers; he wore a greatcoat and boots similar to the Emperor's, and held his sword in his hand. At one in the morning of the 6th August, the steamboat approached the little harbour of Vimeroux, and the whole party, numbering in all sixty persons, soon after disembarked on the sands. A proclamation was immediately placarded, which bore: "The dynasty of the Bourbons of Orleans has ceased to reign; the French people have regained their rights; the troops are absolved from their oaths of fidelity; the Chamber of Peers and Deputies is dissolved. A national congress shall be assembled on the arrival of Prince Napoleon at Paris: *M. Thiers, President of the Council, is named President of the Provisional Government.* Marshal Clausel is appointed com-

mander-in-chief of the troops at Paris; General Pajol retains the command of the first military division; all the chiefs of corps who shall not immediately yield obedience to these commands shall be dismissed. All the officers and sub-officers who shall energetically demonstrate their sympathy with the national cause, shall receive dazzling rewards. *Vive la France!*" In addition to this proclamation, the party were provided *with an eagle* which had been trained to fly to the top of a column; and when let go at the foot of the pillar on the heights of Boulogne, flew to the top, and spread its wings there.

26. The omen, however, proved fallacious, or rather it was *premature*; the imperial eagle was curbed in its flight on this occasion. Having effected their disembarkation without opposition, the conspirators dispersed without difficulty a company of douaniers who appeared to obstruct their passage; and having entered Boulogne, they made straight for the barracks of the 42d regiment, from whom they expected support. Everything depended on their fidelity; had they joined the Imperialists, the whole garrison would have followed the example, and it was all over with the government of Louis Philippe. Already the guard at the gate manifested symptoms of vacillation at the announcement of Louis Napoleon, and a few seconds more would have led to a revolt, when Captain Puyzelier, having come up in haste to the spot, had influence enough with his men to retain them in their allegiance. In the scuffle Prince Louis drew his pistol and shot a grenadier. Finding, however, that the military were not to be shaken in their allegiance, the band retired, still in good order, from the barracks, and marched towards the upper part of the town in hopes of rousing the citizens to join in the enterprise. They found the gates, however, closed against them; and being unable to force them open with strokes of the hatchet, they were obliged to retire, and took post around the column, on the summit of which they displayed the tricolor flag. Driven from thence, they made for their boats

on the beach. They were pursued, however, and made prisoners without further bloodshed; and so terminated the second attempt of Prince Louis to regain the Imperial throne.

27. Taught by experience, the French Government did not again repeat the folly of a trial of the conspirators by jury, or simply banishing Prince Louis from France, leaving him to prosecute his designs elsewhere. He was brought before the House of Peers with his followers, in October, and after a short trial, sentenced to imprisonment for life in a fortress within the kingdom, while his associates were condemned, some to transportation, others to imprisonment for very long periods. As they were all convicted on the clearest evidence of an attempt to overturn the Government by open force, and this was the second occasion on which Prince Louis had made the attempt, these sentences must be regarded as extremely moderate, and such as reflected no small lustre on the humane administration of Louis Philippe. Prince Louis was soon after conducted to Ham, where he was confined in the same apartments which had formerly been occupied by Prince Polignac. He abated nothing of his intrepid bearing before the Chamber of Peers, and had the magnanimity to take upon himself the whole responsibility of the enterprise. "I had no accomplices," said he; "alone I conceived the enterprise: no one was acquainted either with my designs, my hopes, or my resources. If I am to blame towards any, it is to my own friends; yet I trust they will not accuse me of having lightly compromised courage and devotion such as theirs. They will understand the motives which have not permitted me to reveal even to them *the extent of the reasons I had to hope for success*. I represent before you, gentlemen, a principle, a cause, a defeat. The principle is that of the sovereignty of the people, the cause is that of the Empire, the defeat is Waterloo! You have recognised the principle; you have served the cause; the defeat you would avenge! No! there is no disaccord

betwixt you and me; and I will not believe that I am doomed to bear the penalty of the defections of others."

28. The next six years of his life were spent by Prince Louis in strict seclusion, conversing only in books with the illustrious of former ages. Such converse is more strengthening to the mind than intercourse with the living, who are generally pigmies compared to the giants of past time; and many a man who has ultimately risen to greatness, has traced it to the fortunate calamities which for a season chained him to thought and study and reflection. Prince Louis was no exception to this rule; and much of the splendour of his future career may be traced to an event which, for the present, seemed to have altogether blasted his hopes. Nor was he without encouragement even at the moment from the most eminent men of his time. Béranger wrote to him in prison, "May you one day, Prince, be in a situation to consecrate to our common country the fruit of the experience you have acquired, and will yet obtain." And Chateaubriand, ever the first to show respect to courage in misfortune, wrote to him on 16th June 1844: "Prince, in the midst of your misfortunes, you have studied with as much sagacity as force the causes of a Revolution which, in modern Europe, has opened the career of royal calamities. Your love of liberty, your courage and your sufferings, would give you every claim to my support, if, to be worthy of your esteem, I did not feel that I ought to remain faithful to the misfortunes of Henry V. as I am to the glory of Napoleon."

29. Another of the murderous attempts which had so often disgraced France of late years occurred in this autumn, and revealed the intensity of the fanatical passions which burned under the apparently smooth surface of society. On the 17th October, as the King was coming from St Cloud to assist at a council of his Ministers, at the angle of the Place Louis XV., just when he had lowered the sash of the window of his carriage to salute the guard, the discharge of a pistol close

at hand was suddenly heard, and the carriage was filled with smoke. No one was injured by the discharge, and on looking out of the window the King saw a man crouching behind one of the lions which decorate that superb Place. He was immediately arrested, with the smoking carbine still in his hand, and conducted to the nearest police-office. His first words were, "Cursed carbine! I took a good aim, but it was too strongly charged." Being interrogated by the prefect, the following strange answers were made by him to the interrogatories: "What is your name? — Marius Edouard Darmès. What is your age? — Forty-three. Where were you born? — At Marseilles. What is your profession? — A conspirator. That is not a profession. — Well, put down I live by my labour. What induced you to commit so odious a crime, — have you any accomplices? — I have no accomplices: my motive was to slay the greatest tyrant of ancient or modern times. Do you not repent of having conceived and executed so abominable a crime? — I repent only of not having succeeded in it. Have you long entertained the design of murdering the King? — Only an hour before I put it in execution." It is easy to see here the influence of the secret societies and revolutionary publications which had come to exercise so fatal an influence on the minds of the working classes, in which the killing of a king was represented as the highest of the civic virtues. Notwithstanding his being caught in the fact, and the King having narrowly escaped with his life, the humanity of the sovereign prevailed over the representations of his Council, and Darmès, after being convicted before the Chamber of Peers, was sentenced only to imprisonment for life.

30. The frigate *Bellepoule*, despatched to receive the remains of Napoleon, made a good passage, and arrived in safety at St Helena. The officers intrusted with the melancholy duty were received with the utmost respect by the English garrison, and every preparation was made to give due solemnity to the disinterment of the Emperor's

remains. The solitary tomb under the willow-tree was opened, the winding-sheet rolled back with pious care, and the features of the immortal hero exposed to the view of the entranced spectators. So perfectly had the body been embalmed that the features were undecayed, the countenance serene, even a smile on the lips, and his dress the same, since immortalised in statuary, as when he stood on the fields of Austerlitz or Jena. Borne first on a magnificent hearse, and then down to the harbour on the shoulders of British grenadiers, amidst the discharge of artillery from the vessels, batteries, and all parts of the island, the body was lowered into the French frigate, and England nobly, and in a right spirit, parted with the proudest trophy of her national glory. The *Bellepoule* had a favourable voyage home, and reached Havre in safety in the beginning of December. The interment was fixed for the 15th of the same month — not at St Denis, amidst her ancient sovereigns, but in the Church of the Invalides, beside the graves of Turenne, Vauban, Lannes, and the paladins of France; and every preparation was made for giving the utmost magnificence to the absorbing spectacle.

31. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and excitement which prevailed in Paris when the day fixed for the august ceremony arrived. The weather was favourable; the sun shone forth in unclouded brilliancy, but a piercing wind from the north blew with such severity that several persons perished of cold as they were waiting for the funeral procession. Early on the morning of the 15th, the coffin, which had been brought by the Seine to Courbevoie the preceding evening, was placed on a gigantic funeral-car, and at ten it began its march, attended by an immense and splendid military escort, and amidst a crowd of six hundred thousand spectators. So dense was the throng that it was half-past one when the procession reached the Place de la Concorde, from whence it passed by the bridge of the same name to the Church of the

Invalides, where it was received by the King, the whole royal family, with the Archbishop and all the clergy of Paris. "Sire!" said the Prince de Joinville, who approached at the head of the coffin, "I present to you the body of the Emperor Napoleon." "General Bertrand," said the King, "I command you to place the sword of the Emperor on his coffin." When this was done, he said, "General Gourgaud, place the hat of the Emperor on his coffin." This also was done, and the King having withdrawn, the coffin was placed on a magnificent altar in the centre of the church, the funeral service was performed with the utmost solemnity, and the *Dies Iræ* chanted with inexpressible effect by a thousand voices. Finally, the coffin, amidst entrancing melody, was lowered into the grave, when every eye in the vast assemblage was wet with tears, and the bones of Napoleon "finally reposed on the banks of the Seine, amidst the people whom he had loved so well."

32. Such was the excitement produced by this heart-stirring spectacle that it seriously shook the Government, and revealed the depth of the abyss on the edge of which they stood when Prince Louis made his descent at Boulogne. Not only in the countless multitudes which issued from the faubourgs, but in some battalions of the National Guard, were heard the cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" No one exclaimed "Vive le Roi." One only thought, the recollections of the Empire, absorbed every mind. With these cries were mingled others of more sinister moment for the present times, as "A bas les Ministres de l'étranger!" "Vive M. Thiers!" "Mort à l'Europe!" The "Marseillaise" and the "Parisienne" were vociferously sung in every street, the whole multitude joining in the chorus. These demonstrations of public feeling were eagerly adopted and commented on next day in the Opposition journals, and from them acquired an importance in the eyes of other nations, to which they were scarcely of themselves entitled. "The opinion of France," said they, "has caused itself

to be heard throughout all the legions: the Ministry stands reproved; nothing remains for it but to give in its resignation." Such, in the words of its ablest supporters, was democratic government, represented as the perfection of human reason, the only secure foundation for general regeneration!—a government dependent entirely on popular favour, expressed by a vociferous mob of ignorant and impassioned men chanting popular airs in the streets, with bayonets in their hands!

33. But the French Government at this period was engaged in a more arduous undertaking than even its maintenance against the fickle caprices of the Parisian multitude. It was threatened with a European war; preparations were making for defending the national independence, even in its last stronghold, the streets of the capital. The progress of events in the East, coupled with the disposition, at once warlike and democratic, of M. Thiers, had brought on a crisis in the Levant, from which it seemed impossible to find an exit except by drawing the sword. That minister, equally enamoured of the Imperial as the Revolutionary spirit, saw in the distracted state of Turkey after the battle of Nezib, already recounted, a fair opportunity for regaining the French influence in the Levant, and realising, by pacific means, the dream of Napoleon for the permanent establishment of French power in Egypt. By supporting Mehemet Ali, its rebellious pasha, against the Sultan, he hoped to bind him irrevocably to the interests of France, and thus achieve by the pen what the Emperor had failed in effecting by the sword. Great would be the éclat which such an achievement would give to French diplomacy; and it was the more attractive to the French minister that it promised to avenge the cause of Napoleon on the very theatre of his former defeat, and to interrupt the communication of the English with India by that very route which steam navigation has again rendered the chief line of transit to the shores of the Ganges.

34. The views of the British Govern-

ment, which were shared with those of Austria, Russia, and Prussia on this subject, were justly stated by M. Guizot, the French ambassador in London, to M. Thiers, on the 15th April 1840. "The British Government," said this sagacious statesman, "conceives it has in the East two interests, unequal, without doubt, but which have both got possession of it. The one is terror of the Russians at Constantinople; the other, of the French at Alexandria. It would willingly prevent at Constantinople, by the force of the Government, or by the regular intervention of Europe, the presence of Russia, and at the same time weaken the Pasha, lest he should become too important a power in the Mediterranean. It flatters itself it has attained, by its present policy, this double object; for Russia appears disposed to abandon, or at least to *ad-journ*, her pretensions in the East, and even her claims to an exclusive protectorate, and as much inclined as England to weaken the Pasha. Prussia adheres to that view. England sees in these dispositions not an embarrassment, but a precious opportunity to seize. Nevertheless, a double set of apprehensions have seized upon her. On the one hand, she fears that, by a sudden attack, the new government at Constantinople may be compelled to seek for safety in the protection of Russia; on the other, that the alliance with France, to which she, with reason, attaches so much value, may be disturbed, or even broken, by the diverging views of the two powers on the Eastern question. These two considerations hold her in suspense, and may even lead her to make some concessions to France in Egypt, to avoid complications which may threaten the French alliance. To what point will this disposition to concession go? It is impossible at present to say how far it may be carried, or how it may be modified, by ulterior combinations; but these dispositions appear to me sufficiently pronounced and advanced to indicate to the French Government that it should apply itself to remove

existing difficulties, not to create new ones."

35. On the other hand, the views of M. Thiers, who, however much inclined in secret to espouse the cause of the Pasha, was yet fearful to commit himself openly with Europe, and break with the English alliance, were unfolded in his answer to M. Guizot of 25th April. "Limit yourself to acknowledging the reception of the note proposing a conference, but avoid saying anything which may seem to imply a recognition of its necessity. Say that the French Cabinet regards such a step as calculated to complicate, rather than unravel, the affairs of the East. Avoid expressing any general opinion; confine yourself to limited and detached points. I do not wish to tie my hands; I have had enough of the collective note of last year. I cannot bring myself to conceive measures against Mehemet Ali, which is the point to which the four powers are evidently driving. At the same time, I am not entitled to prevent other powers from following their own inclinations, and I shall oppose no obstacles to their doings so, as long as the interest and honour of France are not wounded. But the project of having recourse to violence against Mehemet Ali appears to me chimerical: in the first place, because his power is more solidly established than is generally supposed; and in the second, because England alone is in a situation to employ these coercive measures, and the risk of doing so would more than compensate the advantage. At the same time, I am not irrevocably wedded to my opinions; and if you perceive that they think otherwise in London, make remonstrances, and if no attention is paid to them, you will receive from me farther orders."

36. Whatever may have been the anxiety of M. Thiers to preserve the *statu quo* system, the measures of the allied powers rendered it impossible to maintain it much longer, and drove matters to a crisis. The terms of the treaty of 15th July have been already mentioned, signed by the representa-

tives of the four allied powers, whereby it was agreed that intimation should be made to Mehemet Ali, that if he evacuated Syria and Candia in ten days, he should have his pashalic of Egypt in hereditary right, and that of Syria, with the fortress of St Jean d'Acre, for life; but if these offers were not acceded to, and the necessary orders not given in that time, the offer of the liferent of the pashalic of Acre should be withdrawn. This treaty was concluded by the four powers *alone*, without the concurrence of France, so that the latter power found herself in a manner excluded from the European family. The communication of the treaty, however, which was made on the 18th July, was accompanied with every expression which could soften the irritation likely to be experienced at the Court of the Tuileries from this circumstance.

37. "The French Government," said the memorandum communicating the treaty, "has received during the whole course of the negotiations, which began in the autumn of last year, the most incontestable proofs of the desire of the courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, to arrive at an accord with the French Government in regard to the arrangements necessary for the pacification of the Levant. France may appreciate, from that circumstance, the importance which the courts attach to the moral effect likely to be produced by the harmony and combined action of the five powers in an affair attended with such grave consequences. The four powers have perceived with regret that their efforts to attain this end have been unsuccessful; and although, recently, they have proposed to France to unite with them for the execution of an arrangement between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, based on the views which the French ambassador proposed in the end of last year, the Government of France has not thought fit to accede to that combination. It has annexed to its co-operation with the other powers, conditions which they regarded as inconsistent with the independence of the Ottoman empire, and the future peace

of Europe. In these circumstances, nothing remained to the four powers but either to abandon to chance the future of the great affairs which they were called on to adjust, to manifest thus their impotence, and leave Europe exposed to constantly increasing hazards, or to advance in their own line, without the co-operation of France, and of themselves effect the pacification of the Levant. Placed in that alternative, and profoundly convinced of the necessity of a prompt decision to adjust the many important interests now at stake, they have considered it their duty to adopt the latter alternative. They have, in consequence, concluded a convention with the Sultan, in virtue of which the complications in the Levant will, they trust, be satisfactorily adjusted. In signing that convention, the four powers have felt the deepest regret at finding themselves momentarily separated from France in an affair so essentially European. They indulge the hope that their separation from France, on that subject, will be of short duration; and that it will in no degree disturb the sincere friendship which they so ardently desire to maintain with that power."

38. Notwithstanding the delicate manner in which this unwelcome intelligence was conveyed to the French Government, there was enough in it to awaken the jealousy of the Government and rouse the passions of the people. M. Thiers had expected the immediate signature of a treaty between the Sultan and the Pasha, which should have adjusted their differences according to his ideas; great therefore was his indignation when he found that he had been anticipated by the allied powers, and that the affairs of the Levant were to be adjusted by the coalesced powers alone without the concurrence of France, and in direct opposition to its wishes. The public unanimously shared these sentiments. The French felt themselves wounded in their national honour, and, more sensitive than any people in Europe in that particular, they immediately took fire. The cry was universal for

immediate and great preparations for war, in order to prevent the ratification of the treaty. "It is not yet ratified," it was said: "the cabinets will recoil from a step so injurious to French influence; to prevent the ratification of the treaty, we must arm on a gigantic scale. When Europe sees France determined on a national war, it will hesitate before adopting a repressive system, founded on the ignoring of its influence." These sentiments were loudly re-echoed by the public press. Not only the revolutionary journals, but the Royalist and Legitimist, called out aloud for war. The *National* indulged in the most menacing expressions; and even the *Journal des Débats*, understood to express the sentiments of the Tuileries, so far from restraining, loudly applauded the warlike enthusiasm, and in an especial manner directed it against England.

39. A soldier who had fought at Jemappes, a sovereign who had acted at Antwerp, Louis Philippe was sensitively alive to the national honour, and deemed no sacrifices too great or dangers too serious to protect it from insult. He cordially acquiesced, accordingly, in the vigorous measures proposed by M. Thiers, and unanimously adopted by the Cabinet. It was immediately determined—1. To raise the army to the war establishment of 400,000 men, in anticipation of a serious Continental as well as maritime contest; 2. To adopt a great system of fortifications around Paris, so as to eschew the dangers which had proved so fatal in 1814 and 1815; 3. To augment largely the fleet in the Mediterranean, so as to enable the French navy to act with effect in a European conflict; and, 4. To open an extraordinary credit of 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000), authorised by a mere royal ordonnance on the responsibility of Ministers. These were very bold steps, and in another state of the public mind might have caused no small danger to the Ministers who recommended them. But in the present excited state of public feeling, and in a matter in which the honour of France

was involved, no danger was to be apprehended from the adoption of any warlike measures, how decided soever.

40. A great difference of opinion, however, soon arose as to the *mode* in which the fortification of Paris was to be carried into effect. The King, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, inclined to the side of *forts détachés*, erected on all the eminences around Paris within half cannon-shot of each other, and each a fortress in itself capable of standing a separate siege. By means of this cross fire all access to the capital from without would be rendered impossible till the forts themselves were subdued; and beyond all doubt, if these detached forts had been in existence in 1814, the march of the Allies upon Paris after Napoleon's movement upon St Dizier would have terminated in disaster. This plan of defence also presented the immense advantage of keeping the horrors of war and the real defence of the capital at a distance from its edifices, and of giving the executive at the head of the army, by the guns of these, the entire command of the capital without firing a shot in the streets. But on this very account the project was from the first the object of jealousy and opposition to the Republican party, who had no desire to see the Government in possession of a line of forts around the capital, from which they might readily reduce any insurrection among its inhabitants, by either threatening them with the terrors of a bombardment, or cutting off their supplies of provisions from the country. For these reasons they strongly contended for the *enceinte continue*, or entire line of fortifications, which they hoped, without separating the soldiers from the citizens, would convert the capital into *one* huge intrenched camp, in which, from the magnitude of their numbers, they themselves would have the superiority. The Government, however, held out steadily for the *forts détachés*; and, taking advantage of the general warlike fervour, commenced their construction, which was vigorously proceeded with. Their localities revealed the true idea which had

prompted their construction; for it was soon discovered that they would be more formidable to an enemy *within* than *without*, and that by means of their converging fire any insurrection in the capital might hereafter be easily subdued.*

41. Placed at Paris in the centre of the excitement, and, in a manner, in the front rank of the conflict, M. Thiers was in his element, and beheld in the effervescence around him the *beau idéal* of his conception of civilised society—popular excitement controlled by military force. His preparations were on the most formidable scale, and sufficiently proved that his administrative talents were fully equal to his oratorical abilities. Twelve new regiments were ordered to be raised, the artillery put on the war establishment, and the battalions and squadrons all filled up to their war footing. He boasted that in a few months he would have 400,000 regular troops under arms, besides 300,000 movable national guards. When he came to details, however, M. Thiers encountered many unexpected difficulties, and acquired melancholy proof how much the resources of France, in all but men, had been wasted by the devastation of the Revolution. For artillery horses he was obliged to go to Switzerland, for cavalry to Germany; the guns for the artillery could only be augmented by recourse to a house in connection with Russia; large steamboats required to be purchased in England. Thus for all the *matériel* of war, both by land and sea, France was obliged to have recourse to her enemies—a melancholy reflection for a country which had once sent forth from its own resources the armies of Louis XIV. and Napoleon, and in 1812 had despatched one hun-

dred thousand horses into Russia. But it is easily accounted for, when it is recollected that France was now divided among ten millions of landed proprietors, the great majority of whom, so far from being able to feed a horse, were barely able to feed themselves.

42. Farther removed from the centre of agitation, and not equally enamoured as M. Thiers of revolutionary excitement and military power, M. Guizot was in a situation in London to judge more correctly the true state of affairs, and at the same time appreciate the real anxiety of the British Government to adjust the affairs of the East without coming to an actual rupture with the French Cabinet. While, therefore, he officially addressed an able memorandum to Lord Palmerston on the treaty of 15th July, defending the conduct of France in regard to the affairs of the Levant,* he was careful to transmit to Paris, by circuitous channels, detailed information to the King as to the real views of the British Cabinet, and the ease with which affairs might be adjusted, and the serious dangers of a general war averted. These representations fell in too completely with the King's own pacific

* The Author is in possession of a very curious map, showing the proposed position of all the detached forts round Paris, and the range of their guns. Those of no less than six cross each other in the Rue St Antoine and the Place of the Bastille, the constant centre of insurrection!—A curious and instructive circumstance, that the fire of a hundred guns should be in the end concentrated upon the spot where the first triumph of popular insurrection took place!

* "La France a toujours désiré, dans l'affaires de l'Orient, marcher d'accord avec la Grande Bretagne, l'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Russie. Elle n'a jamais été mue dans sa conduite que par l'intérêt de la paix. Elle n'a jamais jugé les propositions qui lui ont été faites que d'un point de vue général, et jamais du point de vue de son intérêt particulier. Jugeant de ce point de vue, elle a considéré comme mal conçus tous les projets qui avaient pour but d'arracher de Méhémet Ali par la force des armes les portions de l'Empire Turc qu'il occupe actuellement. La France ne croit pas cela bon pour le Sultan; car on tendrait ainsi à lui donner ce qu'il ne pourrait ni administrer ni conserver. La France s'est surtout prononcée contre le projet dont l'adoption devait entraîner l'emploi de la force, parcequ'elle ne voyait pas distinctement les moyens dont les cinq Puissances pouvaient disposer. Mais au surplus, sans insister sur la question que pourrait faire naître cette manière de procéder à son égard, la France le déclare de nouveau: Elle considère comme peu réfléchie, comme peu prudente, une conduite qui consistera à prendre des résolutions sans moyens de les exécuter, ou à les exécuter par des moyens insuffisants ou dangereux."—*Memorandum adressé au VICOMTE PALMERSTON par M. GUIZOT, July 24, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 218, 219, note.*

views not to meet with a ready attention; and he was the more inclined to attend to them, that unmistakable symptoms showed the terror which had seized upon the moneyed interest in consequence of the prospect of a general war. By an ordonnance of 10th September, M. Thiers had declared the necessity for the fortification of Paris urgent, and opened a credit of 600,000 francs (£24,000) to begin them. In the midst of these warlike preparations, and while columns of cavalry and infantry, with long trains of artillery, were constantly traversing the streets, the public funds fell seventeen per cent in the space of three months: they sank from 86 on 6th July to 69 on 2d October. These alarming symptoms, and the general effervescence of the public mind, excited the serious alarm of the King; and in order to discover if possible a mode of escaping from the dangers with which he was surrounded, in the middle of September he commanded M. Guizot to meet him at the Chateau d'Eu in Normandy. The ambassador quickly obeyed the summons, and long and anxious conferences took place between them, upon which the destinies of Europe depended.

43. Louis Philippe was seriously desirous to uphold the national dignity and independence; but he had no inclination to retrograde to the revolutionary fervour of 1830, to which the policy of his Prime Minister was hurrying him; and his difficulty was, that, as matters were situated, he did not see how he could extricate himself from the one without compromising the other. M. Guizot expounded his ideas to him on both points with his wonted clearness and precision. He observed that what was now passing in England was rather an accident than a settled policy; that the French alliance was suspended, not abandoned; that by a few concessions on both sides a good understanding might be restored; and that the declamations of the journals on either side were not to be taken as a true test of the general feeling. On the next point, whether it was possible to venture

upon the experiment of a conservative cabinet, the opinions of M. Guizot were equally decided. He thought that the circumstance which most powerfully influenced external nations in their opinion of what was going on in France, was the over-excitement of the public mind, the distress of material interests, the want of consistency in the conduct of Government, of unity in the views of the Cabinet, and of the majority of the Chamber. It was by no means impossible, he thought, to form a government which should be in harmony with the majority of the Chamber, foreseeing in a conservative sense, and with the mission to temper the political fever, which left no moderation in opinion, and was evidently hurrying on the nation to the most dreadful catastrophe. The danger arose from having, in the composition of M. Thiers's Cabinet, removed to a distance all the men of weight in Parliament, and who had rendered immense service to the monarchy and the cause of order.

44. These opinions were too consonant to the pacific disposition and prudent character of the King not to meet with his entire concurrence; and he in secret resolved, when an opportunity occurred, to remove a Minister from the lead in his councils whose measures were tending so rapidly to embroil him with the whole of Europe. Whether it was that M. Thiers divined these views on the part of the King, or that he himself recoiled from the prospect of encountering the hostility of all Europe on the Rhine for the sake of maintaining the influence of France in Egypt, certain it is that, after this interview in the Chateau d'Eu, the policy of the Cabinet underwent a total revolution. Orders were given to Admiral Lalande to leave the mouth of the Dardanelles, where the French fleet had lain close to the British all the summer; and after performing several insignificant evolutions to conceal the real object in view, it made sail for Toulon, where it arrived by the end of October. Meanwhile, the English fleet, under Admirals Stopford and Napier, en-

tered upon the short and brilliant campaign already recorded, which terminated in the capture of Acre, and the entire expulsion of the Egyptians from Syria. These events were decisive. The French had retired from the theatre of conflict, the English had triumphed in it. In vain M. Thiers sought to conceal his mortification by declaring "that the French fleet was more at his disposal in the roads of Toulon than in the seas of Syria; and that, by means of the telegraph, he could send it everywhere to combat the allied squadrons." The flimsy device deceived no one. Every man in France, so eminently a warlike nation, saw that in leaving the Levant, at the very time when hostilities were commencing, was the most decisive shunning of the conflict. In his note of 8th October, addressed to M. Guizot, he contented himself with declaring that "France would in no event consent to the dethronement of Mehemet Ali."* This, however, was what none of the allied powers desired; the expulsion of his forces from Syria, and its restoration to the Porte, being the object to which their efforts were directed. The crisis therefore had now passed in the East; there was no longer any subject of contention between France and the allied powers. It must be confessed, France was content to forego a tempting prize, and England avoided a serious danger

* "Les plus chers intérêts de l'Europe se rattachaient à la continuation de l'existence de la Turquie. Cet empire tenu dans l'abaissement, ne pouvait servir qu'à l'agrandissement des Etats voisins, au détriment de l'équilibre général; et sa ruine aurait amené, dans les positions existantes des grandes Puissances, un changement qui aurait modifié l'aspect du globe entier. La France, et les autres Puissances avec elle, ont si bien compris ce résultat éventuel, que de concert avec ses alliés elle a constamment et loyalement travaillé à la conservation de l'Empire Ottoman, quelque profondément que leurs intérêts respectifs pussent être engagés relativement à la conservation ou à la ruine de ce royaume. Mais la partie intégrale de l'Empire Ottoman s'étend des rives de la Mer Noire à celles de la Mer Rouge. Il est aussi essentiel de garantir l'indépendance de l'Egypte et de la Syrie que l'indépendance des Dardanelles et du Bosphore."—M. THIERS à M. GUIZOT, Octobre 8, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 259.

on this occasion, for which the latter power was indebted to the moderation of the French sovereign, the diplomatic ability of Lord Palmerston, and the strength of the European alliance, but by no means to the magnitude of its national resources. For such had been the prostration of the British forces by sea and land at this period, in consequence of the wretched system of economy which had been forced upon the Government by the reformed House of Commons, that France had fifteen ships of the line in the Levant, while England had only nine; and while the former had three hundred thousand regular soldiers ready to be marched down to the coasts of the Channel, not twenty thousand men, after providing for the necessary garrisons, could have been assembled to meet them on the British shores.*

45. But although the crisis had passed for Europe, it was by no means over with the French Minister; and the vacillation of system which saved the world from a general war, proved fatal to the Minister who had so nearly in-

* M. Thiers wrote, on the 3d October 1840, to M. Guizot in London: "They (England) have gratuitously sacrificed for a secondary interest an alliance which has maintained the integrity of the Ottoman empire much more effectually than it will be by the treaty of 15th July. It will be said that France has yielded to the wishes of England, and purchased its alliance by that sacrifice. The answer to this is obvious. France, once in union with the views of the allies, will have made none of those essential sacrifices which no independent nation should make to another, but only that of a way of viewing certain questions of boundaries. But they left her no choice. They offered to admit her into an alliance already formed. From that moment she required to isolate herself, and she has done so. But, faithful to her pacific policy, she has never ceased to counsel moderation to Mehemet Ali. Though armed and at liberty to act, she will do all in her power to preserve the world from the catastrophe with which it is threatened. With the exception of sacrifices which might affect her honour, she will do everything to preserve peace. If at present she holds this language to the British Cabinet, it is less in the spirit of complaint than to prove the honesty of her policy, not only towards Great Britain, but the entire world, of which no state, how powerful soever it may be, can venture to despise the opinion."—M. THIERS to M. GUIZOT, October 3, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 257, 259, note.

duced it. M. Thiers was worse than defeated—he was humiliated; he had not met death in fair fight—he had shunned it. He had lost the confidence of all parties—of the Conservatives, because he had brought Europe to the edge of a general war; of the Revolutionists, because he had avoided it. It was no difficult matter, in these circumstances, to effect his downfall; and his own impatience and excitable temperament soon brought about the desired opportunity. In the midst of his warlike enthusiasm, M. Thiers had desired the early convocation of the Chambers to sanction his great expenditure, and the King had consented to it, in the hope that the pent-up passions of the nation might find vent in the tribune, and the war of tongues supersede that of swords. The Chambers, accordingly, stood convoked for the 5th November. But an insurmountable difficulty arose in regard to the terms in which the recent events were to be alluded to in the speech from the throne. M. Thiers insisted for menacing expressions, in which the flag of defiance was still to be flung in the face of Europe. The King thought this was a senseless and perilous bravado, which might lead to the most serious dangers. He refused his consent, therefore, to the insertion of the hazardous paragraph; and the consequence was, that M. Thiers resigned with his whole Cabinet, and their resignations were at once accepted.*

* The passage desired by M. Thiers, and objected to by the King, was as follows:—"Au moment où finissait la dernière session, un traité a été signé entre la Porte Ottomane, l'Angleterre, l'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Russie, pour régler le différend survenu entre le Sultan et le Vice-roi d'Egypte. Cet acte important, accompli sans la participation de la France, et dans les vues d'une politique à laquelle elle n'a point adhéré, pouvait dans l'exécution amener de dangereuses conséquences. La France devait les prévoir, et se disposer à faire face à tous les évènements. Mon Gouvernement a pris sous sa responsabilité toutes les mesures qu'autorisaient les lois et que prescrivait sa situation nouvelle. La France, qui continue à souhaiter sincèrement la paix, demeure fidèle à la politique que vous avez plus d'une fois appuyée par d'éclatans suffrages. Jalouse d'assurer l'indépendance et l'intégrité de l'Empire Ottoman,

46. The resignation of the Minister having been foreseen, and, in fact, prepared for by the King, there was no difficulty in arranging the new Cabinet. There was no ministerial interregnum on this, as there had been on so many previous occasions, when real embarrassment had been experienced. To M. Guizot, who had been the chief instrument in its formation, naturally belonged the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Marshal Soult was again prevailed on to resume the onerous duties of President of the Council. The other offices were so arranged as to show that the Doctrinaires and Conservatives had at length got entire possession of the government, and that a cabinet was formed on the basis on which the King was desirous to conduct it.* So far the task was easy; but it was by no means equally so to conduct the administration so as to calm the general effervescence, without exciting distrust and dissatisfaction in the minds of the people. So exciting had been the con-

elle les croit conciliables avec l'existence du Vice-roi d'Egypte, devenu lui-même un des élémens nécessaires à la force de cet empire. Mais les évènements qui se passaient pourraient amener des conséquences plus graves. Les mesures prises jusqu'ici par mon Gouvernement pourraient alors ne plus suffire. Il importait donc de les compléter par des mesures nouvelles, pour lesquelles le concours des deux Chambres était nécessaire. J'ai dû les convoquer. Elles penseront comme moi que la France, qui n'a pas été la première à livrer le repos du monde à la fortune des armes, doit se tenir prête à agir, le jour où elle croirait l'équilibre Européen sérieusement menacé. J'aime à compter plus que jamais sur votre patriotique concours. Vous voulez comme moi que la France soit forte et grande. Aucun sacrifice ne vous coûterait pour lui conserver dans le monde le rang qui lui appartient. Elle n'en veut par déchoir. La France est fortement attachée à la paix, mais elle ne l'achèterait pas d'un prix indigne d'elle; et votre Roi, qui a mis sa gloire à la conserver au monde, veut laisser intact à son fils ce dépôt sacré d'indépendance nationale que la Révolution Française a mis dans ses mains."

—CAPEFIGUE, x. 263, 264.

* Cabinet of 29th October 1840:—Marshal Soult, President of the Council and War Minister; M. Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Martin (du Nord), of Public Worship and Justice; M. Duchatel, of the Interior; M. Haumann, of Finance; Admiral Duperré, of Marine; M. Cunin-Gridaine, of Commerce; M. Teste, of Public Works; M. Villemain, of Public Instruction. —*Moniteur*, October 29, 1840.

duct and language of M. Thiers during the last four months, and so great the effervescence produced by the open encouragement given to revolutionary ideas, and the gauntlet thrown down to all Europe, that it was no easy matter to say how the nation was to be brought back to the sobriety of rational ideas, or taught wisdom without undergoing the ordeal of suffering.

47. The Chambers met, pursuant to proclamation, on the 5th November. The King was received in grave silence, interrupted only by some faint cheers from the Centre of the Assembly. "I have felt," said he, "the necessity of convoking you before the ordinary time when the Chamber assembles. The measures which the Emperor of Austria, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, have adopted in concert to regulate the relations of the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt, have imposed on me serious duties. I have the dignity of our country as much at heart as its security and repose. In persevering in that conciliatory and pacific policy, of which, during six years, we have been reaping the fruits, I have put France in a situation to make face against any events which might arise from the course of events in the East. The extraordinary credits which, with that view, have been opened, will be submitted to you; you will appreciate the motives which led to them. I still indulge the hope that the general peace will not be disturbed. It is necessary to the common welfare of Europe, to the prosperity of every nation, to the progress of civilisation. I trust to your wisdom to enable me to preserve it, as I would reckon on your patriotism, if the honour of France, and the place it occupies among nations, should demand from it fresh sacrifices. It is with no less anxiety that, for another reason, I have appealed to your loyal assistance. Impotence has not extinguished the anarchical passions. Under whatever form they may present themselves, my Government will find in the existing laws sufficient guarantees for the public safety. As to myself,

in the trials which Providence imposes upon me, I feel only that I owe thanks to Heaven for the protection which it has accorded to me, and have no duty so great as to prove, by my assiduous attention to the interests and happiness of France, my gratitude for the affection with which I am at this moment surrounded."

48. Great was the anxiety felt upon the debate on the Address, which, as usual, was an echo of the Speech; for it was felt to be the turning-point of French policy, both externally and internally. On it depended not merely whether peace was to be preserved, and the dogs of war kept in their leash, but whether the march of revolutionary ideas was to be stopped, and the nation retained in the unobtrusive paths of pacific industry. "France," said M. Thiers, "preferred a conference at Vienna, and demanded Egypt and Syria in hereditary right for the Pasha; while, on the other hand, the four coalesced powers insisted that he should be confined to Egypt. Such was the state of affairs when the Ministry of 1st March succeeded to power. There was no longer a treaty, but an ultimatum, signified to France, and to France isolated from Europe. France alone was in presence of England, and England believed that she must yield. The Cabinet of 1st March felt that France had immense interests in the East: on that point they were unanimous; but the great point was to gain time, for our military and naval preparations were not complete. England in reality was not to be feared, for she would willingly have coalesced with us, could she have found a decent pretext for doing so; so great was her dread of seeing the Russians established at Constantinople. It is true that France was desirous of entering into a direct and formal engagement with the Pasha; but that was only because it was the only means of extricating an affair otherwise insoluble.

49. "Would you know why the treaty of 15th July was precipitated, and why it was for some days concealed from France? It was because the allies saw in the insurrection of the

Druses a means of action which had not hitherto presented itself; and because they wished Admiral Stopford to stop the Turkish fleet, and take the Egyptian, before France was aware of what was going forward. Was not this act an unworthy deception after ten years of alliance? France felt that affront. It is a mistake to say that I alone felt it, and that I drew my country after me. To do so would have been impossible; I only followed—I could not lead it. How many came to me and said, ‘Support the dignity of France, and an entire nation will support you.’ I own I shared, as every good Frenchman should, in these sentiments, and I wished to follow out the conduct which they prescribed. The more that I examined the question, the more I reflect on what passed in my breast on those terrible days, the more strongly I felt that if France receded on this occasion, she would lose her place among nations. *I knew I was about, perhaps, to make the blood of ten generations flow*; but the thought always recurred, if France retires, she does so in presence of Europe—all the world will know it: the Government, the Chambers, are engaged: if she retires, she loses her rank. If that monarchy which our hands have reared, to the formation of which, during ten years, we have directed all our efforts,—if it is to be found degrading the country instead of elevating it, I can no longer bear the reproach of having belonged to it. I prefer the obscurity of private life.

50. “To go to war immediately on account of the treaty, was impossible. The great thing was to gain time in order to complete our armaments, which had been sadly neglected during the long peace. Thence it was that the late Cabinet proposed to the King to raise the army to 639,000 men, and to call into active service 300,000 national guards. Great as these forces are, they would have proved insufficient if Paris had not been fortified, and thence the proposition to do so, made not as a complaisant courtier, but as a sincere and devoted citizen. We were not in a condition to act be-

fore next May; and in the mean time the advice given to the Pasha was, not to pass the Taurus, to defend Syria, Aere, and Alexandria, but to invoke the mediation of France; *and if the war continued, France, with all its forces, would support him in the following spring.* I accept the responsibility of all I have done: it was by me that Mehemet Ali was curbed; it was M. Cochelet and M. Walewski who conveyed to him my wishes. It was indispensable to gain time at that crisis; and that was the real object of the note of 8th October. Such was the policy, such the aim of the late Cabinet; if it is not now to be carried into effect, let those answer for it who have given different counsels to the sovereign.”

51. On the other hand, it was answered by M. Guizot: “Would you know the real situation, the ultimatum of the Cabinet of 1st March? I will tell you in one word: It was war—war certain and inevitable. Are you willing to incur its terrible chances for an accident of diplomacy, the debates of negotiators? It is not the stranger whom we would have to combat, if we engaged in such a contest; it is the factions in our own bosom who torture the words of the treaty of 15th July, in order to render it the firebrand which is to set the world in flames. What right have they to speak to us of having dishonoured France, by accepting peace on any terms? What right have they to suppose us less patriotic, or less disposed to take up arms, if necessary for the national safety or honour? The Cabinet of 29th October is fitted to reassure all minds, to restore commerce, and all the interests which emanate from peace. Who is there amongst us, the friend of his country, who is not desirous to see it emerge from a crisis so menacing to society, and which is so evidently and fearfully rousing the revolutionary passions?”

52. “We are told that France is isolated, that she is put to the ban of Europe, that the great powers act independent of her. Be it so. Who isolated her? Not the allied powers who signed the treaty of 15th July, but the Cabinet of 1st March, which *began*

of its own accord an isolated negotiation with the Pasha of Egypt, without the privity of the other powers, and which, when discovered, led to the treaty of 15th July. MM. Cochelet and Walewski, our diplomatic agents in Egypt, had opened a negotiation with Mehemet Ali long before that treaty was signed, which was purely a defensive measure against an isolated act of aggression on our part. That was the real cause of the treaty of 15th July. When once it was signed, matters looked serious; it was necessary to take precautions, and therefore I approved of the armaments. But there was in reality no cause for war. There was certainly a difference of views between France and the allied powers on the affairs of the East, which I deplore, but nothing more.

53. "Whenever a feeling unusually warm is manifested in France, Europe believes a revolution is approaching. Whenever the powers approach each other, or act in concert, France sees a coalition. That is quite natural on both sides. None can be surprised at it on either; but men of sense, who have influence on public affairs, should judge coolly in such emergencies. I say now to you as I have often said to others, You deceive yourselves; we are not in reality menaced with the revolution which you apprehend: and in like manner I say to you, You are wrong in feeling such alarm for the measures of the allied powers; they are defensive merely; they will lead to nothing if you do not provoke hostile measures. The treaty of 15th July has undoubtedly placed France in a serious situation; it has isolated it from Europe, and induced a coldness between it and its best and surest ally. That is the truth in its full extent; it is against that we must be on our guard—against that we must make preparation. But yet there must be a certain measure even in purely defensive measures. If you assume an attitude, and make preparations corresponding not to the actual state of the fact, but to what you erroneously suppose to be the fact, you yourselves run France into the danger which you say she has in-

curred; you are yourselves the authors of the danger; you compel the formation of the coalition which is the object of so much apprehension."

54. The new Cabinet obtained a decisive majority on this question; the division was 247 to 161. More than even by this large division against him, M. Thiers was damaged by the withering accusations brought against him, of having withheld for several days the publication of important intelligence, particularly of the treaty of 15th July, with a view to speculation in the Funds, in the benefit of which he largely participated. M. Thiers indignantly repelled these accusations, and there was no proof of their truth; but the honour of a minister must be like that of Calphurnia—it should not even be suspected; and men observed that no such stories were afloat when Count Molé and M. Guizot were at the head of affairs. This division put the new Ministry, in the mean time, in a secure position, and enabled them to carry on with some confidence the negotiations with England and the northern powers for the adjustment of the affairs of the East. But as the majority was composed of a coalition of many parties, it shared in the weakness of all such confederacies; and Government, during the remainder of the session, cautiously abstained from bringing forward any measure which might betray the latent seeds of dissolution which were implanted in its bosom.

55. In one particular, however, the policy of the late Cabinet was adopted with only a partial modification. The FORTIFICATION OF PARIS continued to be the object of special attention from Government. The commission to whom, in 1836,* when M. Thiers was

* The report of the commission in 1836 was in these terms:—"Qu'il soit élevé une muraille d'enceinte flanquée, surmontée d'un chemin de ronde crénelé, enveloppant les plus grandes masses d'habitation des faubourgs extérieurs de Paris, avec fossé là où cette disposition sera nécessaire. Que la trace de cette muraille embrasse les hauteurs qui dominent la ville, en suivant les directions les plus favorables à la défense, en égard à la configuration du terrain; qu'elle soit assez haute pour être à l'abri de l'escalade, et assez

President of the Council, the matter had been remitted, had reported in favour of a mixed system, consisting of an *enceinte continue*, with bastions and a ditch, protected in front by detached works upon advantageous eminences, intended to keep off the incendiary batteries of the enemy. Marshal Soult in person brought the matter before the Chamber, and insisted strongly on the necessity of the case, which admitted of no delay, and for which 13,000,000 francs had been already voted. The entire cost of the proposed works he calculated at 140,000,000 francs (£5,600,000), but he made no concealment of his opinion that the independence of France might come to depend on their completion. M. Thiers strongly advocated their necessity, but supported the *enceinte continue* in preference to the *forts détachés*, in which he was followed by the whole Liberal and Republican press, which loudly declaimed against the latter system as nothing more than a circle of bastiles, with which it was proposed to surround and overawe the capital. The case was happily summed up by M. Pagès de l'Ariège, who said that the one party demanded the *enceinte continue* in the name of nationality, the other the *forts détachés* in name of the monarchy.

56. Marshal Soult, in a military point of view, argued that a great city can never be effectually defended but by advanced and detached works, which may be each capable of sustaining a separate siege, and prevent the enemy from approaching so near as to be able

épaissir pour ne pouvoir être ouverte qu'avec des batteries de siège; qu'il soit établi sur les parties de cette enceinte où le besoin s'en fera sentir des bastions susceptibles d'être armés d'artillerie, pour la flanquer, couvrir de leurs feux ses approches, et éclairer autant que possible la gorge des ouvrages extérieurs, qui formeront la première ligne de défense.

"Qu'il soit construit en avant et autour de cette enceinte, notamment à la rive droite de la Seine, sur tous les points les plus favorables à la défense, des ouvrages en état de soutenir un siège, et fermés à la gorge. Leur objet sera d'éloigner les batteries incendiaires de l'ennemi, de protéger les diverses positions que pourraient occuper les forces défensives que les circonstances auraient amenées sous Paris, et de renfermer une grande partie du matériel à la défense."—*Rapport de la Commission*, Nov. 8, 1836; CAPEFIGUE, x. 285, 286, note.

to set its buildings on fire by shells. In confirmation of this he cited the siege of Genoa in 1799, where the defence was conducted by Massena, and the utility of advanced forts was so strongly experienced that the conflict to the very last never reached the actual walls of the place. To carry the Liberals along with them, the Government adopted the mixed system recommended by the commission of 1836; but the whole strength of the fortifications was thrown by Soult's advice into the external forts, the *enceinte continue* being little more than an expensive *muraille d'octroi*. This modified project was adopted by the Chamber by a majority of 75—the numbers being 237 to 162 in the Deputies, and in the Peers by 147 to 85. The Government, to assuage the terrors of the Republicans, agreed that the detached forts were not to be armed without a vote of the Chambers, and that the artillery destined for that purpose, amounting to two thousand pieces, should in the mean time be deposited at Bourges. To us, who have seen the defence of the lines of Torres Vedras and the siege of Sebastopol, there can be no room for doubt that the opinion of the veteran Marshal was, in a military point of view, the better founded. Certainly an invading army, even of 200,000 men, could have little chance of subduing Paris, if in the principal detached forts with which it is surrounded they found a Malakhoff or a Redan, defended by a Todleben or a Gortschakoff.

57. But in the middle of these warlike undertakings, which the exposed situation of Paris, so near the north-eastern frontier, the most exposed of the kingdom, without doubt rendered necessary, and the want of which the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 had too fatally demonstrated, the state of the finances became every day more alarming, and M. Hermann, with alarming statistical accuracy and without disguise, pointed it out to the Chamber. During his short ministry of eight months, M. Thiers had cost the nation, of supplementary credits beyond the estimated expenditure, no less than

185,000,000 francs (£7,400,000);* and the Finance Minister calculated that if the same rate of expenditure were to go on for two years longer, as the late Ministry had intended, the deficit would amount to 800,000,000 francs (£32,000,000), which could only be provided for by a regular loan, the resources of exchequer bills or other temporary expedients being entirely exhausted. Without doubt this burden, heavy as it was, would be esteemed light by the nation, if it was deemed indispensable to the national independence or security. But it was not so clear it would be calmly submitted to if it arose from the impetuous and warlike disposition of a single Minister, who was content to set the world in flames in order to revive the worn-out fervour of the Republic, or realise the dreams of Napoleon for the establishment of French influence on the banks of the Nile.

58. The Ministry in France having been changed on the Eastern question, there was no difficulty experienced by the other powers in coming to an accommodation regarding it. By two hattî-sheriffs addressed by the Sultan to Mehemet Ali on the 13th February 1841, the latter was confirmed in the government of Egypt in hereditary right, and provisionally in those of Nubia, Darfour, Sennaar, and Kordofan, and an act of amnesty published in favour of such subjects of the Porte as had revolted, and should return to their allegiance. But such was the influence of Russia in the conferences which preceded the final treaty of the 13th July 1841, and such the blindness to the future of the other powers, that a clause was inserted in it binding them to recognise as part of the international law of Europe the most important clause of the treaty of Un-

kiar-Skelessi, in which Russia, as the price of its assistance to the Porte, had extorted the closing of the Dardanelles against the ships of war of all foreign nations. The clause was in these words: "Their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of the French, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of all the Russias, persuaded that their accord offers the surest guarantee for the peace of Europe, the object of their whole solicitude, and being anxious to give to the Sultan a public proof of their respect for the inviolability of his rights of sovereignty, as well as of their desire to confirm the security of his empire, have resolved, on the invitation of the Sultan, to confirm by a solemn act their resolution to conform to the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire, in virtue of which the passage of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles is to remain *for ever closed to the vessels of war of foreign nations, as long as the Porte shall remain at peace.* And on his side the Sultan declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain in future the rule followed in time past as the immutable law of his empire, by which it is forbidden to the vessels of war of all foreign nations to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus as long as the Ottoman Porte shall enjoy peace, reserving the right to grant firmans of passage to light vessels of war employed in the service of ambassadors of friendly powers."

59. No doubt can now remain that the crisis which this treaty terminated was of the most violent kind; and that Europe was indebted to the firmness of Louis Philippe, and the wisdom of M. Guizot, for deliverance from a war which not only would have been attended by the most fearful devastation and effusion of blood, but would probably have terminated in destroying the independence of all the states of the Continent. England and France, the only two powers, it was well known, who were capable of coercing the rapidly-increasing power of Russia, stood on the edge of a desperate conflict, in which all the powers of Eu-

* SUPPLEMENTARY CREDITS.

	Francs
Guerre,	134,000,000
Travaux Publics,	7,000,000
Marine,	16,000,000
Achat de Grains,	8,000,000
Imprevues,	20,000,000

185,000,000
Or £7,400,000

rope were again, as in 1813, to have been arrayed against France, and their arms, instead of being united to defend the liberties of Europe against Muscovite aggression, would have been turned with fratricidal fury against each other. What would have resulted from such a conflict, but a vast and most perilous *addition to the power of Russia*, the state by whose strength and ambition the other states of Europe are most seriously threatened? Without adopting implicitly the hyperbole of M. Thiers, "that the war would steep in blood *ten generations*," it may safely be concluded that it would have done enough in one generation to put in the most imminent hazard the liberties of all Europe. The "war of opinion," which Mr Canning foresaw, would have been induced by M. Thiers; and to what other end could that have led but the dividing Europe into two factions, which would have set not only nation against nation, but class against class, and could have terminated in no other result but a second subjection of the entire Continent either to French domination, or the not less withering weight of Muscovite oppression? Every outbreak of the revolutionary spirit, which M. Thiers so strongly evoked, has, during the last half-century, terminated in a vast addition to the power of Russia; and it was no wonder it was so, for she was the last refuge of the destitute when threatened with revolutionary devastation.

60. The treaty of 13th July 1841, which *first* recognised as part of the *public law* of Europe the vast concession relative to the passage of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, extorted from the weakness of Turkey by the strength of Russia in the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, is one of the most curious instances on record in the annals of mankind of the insensibility of even the ablest statesmen to the consequences of their own actions, and the danger of being directed in public measures by the memory of the past, rather than the anticipation of the future. That both M. Thiers and Lord Palmerston were most able statesmen

is universally known, and has been sufficiently proved by subsequent history. Both were clear-sighted enough to see that it was by Russia that the liberties of Europe were most seriously menaced; and the conduct of both afterwards proved that they were fully alive to this danger. How, then, did these able men, with their eyes open to this danger, and at the head of the only two nations in the world whose union could avert it, act on this crisis? They mutually, and as it were by common consent, brought the two nations to the verge of a desperate war. They did more; they both, by separate means, adopted measures calculated, without intending it, to paralyse the strength of Turkey, where the onslaught was sure to be made. M. Thiers thought that the best thing he could do for Turkey, as the menaced power, was to cut off from it Egypt and Syria; a proceeding much the same as it would be to set about securing the independence of England by *cutting off from it Scotland and Wales*; and Lord Palmerston, having succeeded in bringing all Europe into his measures, thought he had secured the independence of the Ottoman empire by adopting the Russian treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, closing the Bosphorus and Dardanelles against foreign vessels of war; forgetting that *Russia, with eighteen sail of the line, was already there*, and that the only result of his diplomatic triumph was to leave Constantinople, with its fleet destroyed at Navarino, unsupported, *vis-à-vis* of Sebastopol, with its impregnable bastions and four thousand pieces of cannon. In a word, Lord Palmerston looked to the east after the sun had moved round to the west. He adopted a system which was protective of Turkey when Russia had no marine in the Black Sea, at a time when Russia had a great fleet there, and the only security against it was to be found in opening, *not closing*, the Dardanelles to the fleets of France and England.*

* By the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi the Dardanelles were closed to the war vessels of all foreign nations except Russia. By that of the 13th July 1841 they were closed to the

61. The way in which this extraordinary result was brought about is sufficiently plain. M. Thiers, enamoured of revolutionary excitement and imperial projects, was anxious to realise Napoleon's favourite design of establishing French influence on the banks of the Nile; and Lord Palmerston, justly dreading the effects of such an acquisition upon the English possessions in India, to which it was half way, ably and skilfully formed an alliance of the four European powers to baffle the design. In this he was entirely successful; but meantime, in his anxiety to check the extension of French influence in the Levant, he forgot the growth of Russia's power in the Black Sea. The Russian diplomatists skilfully and eagerly took advantage of this state of things to persuade the European powers formally to recognise that closing of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus against foreign ships of war which she had extorted from the weakness of Turkey, and to give the sanction of public law to a practice formerly conceded to the Porte as a private right, with reference to an inland sea of its own, now when, by the changes of time, that inland sea had been transformed into a Muscovite lake. Thus did the Black Sea, with the concurrence of all Europe, become a Russian lake, and Constantinople was left at the mercy of its colossal neighbour! Another proof

war vessels of all foreign nations, including Russia. Had danger threatened Europe from the presence of a Russian squadron in the Levant, this would have been an important difference; but as it was, the point of danger did not lie here. What was required, was not to keep Russia from the Levant, but from Constantinople; and this could be done only by stipulating for the squadrons of the Western powers a free access through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus into the Black Sea. The European powers had tacitly conceded to Turkey the right of closing the Dardanelles when the Black Sea was an inland Turkish lake; but they had a perfect right to refuse any longer to do so when, by her conquests, Russia had acquired a footing on its shores, and launched a fleet on its bosom. To make part of the public law of Europe a right conceded to Turkey with regard to its own waters, when those waters had become Russian, was to legalise a revolution, not to sanction an established custom.

among the many which contemporary history affords, that, situated as the world now is, France and England can never be divided without its turning to the profit of Russia, and that the real pioneers to the advance of despotism are the outbreaks of democracy.

62. It is sometimes said that, to avert this obvious danger, and erect an effectual barrier against Russian aggression in the East, it would have been better to have let Ibrahim Pasha advance to Constantinople, and substitute the vigour of a new for the decrepitude of a worn-out dynasty. There does not appear to be any solid ground for this opinion. Egyptian tyranny could no more have averted the march of Muscovite ambition than Ottoman weakness had done. Europe at this time was entirely mistaken on this subject. It mistook the transient vigour which *organised and methodised despotism* had given to Mehemet Ali, for the rising strength of a regenerated civilisation. Such a thing is impossible in the East, and with the Mohammedan religion. There is no renovation there but that of the sword; no regeneration but the physical one arising from the inroad of northern conquerors. When you superinduce the regularity of European administration upon the oppression of Asiatic government, as was done by the Pasha of Egypt and the English in India, you give for a time a great impulse to national strength, because you introduce a new and far more effective method of extracting their resources out of the people. But this is done only at the expense of present discontent and future ruin; the perfection of European administration, if not tempered by the establishment of European freedom, instead of a blessing, becomes the greatest possible curse to humanity. The universal insurrection of the Druses, and other hill tribes, against Ibrahim Pasha, proves how soon that was discovered by the inhabitants of Asia Minor. The sequel of this History will show whether the same political lesson is not taught by the English possessions in India.

CHAPTER XLI.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE ACCESSION OF SIR R. PEEL IN THE END OF 1834 TO THE FALL OF HIS MINISTRY IN APRIL 1835.

1. UNOBSERVED amidst the strife of parties, unmarked by political leaders, unknown to the dominant multitude, one cause of paramount importance and irresistible force has been, during the forty years' peace, incessantly acting on the British Empire. THE MUTATIONS OF THE CURRENCY, anticipated before 1819, experienced since that period, furnish the key to the chief variations in social happiness which have been experienced during that eventful period. They explain the alternations of feverish and shortlived prosperity, and exhausting and long-continued distress, which invariably occurred; they account for the vast political changes which ensued, and the entire alteration in the balance of internal power, and in the tendency of foreign and commercial policy, which took place during their continuance. Without a constant reference to this paramount and irresistible cause, all attempts to explain the political history of Great Britain during this long period will prove nugatory, and the most important lessons to be derived from contemporary history will be lost.

2. It has been already explained, that as the great objects of a currency are to be *adequate* and *retainable*, so the greatest possible mistakes which can be committed in regard to the circulating medium, are, to establish it on a basis which is either too narrow or liable to fluctuation. As gold has from the earliest times been considered as the most precious of metals, and on that account been the great medium of payment and vehicle of commerce among mankind, so it seems, at first sight, the wisest course to establish the currency on that basis, because then it rests on a foundation which is

not, in the general case, of a changing or evanescent character, but durable, if any earthly thing is entitled to that appellation in the changing concerns of men. Gold, no doubt, in some political crises, does change value often to a very considerable degree; but it does so, from its being universally current, much less than any other commodity; and therefore a currency resting on it as a basis seems more secure than any other which can be figured. These are the principles on which the monetary systems of Great Britain since 1819 have been entirely founded, which, beyond the limit of £14,000,000 issuable by the Bank of England on securities, and about a similar amount by the private banks in the empire, requires the whole circulation to be based on gold, and liable to be expanded or contracted according as the supplies of that metal are abundant or scanty. And these ideas are in themselves so plausible, and the evils of an unlimited issue of paper had been so forcibly illustrated by the French assignats, that it is not surprising that they commanded general assent, and for more than one generation entirely governed the monetary policy of the empire.

3. Reflection had, however, in the very outset, revealed to a few sagacious observers, what experience and suffering have now taught to a much wider circle, that these views are essentially erroneous, and, as applied to a domestic currency intended to sustain industry at home, of the most dangerous tendency. For the purposes of *foreign* transactions, indeed, whether of nations or individuals, it is indispensable to have a currency consisting

either of the precious metals, or of paper convertible on demand into them, because none other will pass current in foreign nations. But with regard to the currency which is to be retained *at home*, and conduct the commerce of men in internal transactions, the requirement is just the reverse. The object of such a currency is to be adequate and durable, neither liable to be unduly accumulated at one time nor extensively withdrawn at another. Unless this is the case, money will be plentiful on some occasions, and encourage speculation by the rise of prices and the facility of getting it; and scarce on others, and so discourage enterprise, and land in ruin the undertakings which itself had set on foot, from the withdrawal of the circulating medium, and consequent fall of prices. The greatest social evils which can afflict an industrious and commercial community are induced by a circulating medium for internal transactions which is liable to fluctuation, and are capable of being avoided by one which is not liable to change.

4. The very circumstance which renders gold and silver the best possible foundation for the currency which is to conduct the foreign transactions of a country, renders it the worst for that which is to sustain its domestic industry. The reason is obvious: *being always so much in request, they are the first to go away.* Being the most coveted and precious of all articles, alike abroad and at home, they are universally acceptable, and are more readily received than manufactures or other merchandise in payment of foreign importation, or in liquidation of foreign loans. Hence, whenever a great importation of foreign produce takes place into such a nation, or any adventitious cause occasions a great export of the precious metals, the currency, and with it the credit of the State, is shaken to its foundation, and undertakings the most necessary are suspended from want of the necessary funds to carry them on. If the basis could be permanently retained at home, it would all be well; but if it cannot,

better to rest it on something of less intrinsic worth, and less coveted in foreign lands.

5. The justice of these principles was to a certain extent recognised in the monetary system of Sir R. Peel, because the Bank of England was permitted to issue notes to the extent of £14,000,000, and the country banks of the whole empire of nearly as much more on securities only, not on bullion. But in this regulation, and still more in the adherence to it in subsequent times, there were involved two capital errors. In the first place, the *whole currency* of the Bank of England was convertible on demand at the Bank into gold, and that of country bankers at their several places of issue into Bank of England notes, without distinguishing between those parts of the currency issued on securities and those on bullion. Thus *the whole currency was made dependent on the retention of gold*, although it was not, taken together, half its amount; and any serious attempt to draw it out would compel a suspension of cash payments, to be averted only by a ruinous contraction of the currency. In the second place, supposing the limit of £14,000,000 had been adequate for the public necessities at the time when it was adopted, it became inadequate from the growth of the nation and the increase of mercantile transactions, the first of which had increased fifty per cent, the latter more than doubled, in thirty years after the system was introduced. To suppose that because £14,000,000 was enough at one time, therefore it was always to be enough, is the same error as to suppose that the measure of a boy of eighteen will do for a man of thirty, or the food which feeds an army of forty thousand men will suffice for seventy thousand.

6. It is the peculiar evil of a system of currency mainly dependent on the retention of gold, that it inevitably tends unduly to foster and inflame speculation when the precious metals are plentiful, and proportionably check and prostrate it when they are withdrawn. When from any external cause, or the exports becoming nearly equal

to the imports by the effect of long-continued and general suffering, gold has become plentiful in the coffers of the Bank, and consequently its own issues, and those of all other banks, have become fearless and abundant, prices rise, speculation flourishes, great undertakings are commenced, and general prosperity for a brief season prevails. But in this very prosperity, acting on a system of currency based on the retention of the precious metals, are involved the seeds of certain and speedy disaster. The whole community, and especially the working classes, having, by the extension of

the currency, been placed in a position, for a time, of comparative affluence and prosperity, the consumption of every species of merchandise of course increases in a similar proportion, and much beyond what, from the want of a similar cause, takes place at the same time in foreign states. Thence a great and growing balance of imports over exports arises; and this balance, under the combined influence of free trade and a high state of commercial credit, has of late years sometimes risen, on paper, to *thirty or forty millions a-year*.* A great part of this immense balance of course must be

* EXPORTS AND IMPORTS IN THE UNDER-MENTIONED YEARS.

Years.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.	Imports. Official Value.	Excess of Imports.
1845	£60,111,081	£85,231,958	£25,170,957
1846	57,786,875	75,953,875	18,167,000
1847	58,842,377	90,921,586	32,079,209
1848	52,849,445	93,547,134	40,697,689
1849	63,596,025	103,874,607	42,278,682

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., p. 356.

It is true, the imports here (before 1854) are set down at the *official* value, there being no returns of their real value before that year. But that only makes the case stronger; for, since 1819, the real value of the imports has come greatly to exceed the official value, which is returned at the scale of prices fixed in 1697. The principles on which this table has been constructed, and the limitation subject to which its results must be received, will be found fully explained in the *note* to sec. 67, chap. xix., given at page 254 of volume iii.

The *real value* of the exports and imports since 1854, with the excess of imports, and the export of bullion, is shown in the following table:—

Years.	Imports. Computed Value.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.	Foreign and Colonial Exports. Computed Value.	Total Exports.	Excess of Imports.	Gold and Silver Exported.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1854	152,389,053	97,184,726	18,636,366	115,821,092	36,567,961	22,586,568
1855	143,542,850	95,688,085	21,003,215	116,691,300	26,851,550	18,828,178
1856	172,544,154	115,826,948	23,993,405	139,220,353	33,323,801	24,851,797
1857	187,844,441	122,066,107	24,108,194	146,174,301	41,472,034	33,566,968
1858	164,583,832	116,608,756	23,174,023	139,782,779	25,363,479	19,628,876
1859	179,182,355	130,411,529	25,281,446	155,692,975	23,489,380	35,688,803
1860	210,530,873	135,891,227	28,630,124	164,521,351	46,009,522	25,534,768
1861	217,455,024	125,102,814	34,529,684	159,632,498	57,852,526	20,811,648
1862	225,716,976	123,992,264	42,175,870	166,168,134	59,548,842	29,326,191
1863	248,980,942	146,489,763	49,485,005	195,974,773	53,006,169	26,544,040

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. xi. pp. 10, 62.

In considering this large excess of imports, it must be borne in mind that a portion of it only requires to be liquidated by actual payments in specie; for the British and Irish Exports, being entered in the tables at the value declared by the exporter—that is, at their cost price nearly—will be sold abroad at a considerably higher rate, to give him a profit and pay for freight and insurance. On the other hand, the imports being computed in the custom-house at the estimated selling price of the several articles, their value includes the cost of freight and insurance, and a great part of the importer's profit. To make the comparison between the exports and imports fair, therefore, it would be necessary to add to the declared value of the exports the cost of freight and insurance and the profit actually cleared by the exporter. This cannot be done; but, making every allowance for it, it is evident that there still remains, in all ordinary years, a considerable balance against this country, which must be liquidated in cash; and that this turns—in years in which a bad harvest

paid in cash, or bills convertible into it, the only universally received medium of exchange among nations. Thence a rapid contraction of the currency to check the dreaded drain on the banks for gold, a serious fall of prices, a stoppage of mercantile discounts, a rise of interest and universal shake to credit, and suspension of enterprises of every sort, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial. Thus prosperity, under a system of currency mainly dependent on the retention of gold, leads to alternations of prosperity and suffering as inevitably as night succeeds day and day night; and when to this is added a drain of gold from extraneous causes, such as war loans, extensive importations of grain owing to bad harvests, or the like, there immediately and necessarily ensues a ruinous contraction of the currency, and consequent stoppage of credit, and general suffering.

7. The way, and the only way, to avoid this is perfectly simple, although such is the combined influence of the *clear appreciation of the subject* by a few interested parties on the one hand, and the ignorance of it by the vast majority of the sufferers under it on the other, that an entire generation will probably require to be rendered bankrupt, or go to their graves, before the subject is generally understood. This is to have TWO CURRENCIES in every

commercial community: the one convertible on demand into the precious metals, for conducting its foreign transactions; the other not so convertible, to sustain its domestic industry. The latter currency should be open to *expansion* in proportion to the withdrawing of the gold, which is the foundation of the first, for it is mainly serviceable in supplying the vacuum occasioned by the periodical abstraction of the former. Without doubt this domestic inconvertible currency must not be issued in too large quantities; care must be taken that it does not turn into assignats, and extinguish capital by lowering the value of the currency in which it may be discharged. But from the abuses of a system no argument can be drawn against its use. Because many drunkards perish by the undue use of ardent spirits, it does not follow that they are to be altogether proscribed in moderate quantities; because the Esquimaux reel about from gorging themselves with wheaten bread, it does not follow that a general abstinence from loaves is to be proclaimed.

8. The advocates of the present monetary system maintain that the high rate of interest, amounting sometimes to seven and eight per cent, which always ensues on a monetary crisis, is in reality owing not to any deficiency in the circulating medium, but to the supply of capital being at times, from

necessitates large purchases of grain abroad, or foreign wars require to be fed by the export of guineas—into a formidable drain upon our metallic resources, and one which, *from the imposed dependence of our currency upon the retention of gold*, often leads to most calamitous results.

The remarks of a most able and impartial writer, of decided free-trade principles, upon a similar excess of imports over exports in the United States, are so just in themselves, and so exactly applicable to this country at present, that the author makes no excuse for quoting them.

"The great difference," says Mr Porter, "between the value of the imports and that of the exports during the greater part of the years, cannot fail to strike the least careful examiner. This arises, in some part, from the system adopted at the custom-house of the United States, of valuing merchandise, both imported and exported, according to its actual worth at the time in the place where it is landed or shipped. It must be obvious that, under this plan, the value of imports must be greater than that of the exports, not only by the amount of the merchant's profit, but also by the freight of such part at least as is conveyed in ships of the United States. . . . That excess (of imports over exports) appears to have amounted in the three years, 1834, 1835, and 1836, to £23,271,570, or, on the average, £7,757,190 per annum. The trade with this kingdom alone exhibits an excess of imports over exports to the amount of £6,847,940, or, on the average, £2,282,646 per annum; which, as it amounts to 20 per cent upon the exports, is evidently greater than can be accounted for by the freight and profit together."—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, pp. 405, 406.

It will be observed that the excess of imports over exports in this country (as shown by the above table) during the years 1861, 1862, and 1863, amounts to £170,207,537, or, on the average, to £56,735,845 per annum, being at the rate of, not 20, but above 30 per cent upon the exports annually.

accidental causes, within the demand. Two facts of universal notoriety and vast importance are decisive against this theory. The first is, that in the years 1813 and 1814, at the close of a war of twenty years' duration, and the borrowing of £600,000,000 during its continuance, loans of little short of £40,000,000 in each year were obtained by Government, the currency of England being £48,000,000, at £4, 12s. per cent. The second is, that in 1825 and 1848, when the interest of money was, during the monetary crisis, from eight to ten per cent, it was reduced within a few months to four or five per cent, the capital of the country having been diminished instead of being increased in the interim by the crash—in the first case, by the accidental discovery and issuing of £2,000,000 of old notes by the Bank of England; in the second, by a letter from the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, amounting to a suspension of cash payments. These instances decisively prove that the extremely high rate of interest which always ensues in a monetary crisis, and is attended with effects so distressing, is in no degree owing to any deficiency of capital in proportion to the demand, but *solely* to the monetary laws, which render bankers and money-lenders reluctant to lend from dread of being immediately compelled to exchange the sums in which their loans are issued for gold, which is every day slipping out of their hands.

9. It is confidently maintained by the gold party, and has been argued with much ability by their acknowledged head, Lord Overstone, that no lasting relief would be experienced by the establishment of a double currency, partly convertible and partly not, because the inevitable effect of the issue of inconvertible paper would immediately be to drive the gold out of the country, and then either the same scarcity of currency which was formerly complained of would still be felt, or the specie would be wholly sent abroad, and the currency would become one issued on securities, or not convertible only. If £5,000,000

of inconvertible notes are issued, it is said £5,000,000 of sovereigns will be driven abroad, and the nation will experience no relief, but merely witness the exchange of a metallic for a paper currency. The only remedy for such a danger, it is alleged, is the establishment of a system which may compel a contraction of credit and of the currency when the exchanges become adverse, and thus bring back the gold by a diminution of transactions and fall of prices. The answer to this argument, which is so specious, and has been so ably stated that it has carried with it an entire generation, is threefold, and the whole merits of the question are involved in their consideration.

10. In the first place, if the gold can only be retained, when exchanges become adverse, by strangling industry, starving the country, and so lowering the prices of the produce of every species of industry, *the remedy is worse than the disease*. Gold is a very good thing, and necessary for foreign exchanges, but it is not worth purchasing by the ruin of the country. In every one of the great monetary crises which have occurred every five or six years during the last thirty, from a hundred to a hundred and fifty millions sterling have been destroyed. Is the retention of gold worth purchasing at such a price? What is the use of it, if it can only be retained by making the capitalists rich and all other classes poor? In the next place, the experience of Great Britain, during the French war, demonstrates that, by means of an adequate paper currency, duly guarded against excess, not only can calamity be averted, but the highest degree of social prosperity and national glory attained *without any gold*; witness the years 1809 and 1810, when a guinea was selling for 28s., and scarcely one was to be seen in the country. In the third place, the apprehension so strongly felt by the bullion party of the gold leaving the country for any length of time, is entirely chimerical. What makes gold leave the country is its bearing a higher price abroad than at home, and

what occasions this is very rarely a redundant paper circulation in the interior, but generally an extraordinary demand abroad, arising either from the necessities of foreign armies, the payment of foreign loans, a great importation of grain arising from deficient harvests, or a large increase of importations over exportations arising from great internal prosperity. When the extraordinary demand for gold arising from any of these causes has ceased in foreign countries, or the want of it is felt in this, gold will return to this, the centre of wealth and commerce, as certainly as the planets will revolve round the sun.

11. To put this domestic currency on a proper footing, it is indispensable that it should be issued by *Government, and Government only*, and on the national security, and that every banker who chooses to deal in notes should not be permitted to usurp the king's prerogative, and issue the current coin of the realm. There is very great danger, under such a system as the latter, of a currency getting into circulation which is at once redundant in point of amount, and unsafe in point of security. The currency should be all issued by Government, and Government only, and the nation responsible for its value as it is for the Three per Cents. Nothing would be easier than to establish such a currency, and confine it within the requisite limits. One obvious way of limiting it in point of amount, and giving it adequate efficacy in averting evil, would be to limit it in the ordinary case to half the amount of taxes annually paid by the nation. Another, and a still better, to empower commissioners, for every million of bullion withdrawn from the Bank below a certain standard, say £16,000,000, to issue an additional million of the inconvertible notes, to be drawn in by being taken in payment of taxes without being reissued when the gold comes back. It belongs to practical men to devise the details of such a system; but if honestly set about by men of capacity, nothing would be more easy of accom-

plishment. And it may safely be affirmed, that if the requisite change is not made, the nation will continue to be visited every four or five years by periods of calamity which will destroy in great measure the fruits of former prosperity,—like the unfortunate culprits who, under the former inhuman system of military law, when sentenced to one thousand or fifteen hundred lashes, were brought out at *successive times to receive their punishment* by instalments as soon as their wounds had been healed in the hospital.*

12. It has been already seen how powerfully the monetary crisis of 1825 and 1831 contributed to swell the public discontent and suffering, which at length found vent in the Reform revolution. Not less important were the effects of the opposite set of causes in producing the feverish prosperity of 1835 and 1836, terminating, as a natural consequence, in the long-continued depression from 1837 to 1842. Several causes concurred, in the first of these years, in retaining the gold in the nation, and inducing a high though fleeting degree of social wellbeing. Four fine seasons in succession had reduced to nothing the importation of wheat, and rendered the country for the chief food of the people self-supporting.† The effect of this, of course, was to stop altogether that drain of the precious metals, the most serious that can set in upon any country, which arises from the necessity of paying for large importations of food in gold or silver, from the disinclination of the raisers of it to take payment in any other

* While this sheet is going through the press (September 1864), interest is again at 9 per cent.

† IMPORTATION OF WHEAT INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1830 TO 1836.

	Quarters.
1830,	1,701,885
1831,	1,491,631
1832,	325,435
1833,	82,346
1834,	64,653
1835,	28,483
1836,	24,826

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., p. 140.

form. At the same time, the reduced price of provisions increased the surplus available for other purchases in the hands of the middle and working classes so much so as to communicate a fresh and very important impulse both to foreign commerce and domestic manufactures. And all this occurred at the very time when, from the pacification, in part at least, of South America, the supplies of the precious metals from those regions were considerably increased; and when the restored confidence of the nation in the stability of existing things, by the rolling past of the Reform tempest, had renewed, after a dreary interval, the taste for comforts and luxuries, and inspired the raisers of them with sufficient trust in the fortunes of the country to undertake their production.

13. The effect of these concurring causes ere long appeared in the magnitude of the reserve treasure in the possession of the Bank of England, the consequent extension of its paper circulation, and the general rise of prices, and encouragement of speculation among the industrious classes over the whole country. The Three per Cents in the latter part of 1834 rose to 91, and the Four per Cents in March stood at 104—a state of things which enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to carry through a bill reducing the interest on the latter stock to 3½ per cent, which was a very considerable saving to the nation, as the stock of that description amounted to £156,000,000. The dissentients were only 969, holding stock to the amount of £4,600,000; but Government, to pay off this sum, adopted the very questionable measure of making payment of that sum out of the “moneys, stocks, and exchequer bills held by them *under the Savings Bank Act*.” This step did

not in reality diminish the security of the holders of money in those invaluable establishments, as the stock of those who dissented was placed in the names of the Commissioners in an account entitled “The Funds for the Banks of Savings;” but it had an awkward appearance, and gave rise to various sinister reports as to the security of these establishments, which time has now happily completely dispelled. The trade, navigation, and revenue of the United Kingdom evinced great elasticity towards the close of 1834, and during the whole of 1835 and 1836, insomuch that that period may be reckoned with justice one of the most prosperous which the country had ever known. The revenue, as is always the case, rose in proportion, and for the first time for many years exhibited a flattering and growing increase, bringing out an estimated surplus of income above expenditure, in 1835, of £1,815,000.*

14. The effects of this extraordinary flood of prosperity, the result of the important change made upon the currency laws in 1834, by declaring Bank of England notes a legal tender everywhere but at the Bank of England, already noticed, were very important, and are still felt in various branches of industry and social economy. Money being abundant, and the terrors of the bankers of a run upon them for gold allayed by this great change, advances were liberally made to carry on mercantile undertakings, and both railway and banking speculations exhibited a rapid increase. In the three years ending with 1835, thirty-four joint-stock banks were established; and in 1836 no less than *forty-four* new ones were set up—making in all two hundred joint-stock banks, with six hundred and seventy branches, all founded since the joint-stock system

* EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1834 TO 1836.

Years.	Exports. Declared Value.	Imports. Official Value.	Revenue.	Shipping. Tons.
1834	£41,649,191	£49,362,811	£46,425,263	3,132,168
1835	47,372,270	48,911,542	45,893,369	3,309,724
1836	53,368,571	57,023,867	48,591,180	3,494,372

had been established in 1826. The issues of the country banks increased in a similar proportion: in the year 1836 they rose £1,500,000.* Railway speculations underwent a similar increase: the number of bills for establishing new lines augmented from eleven in 1833, to thirty-five in 1836, and forty-two in 1837, and the capital expended in them swelled from £2,312,000 in 1834 to £22,874,000 in 1836.† These four seasons in succession, at the same time, lowered the price of provisions to an unprecedented degree—from 58s. 8d. in 1832, wheat fell to 39s. 4d. in 1835. In a word, the perilous tendency of a circulation based entirely on the retention of gold, was during these years unequivocally evinced in a way directly the reverse of what had hitherto been experienced, but not less fatal; for exchange during those years being favourable, and the export of gold small, paper was issued in abundance, and speculation went on as wildly and extravagantly as it had done ten years before, unchecked by the memory of the terrible catastrophe in which it had then terminated. One class only, though the most important—the agricultural—was severely suffering; the unprecedentedly low price of every kind of rural produce threatened, if it lasted much longer, to involve them in total ruin.

15. Amid this general prosperity, a calamitous event occurred on the 16th October, which filled the inhabitants of London with consternation. At six o'clock in the evening of that day, a fire suddenly broke out near the entrance of the two Houses, occasioned by the imprudent burning of a large quantity of

old records, which had overheated the flues which penetrated the building, that frequent cause of conflagration in modern edifices. The flames burnt with such fury, and spread with such rapidity, that all attempts to check them were vain; and the whole efforts of the fire-engines, which on the first alarm were hurried to the spot, were directed to prevent the conflagration spreading to the adjoining structures of Westminster Hall and the Speaker's house. These were with great difficulty preserved from destruction; but both Houses of Parliament, and a great number of the official rooms connected with them, became the prey of the flames, and were utterly destroyed. The Painted Chamber, fraught with so many interesting recollections from the earliest period of the monarchy—the chapel of St Stephen's, which carried the imagination back to the days of our Saxon kings—the splendid tapestry representing the Spanish Armada, were all consumed. The lovers of the fine arts can hardly regret a devastation which has made room for the splendid structure which now adorns the same spot, and is destined to witness, it is to be hoped for many generations, the meetings of the Reformed House of Commons. But those who are impressed with the reverence for antiquity, will long lament the loss of a structure hallowed by the memories of eight centuries; and there were not wanting those who thought this calamitous event was ominous of the fate of the empire, and that, as the old constitution had perished, it was fitting that the structure which had witnessed its growth should perish with it.

16. It was in the midst of this growing prosperity that Sir R. Peel, in obedience to his sovereign's command, assumed the reins of office, and attempted the arduous task of forming an Administration, and conducting the Government in the face of a decided majority in the House of Commons and the urban constituencies. It was at first said by the Liberals that he would not succeed in even forming a Cabinet, and that the King, after his ill-judged attempt to form a new Ad-

* CIRCULATION OF COUNTRY BANKS.

January 1834, . . .	£10,152,104
July 1835, . . .	10,939,801
July 1836, . . .	12,202,196

—PORTER, p. 432.

† RAILWAY BILLS PASSED AND CAPITAL AUTHORISED.

Years.	Lines.	Authorised Capital.
1834, . . .	14	2,312,053
1835, . . .	19	4,812,833
1836, . . .	35	22,874,998
1837, . . .	42	13,521,799

—PORTER, p. 327.

ministration, would be forced to go back to the old one. In this hope, however, they were disappointed; for soon after Sir Robert's return the new Ministry appeared in the Gazette, and Parliament was dissolved by proclamation. The first step of Sir R. Peel was to open a negotiation with Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham, as their secession from the late Administration led to the hope that they might, without a compromise of principle, join the present. But though both these statesmen expressed themselves in courteous terms towards the new Minister, and declared their readiness to give him a fair trial, they were not prepared, at present at least, to join his Cabinet, from a fear that their motives for so doing would be liable to misconstruction. The consequence was, that Sir Robert was thrown back upon the old Tory party exclusively, and a Cabinet was formed, containing such

an amount of talent and eminence as would in former days have insured stability, but could hardly be said to promise it in the altered state of the constitution under the Reform Bill.*

17. Previous to entering on the labours of office, Sir R. Peel addressed an important letter to the electors of Tamworth, which was in effect a manifesto to the whole middle classes of the empire. It was in the highest degree moderate and conciliatory; disclaimed all intention to interfere with the constitution as established by the Reform Bill, but declared his willingness to reform all real abuses, and listen to all well-founded grounds of complaint. He said: "With regard to the Reform Bill itself, I accept it as *a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question*; a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of the country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or insidious

* SIR R. PEEL'S GOVERNMENT AS FINALLY ARRANGED.

Cabinet.

First Lord of the Treasury,	Sir R. Peel.
Lord Chancellor,	Lord Lyndhurst.
President of the Council,	Lord Rosslyn.
Privy Seal,	Lord Wharncliffe.
Secretary, Home Department,	Mr Goulburn.
„ Foreign,	Duke of Wellington.
„ Colonial,	Lord Aberdeen.
First Lord of the Admiralty,	Earl de Grey.
Secretary for Ireland,	Sir H. Hardinge.
President of the Board of Control,	Lord Ellenborough.
President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint,	Mr Baring.
Paymaster of the Forces,	Sir E. Knatchbull.
Secretary-at-War,	Mr Herries.
Master-General of the Ordnance,	Sir G. Murray.

Not in the Cabinet.

Postmaster-General,	Lord Maryborough.
Lord-Chamberlain,	Lord Jersey.
Lord-Steward,	Lord Wilton.
Master of the Horse,	Duke of Dorset.
Groom of the Stole,	Marquess of Winchester.
Treasurer of the Navy,	Lord Lowther.
First Commissioner, Land Revenue,	Lord Granville Somerset.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,	Mr Wynn.
Attorney-General,	Sir F. Pollock.
Solicitor-General,	Sir W. Follett.

In Ireland.

Lord-Lieutenant,	Earl of Haddington.
Lord-Chancellor,	Sir E. Sugden.
Commander-in-Chief,	Sir H. Vivian.
Attorney-General,	Mr Pennefather.
Solicitor-General,	Mr Jackson.

In Scotland.

Lord-Advocate,	Sir W. Rae.
Solicitor-General,	Mr M'Neill.

means. I will carry out its intentions, supposing those to imply a careful review of old institutions, undertaken in a friendly spirit, and with a purpose of improvement. I enter upon the arduous duties assigned to me with the deepest sense of the responsibility they involve, with great distrust of my own qualifications for their adequate discharge, but, at the same time, with a resolution to persevere which nothing could inspire but the strong impulse of public duty, the consciousness of upright motives, and the firm belief that the people of this country will so far maintain the prerogative of the King, as to give to the Ministers of his choice, not implicit confidence, but a fair trial." There can be no doubt, from his subsequent conduct, that Sir R. Peel was perfectly sincere in these observations, and as little that he was thoroughly wise. The constitution having, after a violent struggle well-nigh attended with fatal consequences, been settled on a new basis, nothing could have been more perilous and injudicious than to attempt to alter it, either directly or indirectly. The only wisdom was to let it get its full swing, and work out its natural and inevitable results. "The people," says Harrington, "cannot see, *but they can feel*."

18. It was seriously apprehended by many persons who knew the strength of the Reform passion which had got possession of the country, that the restoration to power of a Tory Government would lead to serious disturbances, and those who were aware of the length which matters had gone before the Reform Bill was passed, were not a little fearful that the displaced Ministry might attempt to regain office, as they had carried the bill, by actual force. These apprehensions, however, proved happily fallacious, and the event showed that the change which had been made, by giving the middle class in towns, where most danger was to be apprehended, the command of the State, had greatly lessened the risk of popular insurrection. The country remained perfectly quiet when the change was announced; conscious of their strength, the Liberals continued peaceable. The

usual weapons of party warfare, indeed, were employed unsparingly, though without generally rousing the people to any dangerous excesses. The popular party loudly declaimed that the reign of the boroughmongers and the Peers was about to return; that the Reform Bill, if not expressly abrogated, would be virtually repealed; and that the new-born liberties of the people would be sacrificed at the shrine of a rapacious oligarchy, to whose restoration to power this was the first step. One leading journal said, evidently on the information of a Cabinet Minister, "The Queen has done it all;"—an assertion soon found to have been erroneous, as the cause of it was the resentment felt by his Majesty at the coercions put on him at the passing of the Reform Bill. The few journals who supported the Tory side answered, that these imputations were entirely unfounded; that no infringement on the Reform Bill, either express or implied, was intended; and that the manifesto of Sir Robert Peel proved that more real reformation of abuses was to be expected from his Administration than from that which the public indignation had so recently chased from power. These apprehensions were natural on both sides, and such as might have been expected under the circumstances; but had the real views of Sir R. Peel been known, his advent to power would have been hailed by the Liberals with more joy than that of any of their chiefs who carried the Reform Bill.

19. The elections took place in the middle of January, and it was from them that the Liberals first obtained decisive evidence that a great difference of opinion as to their qualifications to carry on the Government had arisen in the country. In the metropolis, indeed, in which, according to custom, the first trials of strength occurred, the Conservatives were eminently unsuccessful. Every one of the twenty members were returned in the Reform interest. But it was far otherwise in the counties, and many of the great towns of England: in them a large intermixture of Tories made its appearance. Halifax, York, and Leeds returned

each one Conservative candidate—in the last he was at the head of the poll. Bristol chose two Conservative members, as did Newcastle, Exeter, Hull, and Warrington. Liverpool returned Lord Sandon, a moderate Tory, as one of its members; and though Sir Howard Douglas, the other candidate on that interest, was defeated by Mr Ewart, a Liberal, he polled seven hundred more votes than he had done on the last occasion. In Lancashire and Hampshire both the Liberal candidates were defeated by the Conservative. On the other hand, Manchester, Birmingham, Bolton, Sheffield, Preston, and most of the manufacturing towns, returned Liberals. In a word, contrary to general expectation, and to the no small dismay of the Whigs, who had anticipated a perpetual lease of power from the Reform Bill, a small majority of the five hundred English members was returned in the Tory interest—an astonishing fact, considering how lately the country had been shaken to its foundations by the Reform tempest, and eminently instructive as to the strength of the religious, loyal, and orderly feelings which characterised a large portion of the English people.

20. It was otherwise in Ireland and Scotland, however, where the Reform Bill had worked an entire revolution, and the class in whom political power had been formerly too exclusively vested, was now completely stripped of it. The whole burghs of Scotland, twenty in number, returned Liberal members: in the counties, five were gained by the Tories where they had formerly failed, and three by the Whigs where on the last occasion they had been defeated; and Glasgow, which had formerly returned a Conservative (Mr J. Ewing) and a Liberal, now returned two Liberals. The electors of Roxburghshire, who had given a signal proof of their fitness to exercise the electoral rights by hissing the dying Sir Walter Scott when he ventured to express an opinion adverse to them on the Reform Bill, again gave a striking proof of their incapability to bear its excitements on occasion of this election. Serious disturbances took place

at Jedburgh, the county town, when Lord John Scott, the Tory candidate, made his appearance, and numbers of the electors were struck by the mob. But this was nothing compared with what occurred at Hawick, one of the polling places for the same county. From the very first, symptoms of very serious riot manifested themselves in that town: and in spite of the strenuous efforts of the sheriff of the county and a numerous body of justices of peace, and a large body of constables, who were in attendance, the most dreadful acts of violence took place. The voters who came up to vote for Lord John were spit upon, pelted with stones, and severely struck, and in some cases thrown into the Slitrig stream which runs through the town. They were subjected to such shocking indignities, that the judges who afterwards tried the case of the rioters declared them "*to be worse than death itself.*" The Riot Act was twice read by the sheriff, and tranquillity was only restored, on the second night of the rioting, by the entry of a troop of dragoons whom the lord-lieutenant summoned up from Edinburgh. The ringleaders in the disturbances were afterwards tried in the Justiciary Court, and severely punished, by eighteen months' and two years' imprisonment.

21. The Irish elections, however, turned the scale against the new Ministry. It soon appeared that a compact, express or implied, had been made between the English Liberals and the Irish Catholics, for the purpose of subverting the Government of Sir R. Peel, and that the whole influence of the Romish priesthood, with O'Connell at their head, was to be exerted by the most unscrupulous means against them. The agitators went round as rapidly as a wheel of well-drilled troops on a review. Nothing more was heard of the "base, bloody, and brutal Whigs." On the hustings at Dublin, Mr O'Connell said: "I am still for the repeal—sink or swim, live or die, I am for the repeal. And here I proclaim, by everything sacred, to those who are most opposed to me, that *I am ready to*

concur with them, and make with them the transition not only free from danger, but perfectly safe." Lists of the candidates to be supported by the coalition of Liberals and Catholics were published, and they were everywhere supported, and their opponents resisted, by the whole strength, physical and spiritual, of that formidable coalition. The voters were collected in their chapels by the priests, and led forth to the poll under threats of being refused all the rites, and visited with all the punishments, of the Church, if they failed to vote for the O'Connell candidate. Every one who voted for the opposite candidate was menaced with instant death. The Knight of Kerry, having started as candidate for the county of the same name, which he had represented for thirty years in Parliament, was immediately assailed, in the most violent manner, by O'Connell, though he had spent his life in restraining the impetuosity of the Orangemen. "Every one," said he, "who dares to vote for the Knight of Kerry, shall have a death's-head and cross-bones painted on his door." Though supported by nearly all the property, intelligence, and respectability of the county, he was defeated by the priesthood. Of a candidate for New Ross, who refused to enlist under his banner, O'Connell said, "Whoever shall support him, his shop shall be deserted—no man shall pass his threshold—let no man deal with him—let no woman speak to him—let the children laugh him to scorn." Mr Sheil, another Catholic leader, said, "If any Catholic should vote for him (the Protestant candidate), I will supplicate the throne of the Almighty that he may be shown mercy in the next world, but *I ask no mercy for him in this.*" O'Connell's principles were repeal of the Union, triennial parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot; yet he received the votes of the family and retainers of the late Lord-Chancellor of Ireland. The coalition was everywhere conspicuous, and with such success were its efforts carried out by the well-drilled and organised

priesthood, that a decided preponderance of the members returned was in the Liberal interest; and no room remained for doubt that by their means the majority in Great Britain for Sir R. Peel would be overcome, and a majority, though a very slight one, obtained for the Liberals in the united Parliament.

22. Parliament met on the 19th February, and the first thing of course done was to proceed to the election of a Speaker. Upon this question, by common consent, the parties resolved to make trial of their strength. Lord Francis Egerton, one of the members for Lancashire, moved that Sir C. Manners Sutton, who for eighteen years had filled the chair with the unanimous approbation of all parties in the house, should be re-elected; and the motion was seconded by Sir C. Burrell. On the other hand, Mr Denison, one of the members for Surrey, proposed Mr Abercromby, a gentleman of talents at the bar, and strongly supported by the Devonshire family, of which he had long been the confidential adviser; and he was seconded by Mr Orde. The division was looked to with great anxiety by all parties, as it was well understood that it would be decisive of the fate of the Ministry by testing the comparative strength of parties in the new House. After a long debate, in which, as usual on such occasions, every topic was touched on except that really in the minds of the speakers, the division took place in the fullest house on record, there being 626 members present. It showed a majority of *ten votes* for Mr Abercromby, the numbers being 316 to 306. This division was by far the most important of any which had taken place since the passing of the Reform Bill, and it brought out in clear colours the real and lasting effects of that measure. Of the English members, a great majority of the county representatives voted for Sir Charles Sutton, and a majority of 23 supported him, including the borough members; and of the Scotch, 31 voted for Mr Abercromby, and 18 for the late Speaker, still leaving a

majority of 10 for Sir C. Sutton. But the Irish members at once cast the balance the other way; for 61 voted for Mr Abercromby, and only 41 for Sir C. Sutton, leaving the latter, upon the whole, in a minority of ten votes. Two things were evident from this memorable division, in which the future of England for the next half-century was clearly foreshadowed. The first was, that the Ministry was entirely, on party questions, at the mercy of the Irish Catholic members; the second, that the county members of the whole empire were *outvoted by the borough, in the proportion of 35 to 20*, and that a large majority of the former had declared for the Conservative side.*

23. It was at first thought that Sir R. Peel would resign on this defeat; but being deeply impressed with the responsibility of his situation, and the duty which he owed to the sovereign who had appealed to him in his distress, he resolved to persevere, and not to retire till, on some vital question of ministerial policy, a majority of the House of Commons declared against him. On the 24th February, the House met for the despatch of business, and the Speech from the Throne, after lamenting the destruction of the two Houses by fire, congratulated the country on the commercial prosperity which was universal, but "deeply laments that the agricultural interest continues in a state of deep depression. I recommend to your consideration whether it may not be in your power, after providing for the exigencies of the public service, and consistently with the steadfast maintenance of the public credit, to devise

a method for mitigating the pressure of those local charges which bear heavily on the owners and occupiers of land, and for distributing the burden of them more equally over other descriptions of property." The Address, which was moved in the Commons by Lord Sandon, was as usual an echo of the Speech; but when it was brought forward, an amendment was moved by Lord Morpeth, which obviously put the very existence of the Ministry at stake. It was cautiously worded, and contained no declaration of want of confidence in the Ministry; but expressed a hope that municipal corporations would be placed under vigilant popular control, that the undoubted grievances of Dissenters would be considered, abuses in the Church of England and Ireland removed, and lamented the dissolution of Parliament as an unnecessary measure, by which the progress of these and other reforms had been interrupted and endangered. This amendment, which foreshadowed the future policy of the Opposition, and contained a direct censure upon Ministers for dissolving Parliament, gave rise to a long and animated debate, which lasted four nights, but terminated in another triumph of the Liberals, the numbers being 309 to 302, leaving a majority of SEVEN against the Ministers. This majority, like the former, was entirely made up of the Irish Roman Catholic votes; for of the English members who voted, a majority of 32 was in favour of Sir R. Peel; of the English and Scotch taken together, the majority was still 16; but the balance was cast the other way by the Irish, for there were 59 against him, and

* The following is an analysis of this important division:—

	County Members.	Borough Members.	Total.
England, { Abercromby,	53	171	224
{ Sutton,	88	159	247
Scotland, { Abercromby,	11	20	31
{ Sutton,	18	0	18
Ireland, { Abercromby,	31	30	61
{ Sutton,	30	11	41
	231	391	622

—Ann. Reg. 1835, p. 3; Parl. Deb. xxvii.

The candidates voted for each other, and the four tellers are not included in the above enumeration.

only 36 in his favour. Such was the gratitude which the Romish clergy and members evinced to the man who had endangered his own political character to open to them the doors of Parliament!

24. When the Address, thus amended, was presented to the King, his Majesty replied: "I learn with regret that you do not concur with me in the policy of the appeal which I have recently made to the sense of my people. I never have exercised, and never will exercise, any of the prerogatives which I hold, except for the single purpose of promoting the great end for which they are intrusted to me—the public good; and I confidently trust that no measure conducive to the general interests will be endangered or interrupted in its progress by the opportunity I have afforded to my faithful and loyal subjects of expressing their opinion through the choice of their representatives in Parliament."

25. Notwithstanding this second defeat, the Prime Minister still held on, alleging that no vital point involving the general policy of Government had yet come on for discussion. The Opposition leaders were much chagrined by this unexpected obstacle to their hopes, and very warm discussions took place in Parliament on reports which were eagerly circulated and credulously believed, in regard to alleged unconstitutional measures contemplated by the Government. On 2d March, Lord John Russell noticed two of these reports in Parliament: the first being, that Parliament was to be again dissolved; the second, that if this became necessary before the Mutiny Act was passed, the army would be kept up in the mean time on the sole responsibility of Ministers; and at the same time he gave notice that he intended to bring forward the Irish Appropriation question, and that of Municipal Reform. Sir R. Peel's answer was frank and explicit. He said that he had never contemplated a dissolution of Parliament, or a keeping up of the army by the prerogative

alone; that he was anxious that the Irish Commission should prosecute its labours, and that Government would bring in a bill on the subject, adhering strictly to the principle that ecclesiastical property should be reserved for ecclesiastical purposes; and that they would be prepared to remedy all real abuses in corporations when the report of the commissioners appointed for their investigation was received. These were mere skirmishes, which were the precursors of the battle; but they indicated not obscurely where the weight of the attack was to be directed.

26. The extreme distress of the agricultural interest in this year, when wheat fell to 39s. 4d. the quarter, induced the Marquess of Chandos to bring forward a motion for the repeal of the malt-tax; a project which has always been a favourite one with the agricultural interest, though it may well be doubted whether, even if entirely conceded, it would yield the benefit to them which they seem to suppose. Sir R. Peel resisted the proposal, upon the ground that, however desirable it might be to give relief to the agricultural interest in that way, the state of the revenue would not admit of it. Lord Althorpe had stated the probable surplus, after taking into view the reduced taxation this year, at £250,000; the malt-tax proposed to be repealed brought in £4,812,000 last year. In other words, the reduction would leave the Exchequer in a deficiency of £4,562,000. This statement was decisive, for every one saw that the inevitable result of going into the repeal would be the dire alternative of a property-tax. Sir R. Peel's words were: "My prophecy is, that if you repeal this tax, you will make an income-tax necessary; to that, be assured, you must come at last, if you repeal the malt-tax. You will lay your taxes on articles of general consumption—on tobacco, on spirits, on wine—and you will meet with such a storm that will make you hastily recede from your first advances towards a substitute. To a property-tax, then, you must come; and I con-

gratulate you, gentlemen of the landed interest, on finding yourselves relieved from the pressure of the malt-tax, and falling on a good comfortable property-tax, with a proposal, probably, for a graduated scale. And you who represent the heavy land of this country—the clay soils, the soils unfit for barley—I felicitate you on the prospect which lies before you. If you think that the substitute will be advantageous to your interests, be it so; but do not, when hereafter you discover your mistake, do not lay the blame upon those who offered you a timely warning, and cautioned you against exchanging the light pressure of a malt-duty FOR THE SCOURGE OF A PROPERTY-TAX.” The Liberals and Ministerialists accordingly joined to resist the motion, which was thrown out by a majority of 158; the numbers being 350 to 192. This was very nearly in the proportion of the borough to the county members in the whole house.

27. Sir R. Peel stated a very remarkable thing, in the course of this debate, in regard to the diminished consumption of beer in the country, compared with what it had been a century before. “In the year 1722,” said he, “the population of the country (England) amounted to about 6,000,000, and the beer consumed, as stated in the returns, was nearly the same, being about 6,000,000 barrels; so that a *barrel of beer was consumed by each person*. In 1833 the population amounted to 14,000,000, and yet the annual consumption for the last three years preceding the repeal of the Beer Act was only 8,200,000 barrels, being little more than half a barrel to each person. This great diminution is to be ascribed chiefly to the increased consumption of other articles, especially tea, spirits, and coffee. The first has increased, since 1722, from 370,000 lb., or an ounce to each person, to 31,829,000 lb., or 2½ lb. to to each person: the second, from 3,000,000 gallons, or half a gallon to each, in 1722, to 12,332,000, or nearly a whole gallon, in 1833: the third from 262,000 lb. in 1722, or ¾ of an ounce to each person, to 20,691,000

lb., or 1½ lb. to each person.” These figures, which may be entirely relied on, coming from such a quarter, are very remarkable, and go far to account for the great diminution in the consumption of beer, by indicating a change in the national tastes. When it is recollected, however, how strong is the general predilection of the working classes for beer, and how necessary it is to recruit the strength of those who are worn out by incessant toil, it is evident that it does not explain it altogether; and that much was, at the same time, owing to the fall of wages in all classes, especially the agricultural, which had followed the contraction of the currency in 1819. And that it was this contraction, joined to the fact of three fine harvests having been reaped in succession, which was the real cause of the depressed price of agricultural produce, and not the malt-tax, is proved by the fact, also mentioned by Sir R. Peel, that the price of barley, heavily taxed, was then higher in reference to that of wheat than it had ever been known before—a fact which decisively demonstrated that the fall was owing to some extraneous cause common to both.

28. A striking proof was soon afforded of the strength and blindness of the spirit of party which had now got possession of the legislature, in the opposition made to the appointment of the Marquess of Londonderry to the situation of ambassador at St Petersburg, which, though not as yet formally made out, had been officially announced by Government. This was strongly objected to by Mr Sheil and Mr Cutlar Fergusson in the House of Commons, mainly upon the ground that he had said the Poles were rebellious subjects of Russia, and that, having ourselves violated the treaty of Vienna by partitioning the kingdom of the Netherlands, we had no right to complain of the Emperor of Russia having done the same by depriving the Poles of the constitution provided for them by the same treaty. Sir R. Peel made a feeble defence, resting chiefly on the well-known military

and diplomatic services of the gallant Marquess, and the danger of the House of Commons interfering in one of the most important parts of the King's prerogative, the choice of ambassadors. Lord Stanley expressed opinions similar to the mover, adding a hope that Ministers would even at the eleventh hour cancel the appointment. As the appointment had not been made out, the motion was withdrawn; but as soon as the Marquess read the debate in the papers of the following day, he, with his usual disinterested manliness, relieved the Government of all embarrassment on the subject by resigning the appointment.

29. The Marquess of Londonderry said, in announcing this in the House of Peers: "Having but one object, and that is, to serve the King honestly and to the best of my ability, were I to depart from this country, after what has passed in the House of Commons, I should feel myself, as a representative of his Majesty, placed in a new, false, and improper position. My efficiency would be impaired, and it would be impossible for me to fill the office to which I have been called with proper dignity or effect. Upon these grounds I have now to announce that no consideration will induce me to accept the office which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon me." The Duke of Wellington said: "*I recommended* that my noble friend should be appointed ambassador at St Petersburg; and I did so, founding on my knowledge of my noble friend for many years past, on the great and important military services, and on the fitness he has proved himself possessed of for diplomatic duties in the various offices he has filled for many years, particularly at the Court of Vienna, from which he returned with the strongest marks of the approbation of the Secretary of State. Being a military officer of high rank in this country, and of high reputation in the Russian army, he was peculiarly fitted for that employment." This was said with the Duke of Well-

ton's usual intrepidity and manliness of character, and a soldier could not have said less of an officer who had bled with the heroic Russian Guard on the field of Culm, and, by his ceaseless efforts to bring up Bernadotte and the Swedes, had mainly contributed to the victory of Leipsic. But he might have added, that, of all men in existence, he was the one whom the friends of Poland should *least* have objected to for such an appointment; for he was the representative and inheritor of the policy of the statesman who had, by his single efforts, preserved a remnant of Polish nationality at the Congress of Vienna, when deserted by all the world; and who, while the Liberals of Europe had given them nothing but empty words tending to insurrection and wretchedness, had conferred upon them substantial deeds, the springs of social prosperity, and won for them a constitution which had conferred a period of felicity unparalleled in the long annals of Sarmatian suffering.

30. On the 17th March, Sir R. Peel introduced a bill to relieve Dissenters from the hardship under which they alleged they laboured, of being obliged to celebrate their marriages according to the form of the Church of England; and to effect this by proposing two ceremonies, one a civil and the other a religious ceremony, and to leave the last to be celebrated according to the forms of the church to which the parties belonged. The Dissenters approved of this bill, but it fell to the ground in consequence of the change of Ministry which so soon after ensued, and the matter was settled in the next session by an act passed under the succeeding Government. Sir Robert introduced a measure for the commutation of tithes, calculated to facilitate that most desirable object. All the committees of the preceding year were reappointed, which had for their object the removal of abuses of any kind. Several remedial measures were also brought forward; in particular, one was introduced for the better discipline of the Church of

England, which proposed the equalisation of certain great church incomes, and the creation of two new bishoprics, those of Ripon and Manchester. Ministers were defeated on a motion for an address to the King, praying him to grant a charter to the University of London, authorising them to give degrees, by a majority of 246 to 136. But notwithstanding this check, which was not considered to be on a party question, the Administration, and especially the Premier, were rapidly rising in public estimation, inasmuch that Sir R. Peel challenged the Opposition to bring forward a distinct motion of want of confidence, which Lord John Russell declined.

31. The skilful leader of the Whigs knew well the reasons he had for declining this challenge: he was preparing a decisive struggle on much more favourable ground—that of the Irish Church question. That establishment presented many salient points open to attack, in consequence of the very principle on which it was rooted. That principle was that of a *Missionary Church*. It was never based on the principle of being called for by the present wants of the population; what it looked to was their *future* spiritual necessities. It was founded on the same reasons which prompt the building of churches in a densely-peopled locality, the running of roads through an uncultivated district, of drains through a desert morass. The principle was philanthropic, often in its application wise; but it proceeded on one postulate, which, unfortunately, was here wanting, viz., that the people *will embrace the faith* intended for them. This was so far from having hitherto been the case, that the reverse was the fact. Either from the natural disinclination of the excitable Celtic population for any creed which did not appeal to the imagination, the senses, or the fears of the people, or from the Protestant faith being not adapted to a race of men in their infant state of civilisation, not only had the Church of England made little progress in the making of proselytes, but the Romish Church was daily en-

croaching on its domain. Over the whole country the Catholics were then to the Protestants as four, in some parts of it as twenty, to one. Any measure, therefore, which went to correct this great inequality between the possessors of church property and the members of their flocks, was sure to enlist in its support not only the whole Irish members returned in the Catholic interest, who were upwards of forty, but the greater part of that still more numerous body in Great Britain, who looked upon the comparative number of the members of different religious persuasions as the only just and solid ground for the distribution of ecclesiastical property.

32. The decisive question came on on the 30th March. On the evening of that day, Lord John Russell moved “that the House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider the temporalities of the Church of Ireland, with the view of applying any surplus of the revenues not required for the spiritual care of its members to the general education of all classes of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion.” This motion was most skilfully devised by the able leader of the Opposition for the object in view. It merely assumed indirectly, without expressing it, a power in the legislature to deal with Irish Church property; a principle which he knew Sir R. Peel could not concede, but which, nevertheless, would command the support of all the parties, and sections of parties, which might be expected to coalesce against his Administration. The Irish Catholics, ascertained by experience to hold the balance in the House of Commons in their hands, were sure to give it their unanimous and zealous support; the Dissenters would join their ranks from hostility to the common enemy, the Church of England; the Radicals, from enmity to any government, and a desire to get the point of the revolutionary wedge into the weakest part of our national institutions. Thus, from different motives, all classes of the Opposition might be expected to join in support of this

motion, and the great problem which ambition is ever ready to solve in representative states was solved—viz., to find a question upon which parties the most at variance can unite without compromising their own consistency.

33. On the part of the motion, it was urged by Lord John Russell, Mr Sheil, and Lord Howick: "Fully admitting that an establishment tends to promote religion, to maintain good order, and that it is agreeable to a majority of the people in this part of the empire, it is yet apparent that it can deserve this high character only so long as it really fulfils these objects. 'The authority of a church,' says Paley, 'is founded upon its utility; and whenever upon this principle we deliberate concerning the form, propriety, or comparative excellency of different establishments, the single view under which we ought to consider them, is the preservation and communication of religious knowledge. Every other idea, and every other end, which have been mixed up with this, as the making the Church an engine or even ally of the State, converting it into the means of strengthening or diffusing influence, or regarding it as a support of regal in opposition to popular forms of government, have served only to debase the institution, and to introduce into it numerous corruptions and abuses.' This being the avowed object of ecclesiastical establishments, how far has the Church of Ireland come up to that standard? It is immensely rich: what use does it make of its riches? In the beginning of the last century its revenues were under £110,000 a-year; they are now £791,721, or in round numbers £800,000. While this enormous increase has been taking place, has there been a corresponding augmentation in the number of conversions to the Protestant faith, or has the activity and zeal of the clergy been such as to warrant the continuance of this large revenue? So far from this being the case, the fact has been in many instances just the reverse: the Established clergy have

considered themselves as a great political body rather than a set of religious teachers, and in consequence the number of Protestants, so far from having increased with the growth of the Establishment, has diminished.

34. "In the county of Kilkenny, in 1731, there were 1055 Protestants; now there are only 945. In Armagh, at the same period, the Protestants were 3 to 1; now they are 1 to 3. In Kerry the proportion of Catholics is still greater. The whole Protestants of Ireland do not, in all probability, exceed 750,000, of whom 400,000 are in the single province of Ulster. In nine dioceses, out of a population of 2,667,558 souls there are only 335,106 Protestants; while there are 1,732,452 Catholics—being in the proportion of above 5 to 1. It is then clear that, while in some parts of Ireland the members of the Established Church are sufficiently numerous to require a considerable number of beneficed clergymen, in other parts they form so small a proportion that it is neither necessary nor right to maintain so large an establishment. At present the £800,000 a-year, which forms the income of the Irish Church, is expended entirely for the benefit of perhaps an equal number of the people, while the remaining seven millions, equally burdened by it, derive no benefit whatever from it.

35. "This state of things is so monstrous, that it inevitably, and as a matter of necessity, led to a general combination against the payment of tithes; and this, in its turn, induced another set of evils, hardly less formidable than those from which it originated. No one can justify that combination; all must deplore it; but it was inevitable; and what we have to consider is, how its continuance or recurrence is best to be prevented. That resistance has become so general and inveterate, that all the efforts, whether of the clergy or the government collectors, have been unable to overcome it. Thus the Establishment has not merely failed to

diffuse spiritual doctrine and religious consolation among the great mass of the populace, but it has done just the reverse. It has brought the clergy into continual collision with the people, which has led to scenes of civil strife and bloodshed, and brought about a state of things utterly irreconcilable with the true ends of all church establishment—religious instruction and spiritual consolation. It has become painfully evident that these great and paramount objects can never be aided, or even attained, by limiting the religious instruction of the people of Ireland, as it has hitherto been, and applying the revenues of the Irish Church to maintaining the doctrines of the Establishment, and to no other purpose whatever.

36. "This being so, it is evident there must be a reform; and that reform should consist in adapting the Establishment to the wants of those who belonged to it, not in making unnecessary additions. If this principle is adopted by the House, it cannot do otherwise than make a great reduction in the ecclesiastical establishment of Ireland. Whatever remains after that reduction, ought to be applied to some object by which the moral and religious instruction of the people of Ireland may be advanced, and by which they may be led to believe that the funds which were nominally raised were really applied for their benefit. The use to which the surplus is proposed is general education, according to the system adopted by the National Board in Ireland, by which individuals of all persuasions can receive religious and moral instruction, and be brought up in harmony together. From the earliest times this is what it has been the earnest wish of this House, as well as of all the real friends of Ireland, to accomplish. This was the course which the Commission of General Education, appointed in 1816, consisting of the Archbishop of Armagh, Mr Grattan, and Mr Edgeworth, recommended. The question is not whether the people of Ireland should

be Catholics or not, but whether or not they should receive the elements of moral and religious instruction. Since the establishment of the National Board of Education in Ireland, introduced by Lord Stanley when Secretary for Ireland, there has been the most perfect harmony of feeling; and wherever schools have been established on that principle, they have been productive of the most beneficial results.

37. "It is objected to the principle of this plan that church property cannot be applied to any purposes not strictly ecclesiastical, any more than private property can be taken away from its owner. But is there any analogy between private property and that vested in the bishops, deans and chapters, and clergy of Ireland? The very acts of this Parliament prove the reverse. A bill has been passed which struck off ten of the bishoprics of Ireland, and appropriated their revenues to those next in order—the deans and chapters. But supposing there was enough for them, and still a surplus, what then? It was to be applied to rectors, churches, and glebe-houses. But if a surplus still remained after all these objects had been accomplished, how could it be maintained that it was not to be applied in the way most generally beneficial, in promoting that which is the foundation on which all religion and morality must be built—that is, general education? In so applying any surplus funds which may be at your disposal, you are not diverting it from its religious destination; you are, on the contrary, applying it to the most important of all religious objects—the widening the entrance by which all religious knowledge is to be let in. You are applying your resources to broadening the foundations upon which alone an extended superstructure can be reared. It is no answer to this to say, that the land which pays tithe to Protestants is to that in the hands of Catholics as fifteen to one. That would be a serious argument if the Established Church existed only for the rich; but

it is nugatory when it is recollected that every establishment professes to be for the whole, and especially the poorest classes, of the community."

38. On the other hand, it was maintained by Sir R. Peel, Lord Stanley, and Sir James Graham: "The account given of the revenue of the Irish Church is greatly exaggerated: so far from amounting to £800,000 a-year, it does not exceed £620,000; and even on that sum a charge of £70,000 a-year, being that of vestry cess, has been recently laid, which was formerly paid by the land. A tax exclusively borne by the Church, of from three to fifteen per cent, has been laid on all livings; and that Act enacted, that in all livings in which service had not been performed from 1830 to 1833, when a vacancy occurred there should be no reappointment, and the revenues of that living, after paying a curate, should be destined to other parishes differently situated, but for purposes strictly Protestant. Here, then, is a provision already made for the progressive diminution or extinction of the Episcopal Church in those situations where it is not called for, and can be of no utility. Whence, then, the anxiety to take away a surplus which, in all probability, will not exceed £100,000 a-year, from a Church already subjected to such heavy and exclusive burdens? It is not pretended that the object of this appropriation is to apply the income seized to the payment of the national debt, or that it is justified by any state necessity. In truth, the whole thing is done, as the lawyers say, *in emulationem vicini*. It is brought forward, not because the State is poor, but because the Church is rich; not that the people may gain, but that the Church may lose, its wealth.

39. "Such a doctrine as this completely breaks down the great principle which is at the foundation of all property, and which it has ever been the object of good government to maintain inviolate; a doctrine which, if once admitted, will bring any state from the condition of the highest civi-

lisation to that of utter barbarism. If the appropriation clause, as now shaped, once passes into law, not only will the Protestant cease to be the established religion of Ireland, but it will be fatal to the Church Establishment in this island also. It was to avoid this very danger that the Irish legislature had stipulated in the Articles of the Union for the safety of the Protestant Church; and, without going the length of contending that those Articles are like the laws of the Medes and Persians which cannot be altered, yet it is evident they should not be infringed upon without evident and pressing necessity; and if there is any one interest which more than another should be treated with tenderness, it is that of a church being that of a small minority in the country, and therefore beset with dangers and surrounded by enemies.

40. "Is the proposed measure likely to pacify Ireland, or heal any of the divisions of that unhappy country? Can anything exceed the absurdity of supposing that resistance to paying tithe to a Protestant church will be removed by applying a small fraction of its income to a different purpose? Suppose the incumbents removed from one-fourth of the parishes in Ireland, and their revenues applied to the national schools—will that alleviate the discontent in the remaining three-fourths, where the incumbent still resides, where service is still performed, and tithes are still levied? Will it not rather increase the agitation by encouraging the hope that, by prolonging it, the stripping of the Church, now partial only, will be rendered universal? If peace is the object of this measure, its success is hopeless; it will only prove an additional fire-brand of war. This is the object which has hitherto been always held out as an inducement to go into the measures urged upon us by the Roman Catholics: peace—peace, is the universal cry. And now it is not disguised that there is no peace, and that this is the first of a set of measures avowedly intended to annihilate the Protestant Establishment. What said

Dr M'Hale, one of the ablest of the Roman Catholic bishops, in 1833, after he was in the full enjoyment of his civil rights? 'After all the evils which have fallen on this devoted land, it is a consolation to reflect that the legislative axe is at last laid to the root of the Establishment. The pruners of our ecclesiastical establishments have not read the Roman history in vain, when the two overshadowing plants, which spread their narcotic and poisonous influence all around them, have been laid low. This is but the prelude to a further and still more enlarged process of extinction. By every reform abuses will be removed, until, it is to be hoped, *not a single vestige of that mighty nuisance will remain.*'

41. "Mr O'Connell's language, to do him justice, has been equally explicit. No farther back than October 1834, he said: 'It is quite true that I demanded but a partial reduction—it was three-fifths of the tithes. Why did I not ask more? Because I had no chance, in the first instance, of getting the whole abolished, and I only got two-fifths, being less than I had demanded. I had therefore no chance of getting the entire destroyed; and because I am one of those who are always willing to accept an instalment, however small, of the real national debt—the people's debt—I determined to go on, *and look for the remainder when the first instalment shall have been completely realised.*' Again he said: 'My plan is to apply that fund in the various counties of Ireland to relieve the occupiers of land from grand-jury cess, and to defray the expense of hospitals, infirmaries, and institutions for the sick.' In other words, he proposed to confiscate the property of the Church, in order to relieve the land from its appropriate burdens, and keep free from it the relief or support of the poor.

42. "On no reasonable ground, therefore, can it be maintained that this concession to Irish agitation will have any other effect but that of feeding the ambition of the agitators, and leading them to prefer fresh demands,

fatal to the very existence of an ecclesiastical establishment. It is the very essence of a church to be *universal*; there must be a clergyman in every parish. The provision for the clergy must be certain; it must be beyond the reach of fraud; it must be beyond the reach of agitation; it must be beyond the reach of influence, in order to avoid the disgrace of the pastor shaping his doctrine, not to the standard of truth, but to the taste of his hearers. It must be sufficient to maintain themselves and their families in decent competence; for the clergy are permitted to marry, and an unmarried priesthood is an unholy priesthood. The livings of Ireland are by no means above this standard; many of them are below it.* The whole would not average £200 a-year. It in a peculiar manner becomes the Whigs to oppose this mischievous and disastrous revolution. Whig principles consist not in death's-head-and-cross-bones denunciations against those who venture to exercise their civic franchises according to their consciences, nor in prayers for mercy limited to those in heaven, but not to be extended to those on this side the grave. Genuine Whig principles consist in a warm attachment to civil freedom, and the Protestant religion as by law established. This is a vital question, upon which no further compromise can be made. The property set apart by our ancestors to maintain and propagate the Protestant religion is sacred, and ought only to be applied to sacred uses. More than this, those who minister at the altar ought to live by the altar. That principle is high as heaven, and you cannot reach it; it is strong as the Almighty, and you cannot overturn it; it is fast as the Eternal, and you cannot unfix it. It is binding on a legislature consisting of Christian men, and acting on Christian principles, and no consideration on earth

* There were 1452 livings in Ireland, and returns had been obtained from 1123 of them. Of these—

Under £250 a-year, . . .	570
„ 450 „ . . .	854
„ 500 „ . . .	948

—Ann. Reg. 1835, p. 184.

should induce you to compromise or destroy it.”*

43. The debate, which was kept up with uncommon vigour and ability on both sides for four nights, was brought to a conclusion at four in the morning of the 7th April, when the division took place; and there appeared 322 for the motion, and 289 against it, leaving Ministers in a minority of 33. This hostile majority, much more considerable than what had occurred either on the choice of a Speaker or on the Address, was on a vital question of general policy, and therefore it left Sir R. Peel no alternative but to resign. A Cabinet Council accordingly was held on the following day, when it was unanimously resolved to have one more trial, and in the event of failure to resign; a determination which was announced in the House of Commons on the 8th April, after a second defeat of Ministers by a majority of 27—the numbers being 285 to 258—on the motion of Lord John Russell, “That it is the opinion of this House that no measure upon the subject of tithes can be satisfactory, or lead to a final adjustment, which does not embody the principle of the foregoing resolution.” Sir R. Peel, in making this announcement, said: “The Government being firmly resolved to adhere to the principle of their own bill, and not to adopt the principle of the vote of last night, felt it to be their duty as public men to lay their offices at the disposal of his Majesty. I have been anxious to make this explanation as briefly as I can, and in a manner the least calculated to give offence or excite angry feelings. My whole poli-

tical life has been spent in the House of Commons; the remainder of it will be spent in the House of Commons; and whatever may be the conflict of parties, I for one shall always wish, whether in a majority or a minority, to stand well with the House of Commons. (Immense cheering from all sides.) Under no circumstances whatever, under the pressure of no difficulties, under the influence of no temptation, will I ever advise the Crown to forego that great source of moral influence which consists in a strict adherence to the spirit, the practice, and even the letter, of the constitution.” (Immense cheering from all quarters.)

44. Sir R. Peel having thus resigned, in obedience to the principle of the constitution which requires the king's ministers to yield to a hostile majority of the House of Commons, when once decidedly pronounced on a vital question, nothing remained for the Sovereign himself but to accept a Ministry from the party which had in this manner got a majority in the Lower House. Nearly ten days elapsed, however, during which the House was twice adjourned, before the arrangements were completed. At length, on the 18th April, Lord John Russell announced the formation of a new Administration in the House of Commons, and Lord Melbourne did the same in the House of Lords.† The new Administration was substantially the same as the former which had been dismissed by the King: Lord Melbourne resumed his place as Premier; Lord John Russell as Home, Lord Palmerston as Foreign, Mr Charles Grant as Colonial, Secretary; Mr Spring

* The above is but the skeleton of Sir James Graham's able speech on this occasion.

† The new Cabinet stood as follows:—

The Cabinet.

First Lord of the Treasury,	. . . . .	Lord Melbourne.
President of the Council,	. . . . .	Lord Lansdowne.
First Lord of the Admiralty,	. . . . .	Lord Auckland.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,	. . . . .	Lord Holland.
Woods, Forests, and Privy Seal,	. . . . .	Lord Duncannon.
Home Secretary,	. . . . .	Lord John Russell.
Foreign Secretary,	. . . . .	Lord Palmerston.
Colonial Secretary,	. . . . .	Mr Charles Grant.
India Board,	. . . . .	Mr J. C. Hobhouse.
Secretary-at-War,	. . . . .	Lord Howick.
Board of Trade,	. . . . .	Mr Poulett Thomson.
Chancellor of the Exchequer,	. . . . .	Mr Spring Rice.

Rice was Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Auckland, First Lord of the Admiralty. The only material difference was, that Lord Brougham did not come into office again in any shape: the Great Seal was put in commission, the three commissioners being the Master of the Rolls, the Vice-Chancellor, and Mr Justice Bosanquet.

45. Short as it was, the Administration of Sir R. Peel at this juncture was attended with most important effects, and it deserves a consideration much beyond what its duration would seem to warrant in the modern history of Great Britain. It marked the period when the reaction had set in against the revolutionary fervour which had forced through the Reform Bill, and when the divided opinions of the country on that great change had come to manifest themselves in the returns of the House of Commons. Already the enthusiasm in favour of the bill had subsided: there was no longer to be heard the cry, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." Five-sixths of the House of Commons was no longer composed of Liberals. On the contrary, a considerable majority of English members were Conservatives—a majority, though a small one, of those of England and Scotland taken together, were on the same side, and the balance was cast the other way entirely by the Irish Roman Catholic members. This great change in opinion, of course, was not owing merely to Sir R. Peel's Ministry; it was the natural result of reflection and experience upon an intelligent though overheated generation. But the great and lasting effect of his being called to the helm, and of the consequent dissolution of Parliament, was

that this change of opinion was *let into the Legislature*, and the great risk was avoided of four-fifths of the Legislature being of one way of thinking, while a majority of the constituency in Great Britain at least were of another.

46. This change at once disarmed the Reform Bill of its greatest dangers; and for this, though he probably neither foresaw nor intended it, King William deserves the lasting gratitude of his country. The great and tremendous risk was, that with the immense majority of Liberals which the unexampled fervour of the public mind had introduced into the House of Commons through the boroughs, which returned a majority of its members, and the proof recently afforded of the possibility of driving the House of Lords to consent to anything by the threat of creating peers, new and interminable organic changes might be forced upon the Government, and carried through by the influence of the heated urban electors upon their representatives in Parliament before the nation had time to recover from its transports. Thus the constitution might be overturned, as it had been in France, at the gallop, no one knew how or by whom. There can be no doubt that it was entirely owing to the firmness of Earl Grey and his Ministry that this danger had hitherto been averted; and though he was overthrown in the attempt, yet he deserves the lasting thanks of the country for having made it. But now, when a majority of British members was returned on the Conservative side, and only a majority of ten, including Ireland, on the Liberal, this immediate danger was at an end. On any question involving any further organic changes in the constitution, it

Not in the Cabinet.

Attorney-General,	Sir John Campbell.
Solicitor-General,	Mr Ralfe.
Judge-Advocate General,	Mr Cutlar Fergusson.
Postmaster-General,	Earl of Minto.
Paymaster and Treasurer of the Navy,	Sir H. Parnell.
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland,	Lord Mulgrave.
Lord-Chancellor of Ireland,	Lord Plunkett.
Attorney-General for Ireland,	Mr Perrin.
Solicitor-General for Ireland,	Mr O'Loghlin.
Lord-Advocate for Scotland,	Mr J. A. Murray.
Solicitor-General for Scotland,	Mr J. Cunningham.

was very doubtful whether they would have any majority in the House of Commons; and quite certain that, if carried there, the Lords would take courage to throw them out in the Upper House. Thus the popular branch of the Legislature, from being so equally divided, was rendered in a great measure powerless either for good or for evil: and this was the greatest possible advantage which could be gained; for it gave the passions time to cool, and let in the still small voice of experience to discriminate between really beneficial reforms, and those which were inexpedient from the hazard with which they were attended, or intended only to advance the interests of a party.

47. For the same reason this short Administration, and the change in the House of Commons with which it was attended, was followed by a most important effect upon the position and influence of the House of Lords. It restored the Upper House to its functions—it brought back the constitution to its mixed character of King, Lords, and Commons, instead of being, as for the preceding three years it had been, Commons alone. The effects of this restoration of the old balance have been very great, and are still sensibly felt. The few occasions on which, since that time, the balance has been again subverted, and measures forced upon the Upper House and the Crown in defiance of their deliberate convictions, are sufficient to demonstrate what would have been the consequence of this being the settled and daily practice of the constitution. From the epoch of Sir R. Peel's first Administration, accordingly, we may date the restoration of the House of Lords, in a certain degree, to its legitimate functions, and discern the action of the important fly-wheel which the constitution had provided to regulate and steady the movements of the political machine.

48. But, for the same reasons, this change proved in the highest degree pernicious to Ireland, and it is to be regarded as the immediate cause of that long period of anarchy and paralysis of Government, which, after leading the nation through the ap-

prenticeship to misrule, of repeal agitation, and monster meetings, was terminated at last by the awful catastrophe of 1847. Earl Grey, resting on a decisive majority in the House of Commons, had passed the Coercion Bill in defiance of O'Connell and the Catholic members; but he had thereby tranquillised the country, and reduced predial outrages, which had multiplied *sixteenfold* since the Catholic Relief Bill had passed, to a fourth of their amount when the Coercion Bill took effect. But this vigorous and efficient administration of Irish affairs, so healthful to a country in its excited and distracted state, became impossible when the divided state of the English House of Commons forced the Liberal Ministry to look to the Irish Catholic members for their political existence. When the majority which kept Ministers in power was eight or ten only, and it soon fell to five or six, and that majority, such as it was, was secured only by the Irish Roman Catholics, it was impossible to resist their wishes. But those wishes being not formed from any regard to the interests of the country, but entirely shaped by the dictates of a foreign priesthood, whose object was the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, and the resumption of the Church property, whatever they demanded, right or wrong, required to be conceded. Their policy consisted in incessant agitation without breaking into open rebellion, and was to be directed, in the first instance, to the repeal of the Union, as it was well known that in a purely Irish legislature the Romish party would have a majority. This system, how distracting soever to the minds and ruinous to the industry of the country, the Government were obliged to tolerate, for that toleration was the price they paid for their political support. Thus the dissolution of 1834 stopped revolution in England, but left Ireland a prey to anarchy; and this observation affords the key to the history of both countries for the next seven years.

49. But although the farther pro-

gress of organic change was prevented by the equal balance of parties in the British House of Commons after Sir R. Peel's dissolution, it is not to be supposed that a *change of policy* was not imposed upon the Government, and that even more, if in the hands of the Conservatives, than in those of their opponents. It was here that the great and lasting effects of the new constitution of the House of Commons, by the effect of the Reform Bill, became apparent. Experience had now proved that it was impossible to carry on the government upon the old principles. The effect of the entire change of the electoral body in Scotland and Ireland, and of the introduction of the ten-pound shopkeepers and tenants into the English boroughs, had been such that no administration could command a majority but by yielding on all vital questions to their wishes. This necessity was even more strongly felt by the Conservatives than the Liberals. By uniting with the Irish Catholic members, the Whigs had obtained a small majority over the British Conservatives, and it was possible for them by such aid, and by surrendering Ireland to their direction, to keep a precarious hold of power for some time longer without any decided change in general policy. But this would evidently be impossible for the Tories. Their dependence on the Church of England and the old country party rendered any coalition with the Irish Catholics impossible; while the whole strength of the counties, most of which were already in their hands, was unable to give them a majority over the united Liberals and Catholics. In these circumstances, retention of power by them had become impossible, without such a concession to the *urban* Liberals as might induce a considerable proportion of them to come over and join the Conservative ranks. It was well known what *they* wished—to buy cheap and sell dear was their object; living by trade, their desires were identified with its interest. Free Trade and a repeal of the Corn Laws were inscribed

on their banners. Thus the great change in the commercial policy of the country, which Sir R. Peel introduced on his next accession to power, and which occasioned his fall, arose necessarily from his present position; and if he had not been defeated on the Irish Church question, he could have retained power only by introducing it ten years sooner than was actually done.

50. There can be no doubt that Sir R. Peel rose much in general estimation, both in the legislature and the country, from his possession of power, brief as it was. His measures were judicious and conciliatory; his language was eminently calculated to disarm his opponents, and dispel the opinion so sedulously inculcated by them, that the return of the Tories to power would be the signal for a return to the old abuses, and the stoppage of all useful and necessary reforms. His skill in debate, his perfect parliamentary tact, and thorough knowledge of the assembly he was addressing, and on whose suffrages he depended, had secured for him the respect of all parties. Descended from a mercantile family, and identified both by birth and interest with the commercial community, he possessed a much more thorough acquaintance with the statistics and prospects of trade than any of his opponents; and his speeches bore that air of business and thorough acquaintance with the subject, which, more than all the flowers of rhetoric, win the confidence and command the assent of men engaged in the real business of life. The stride he made in the acquisition of general confidence, accordingly, was very great during his brief Administration; and he was already looked to by many, even of his political opponents, as the man of the age who alone understood the real interests of the country, and, by turning reform into the channel of practical improvement, would reap for the country the fruits of the seed which had been sown by his predecessors.

51. The proposal of Lord J. Russell, which occasioned the overthrow of

Sir R. Peel, and return of the Whigs to power, was very skilfully devised to combine all the discordant elements of hostility to the Tory Administration, and appeared at first sight to be founded on rational and philanthropic principles. But, nevertheless, it is now evident that it was calculated to afford no real benefit to the country; and that supposing it carried, all the evils which desolated Ireland would not only remain, but in many respects be aggravated. Education is an unspeakable benefit to men, when they have emerged from a state of destitution and wretchedness, and are beginning to acquire ideas of comfort and wellbeing; but it can little avail those who are perpetually in want of the necessaries of life. It is in the soil prepared by a certain amount of physical comfort, that the seeds of intellectual elevation can alone come to maturity. Oppressed as Ireland was at this time by two million of paupers, for whom there was no legal relief, and distracted by agrarian outrage, and ceaseless agitation raised for sacerdotal purposes, which repelled all English capital from its shores, the proposed change might be a triumph to a rival priesthood, but it could afford no real relief to a starving peasantry. What Ireland required was, not the abstraction of £200,000 a-year from the Church property, but the removal of two million emigrants from its shores; what was likely to heal its wounds, was not a change which was likely to stimulate the activity and augment the ambition of a foreign ecclesiastical power, but such a vigorous administration of justice as should stop the withering progress of agitation, and permit the entrance of domestic capital and enterprise already overflowing in the neighbouring island.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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